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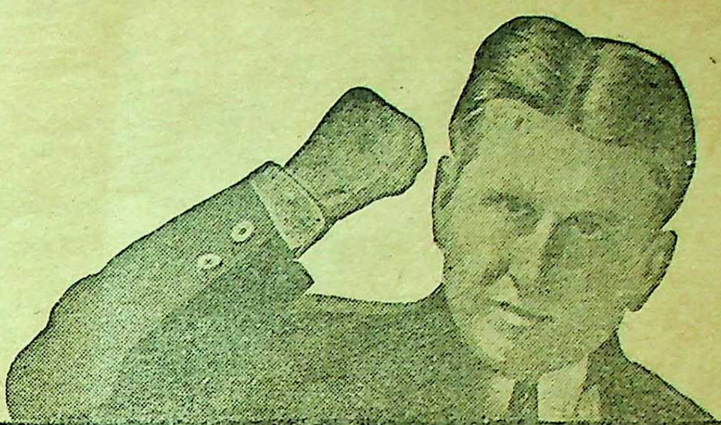

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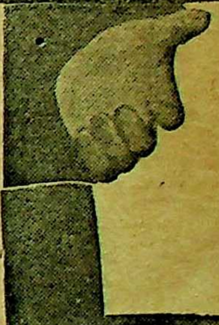

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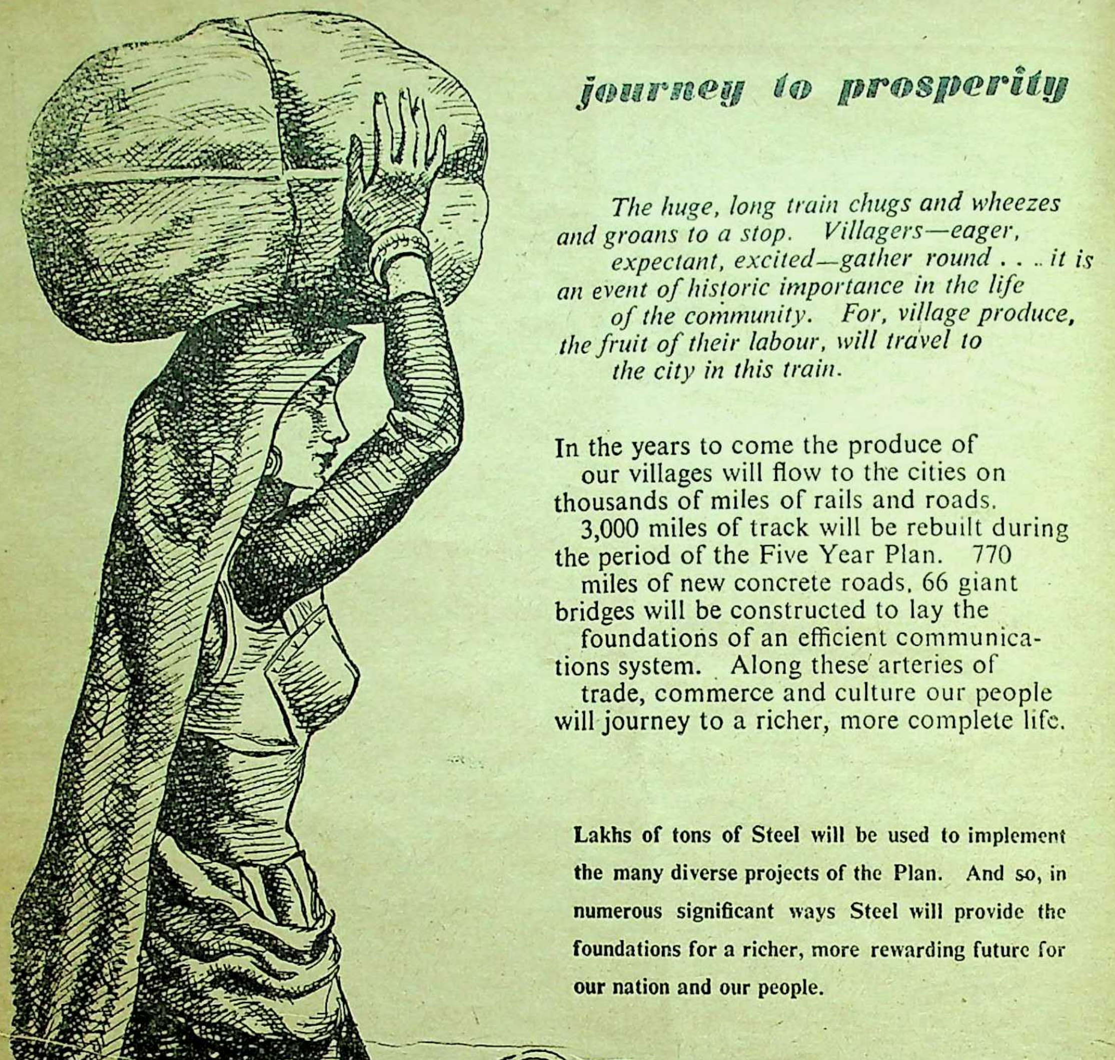

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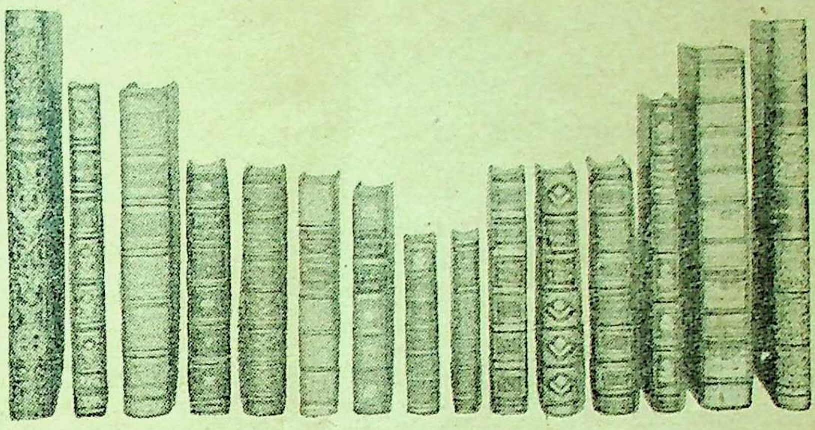

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Vol. LXXXXV, No. 1

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CONTENTS FOR JANUARY 1954

PAGE

Frontispiece—HAPPY HOME (*in colours*) - Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

NOTES : 1—20

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE—ITS PERSONNEL— Prof. G. D. Srivastava 21

ECONOMICS OF STUDENTS' TURMOIL—Prof. S. N. Agarwal 23

AIR TRANSPORT IN INDIA Prof. C. B. Mamoria 25

MECHANISATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE— Prof. K. C. Peter 31

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN WEST BENGAL (*illust.*)—Kanika Som 33

KIBBUZIM—Karl Loewy 36

MASS SOCIETY AND CITY CULTURE—Ram Swaroop Vyas 39

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

TOWARDS BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING (*illust.*)—
Dr. Krishna Bai Nimbkar ... 42

COMMENT AND CRITICISM: ... 44

THE CHILDREN OF HARI (*illust.*)—T. B. Naik ... 45

MEDIAEVAL MONUMENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (*illust.*)—R. P. Singh ... 50

INDIA'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE—T. S. R. Rao ... 52

WARANGAL: THE HOME OF TEMPLES (*illust.*)—G. Srinivas Rao ... 53

NEW IMPETUS TO RURAL HOUSING (*illust.*)—PIB ... 55

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA—Abinash Chandra Bose ... 58

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER—St. Nihal Singh ... 61

LEO TOLSTOY · THE LAST PHASE—Prof. J. Minattur ... 65

BEGINNING OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN PRE-CONGRESS DAYS—
Nanimadhab Chaudhuri ... 67

BOOK REVIEWS: ... 69—72

INDIAN PERIODICALS: ... 73—77

FOREIGN PERIODICALS: ... 79—84

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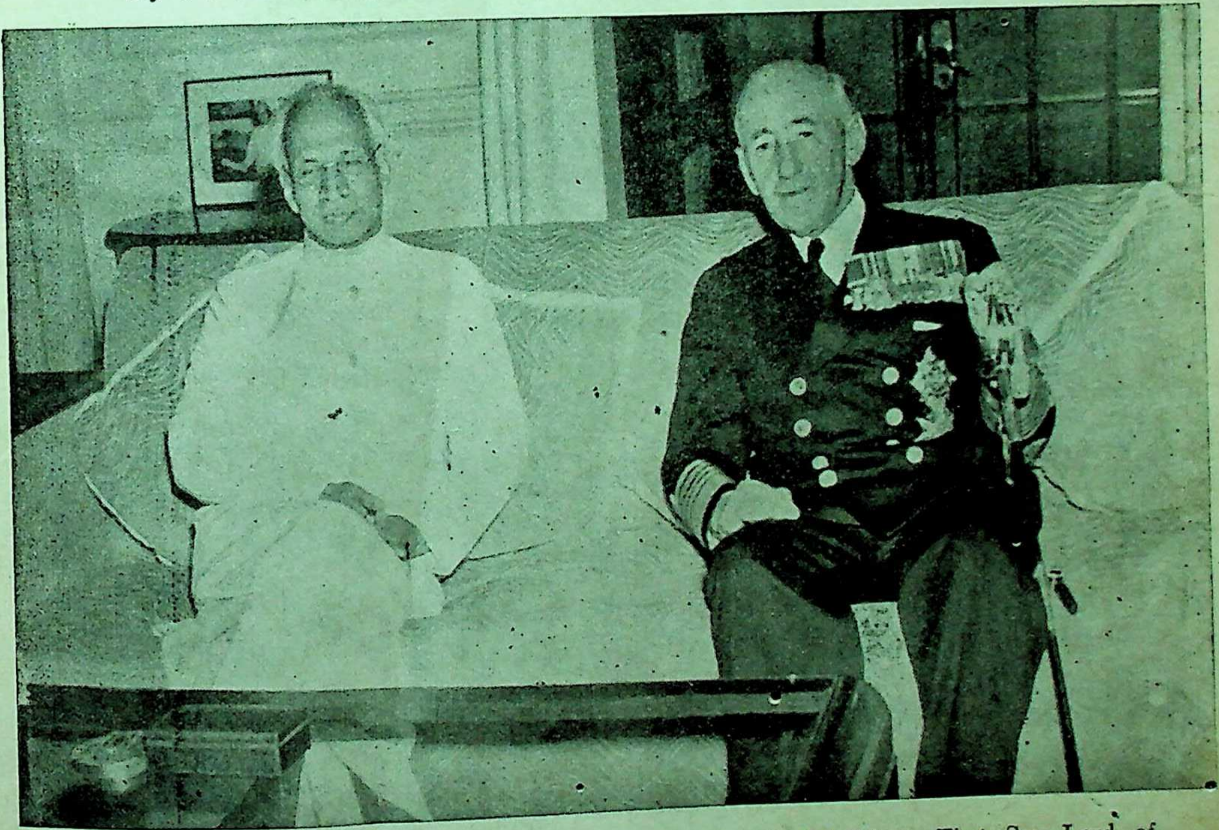
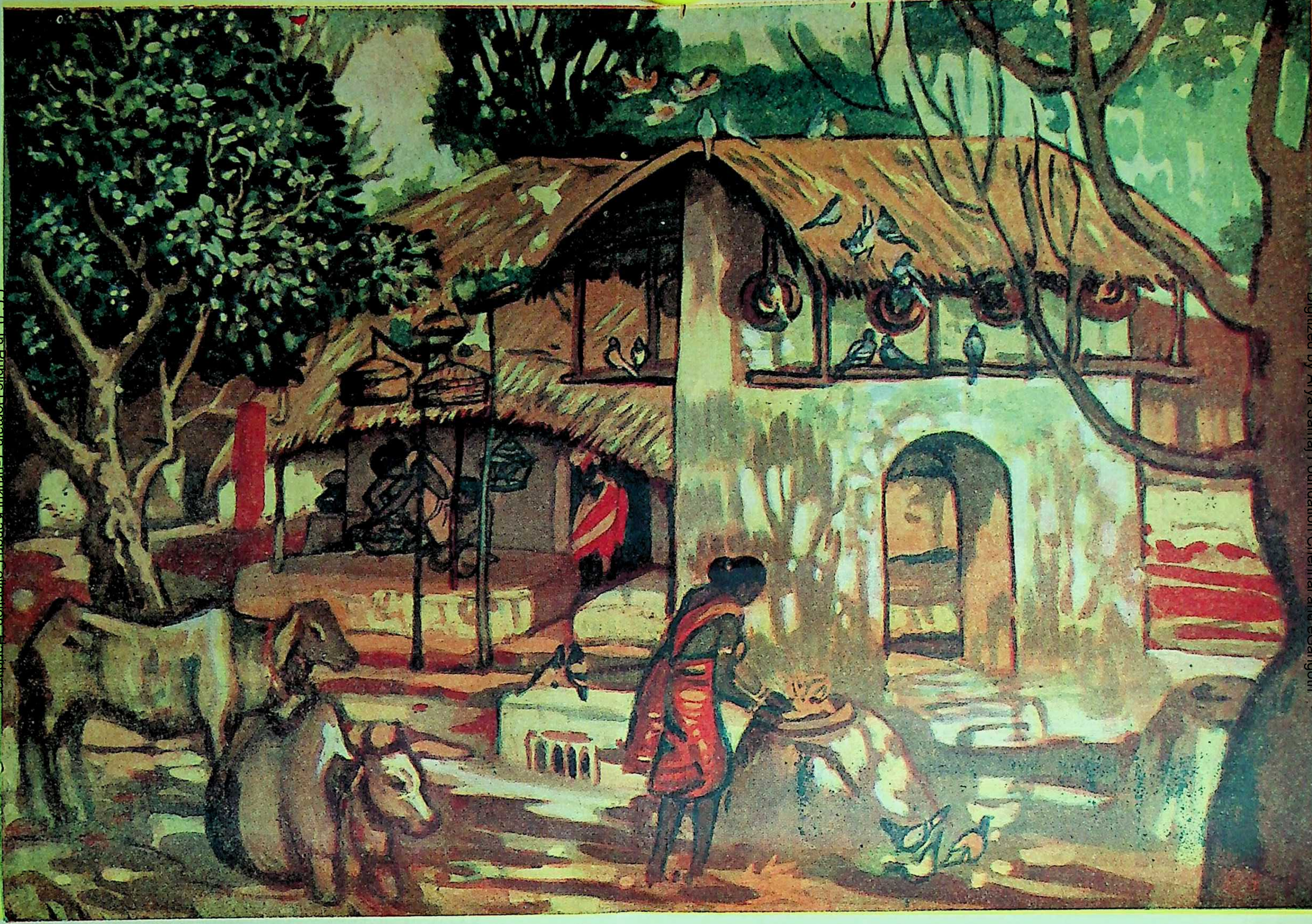
United Nations Day was celebrated at the U.N. Headquarters recently. Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the current session of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold arrive for the celebrations



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan with Sir Rhoderick R. McGrigor, First Sea Lord of the United Kingdom when the latter called on him in New Delhi, on November 22, 1953



HAPPY HOME

By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

New Year's Portents

Before we consider the year that is ahead of us, let us glance over the vista of the year that is drawing to a close as we write.

At home and abroad, the year that is passing out, opened with bleak prospects. The world turmoil showed no signs of abating, natural calamities, like the devastations caused by storm and flood-tides on the East Coast of Britain and the Coastal areas of Holland, the earthquake havoc in the Greek islands, serious shortages of the essentials of life, all added to the intense strains through which humanity was passing through in the old world. In the political sphere, Africa was showing signs of awakening, which was fiercely resented by the devotees of colonialism and exploitation.

At home the political turbulence increased in most parts of North and Eastern India, Calcutta and Lucknow being major centres of disruptive activity. Of natural calamities we had very little fortunately.

But as the year came to its last quarter, more hopeful signs were in evidence everywhere. Pakistan and India exchanged civilities in the persons of their chief executives, the harvests were well over the average in India and the political rumpers quietened down. Prices of essentials started coming down and the common citizen got a chance to take a short breath of relief.

Abroad the Korean struggle slowed down and finally the Armistice came into being. During the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners, it was suggested that India should supply the Custodian force to guard, and to take charge during interim period, those of the prisoners of both sides that were not willing to be repatriated. India, or rather Pandit Nehru, readily agreed without further thought as to what complications might arise out of this ready acceptance. This lack of forethought caused many troubles before long, the most embarrassing situations arising out of the attitude of President Syngman Rhee's South Korea. South Korea is a devastated and lost land, lost to all attributes of humanity, excepting that of revenge, so deeply scored it is by the flames of War.

In the meanwhile, the greatest democracy of the New World, the United States, held an election. The Democrats, that is the party going under that label, lost and the Republicans won under the leadership of General Eisenhower. The party names do not have any specific meaning, so we are told. But somehow, under the new regime, many things started happening which has made the democratic world wonder whether the traditions that the world associates with the United States of America—the United States, that is, of Abraham Lincoln—are in the process of being scrapped.

We were told that if there were any nation actuated by purely altruistic motives in its dealings with foreign nationals, particularly with the nationals of backward States, then that was the United States. We ourselves had seen clear evidence of that with our own eyes, in the Iran, Iraq and the Near East of the early thirties, and also in the working of certain missions in our own India. And it is on that basis we disbelieved the propaganda against American aid to India, which tried to represent that to be a veiled attempt at domination.

It is in that belief and on that good faith, deep friendships were established, not only between Indians and Americans but with many other nations with mutual mediation and goodwill. It was taken for granted that this demonstration of goodwill was based on the highest ideals of humanism and that there was no "power-politics" mixed with it in any way. In short, it was taken for granted that the American was a forthright frank specimen, as unlike the black-hearted and treacherous *Pucca Sahib* as possible.

The basis of this faith have been the actions and sayings of a host of Americans who have visited this country, who have given proof of their good faith in more than one way. In the United States itself, men of standing, whose integrity could not be challenged, made clear statements on the side of human liberty and rights and for the cause of peace and goodwill amongst all nations.

Since the taking over by the Eisenhower Government, things are happening in Asia that have caused serious disturbance to the very basis of this good faith. There is a distinct tendency to compromise with colonialism in its most blatant form, as in the case of France and Portugal. And in many areas, men representing the United States in many official capacities, who had declared in unambiguous terms that the U.S.A. had no axe to grind in any sphere in Asia, were recalled and replaced by new men, who hesitated at making any positive statement at all. In America, a campaign of calumny was started against India in many quarters, just because the G.O.C. of the Indian custodian force would not kowtow to the Generals of the R.O.K. and U.N. troops. There was no regard to truth in these statements, as we have shown elsewhere by a quotation from an American source. And yet the high executive of the U.S.A. did nothing to check or contradict it.

To cap all, where India is concerned, came this Pact, between Pakistan and the United States. This Pact is a secret one, and as such there is a great deal of subterfuge and juggling with words. But all the same it is patent that the Pact is there, undeniably.

> Mr. Richard Nixon declared in Karachi on December 7 that the United States would protect Pakistan against what he described as "forces working for its destruction."
>
> Addressing a gathering of mill-workers on his visit to the Sind industrial estates here he said he was confident that America would continue to stand by Pakistan. The American people had great love and respect for the people of Pakistan, he said, because both countries were actuated by the same ideas and objectives.
>
> The Vice-President cited the prompt assistance given by his country in the form of wheat aid as an instance of America's deep regard for Pakistan.
>
> Mr. Nixon was greeted with shouts of "America Zindabad" and "Nixon Zindabad" as he entered the mill area.
>
> Mr. Yusuf Haroon, former President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, welcomed Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon's official status makes it impossible for him to make such a statement on the basis of empty words and vague sentiments. This declaration could have been made only after a definite agreement had been arrived at, on State level.

Mr. Nixon might have been ignorant about the tension between India and Pakistan. But we refuse to believe that the officials who advised him were unaware of the fact that Pakistan had made declarations times without number, that India was her sole enemy and the only way to deal with India was to wage a *jehad* against her. As such this utterance of his, as quoted above, can be construed only in one way. And, indeed, since no other construction has been put on it in the weeks following that declaration, it can be taken that the people of Pakistan and India are at liberty to assume what they like.

The *New York Times* in an editorial, quoted elsewhere in this issue, confirmed the fact of this agreement in an indirect fashion.

In that editorial it is specifically stated that India's attitude towards "such a programme" is immaterial. It declares that the programme is "realistic, rational and feasible." India's concerns are dismissed in short order thus:

> "That there should be anxiety in India over any proposals that would add to the military strength of her closest neighbour is only natural. The United States, however, cannot be expected to make its policies on the basis of India's apprehension."

We do not think we need write further about the Secret Pact. It is a *fait accompli* with all its attendant evils.

The *New York Times'* editorial was logically quite accurate. And we have no doubt the premises on which the editorial is based is quite on all fours with what obtained in the Far East when the Soviets supplied sinews of war to the North Koreans and trained them in the use of modern weapons. Indeed, it seems that the U.S.A. has taken a leaf out of the Soviet *Weltpolitik* manual in its hurry to "save the Free World."

Heaven help the Free World against such saviours.

Nedless to say the consequences are likely to be the same as in the case of Korea, excepting that the magnitude would be increased a thousandfold. The pompous wiseacre who penned the *Times'* editorial, probably is as ignorant about matters Asiatic as all the American Pundits we have seen hitherto. But, perhaps, his essay into infantile *Realpolitik* would not have been so quaintly naive if he had thought of what the consequences of a major flare-up would mean to the nationals of his own country.

But the U.S.A. is well prepared to face all consequences, at least that is what we are given to understand. What concerns us most, is how far we are prepared, if at all.

Let us take the reactions of Pandit Nehru, as after all he represents all India to the world abroad.

On December 11th at Dehra Dun, Prime Minister Nehru called upon the people of India to remain resolutely united to face any development that might arise from the proposed military pact between Pakistan and the United States.

Shri Nehru said, "If the strength of Pakistan's army increases with the United States aid, it will have repercussions not only in India but in the whole of South-East Asia. This will disturb without fail the entire balance of power in this region."

Shri Nehru added: "India and Pakistan were both free countries and as such they could enter into talks with any country they wished. But the present negotiations between Pakistan and Washington, aimed at building up Pakistan's armed might, would affect not only India but other countries also. Therefore, he said, India had to make herself strong in order to defend herself. India, he further said, was, however, ready to face any danger.

We only wish we could be as sure of our strength as Pandit Nehru seems to be. There can be no doubt that the majority of the nationals of India would stand with Pandit Nehru in facing any outside aggression. But there can be no doubt that disruption and treachery has been given a long rope in our country since the demise of our beloved Sardar.

Prime Minister Nehru faced a group of demonstrators at the Gurdwara Fatehgarh Sahib, about 35 miles from Patiala on December 27 when he rose to address a meeting.

The demonstrators shouted slogans demanding Punjabi-speaking province, the ending of Advisers' regime and swore they would not allow the Prime Minister to speak.

The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, appeared near the platform a few minutes after the demonstration had started. The Rajpramukh of PEPSU asked him to persuade the demonstrators to maintain calm. The Akali leader was heard to say that he would not allow the Prime Minister to speak from the Gurdwara platform.

Some of the demonstrators elbowed their way close to the Prime Minister while the Rajpramukh, officials and police tried to keep them away.

It may be said Master Tara Singh was a mere ignorant and befuddled antediluvian. But people of his ilk have been always of great help to the enemies of India in the past, because in their short-sighted ignorance they could not see beyond their own nose. There are bigger forces of disruption, however, who may attempt to seize power when the opportune moment comes.

Pandit Nehru is not totally oblivious to the perils that might come if we had to face emergencies in the present state of our affairs.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared at New Delhi on December 28 that India had no aggressive designs on any country but she would not brook any outside interference in her affairs.

"We have no desire to expand our territory, but nevertheless we have to guard against any encroachment on our vast frontiers. We have to maintain our frontiers at all costs, and along with that, we have to maintain our internal strength," he said.

Addressing the 30th anniversary of the Congress Seva Dal in Queen's Garden, Mr. Nehru said that in this age of turmoil and turbulence, "We have to prepare ourselves for every contingency. We have to protect our country against any external aggression. That will more or less rest on our internal strength. If we are internally weak and waste our energies in petty squabbles, we are bound to put our hard-earned freedom into jeopardy. In that case, our freedom will not last long."

Freedom, the Prime Minister said, had brought in its train heavy responsibilities and complicated problems. Many people felt on the attainment of independence that now that the task of liberating the country from foreign domination was over, they would rest on their oars and take things easy, but that was absolutely a wrong approach and a wrong way of thinking. Such a feeling would weaken the very social, political and economic fibre of the country and expose her to dangers.

Let it be clear to each one in this country, Mr. Nehru said, that after the attainment of political emancipation, "our responsibilities have rather far increased. We have today to face new problems, new situations which may not be having any bearing on the past and have to work under quite a new environment. The main task before us today is to preserve and consolidate this independence which is rather a difficult task. If we lose the inspiration that characterised our national struggle for liberation and dwindle into a state of slackness and torpor, we will certainly imperil our freedom and may ultimately expose it to external dangers."

Very true indeed. But mere words or mere chanting of old saws and adages will not do. What is wanted is a realistic attitude towards world conditions. Is Pandit Nehru's Congress ready?

An unambiguous declaration of the Congress stand vis-a-vis the changed situation arising out of the U.S.-Pakistan military alliance, formulation of proposals for a "people's plan" for the further period of the revised Five-Year Plan, and constructive suggestions for the recently announced Commission for reorganisation of State—are the three main items before the forthcoming plenary session of the Indian National Congress at Kalyani, said the A.-I.C.C. General Secretary, Sri Balwantrai Mehta, in an interview to *UPI* in Calcutta.

The foreign policy resolution of the Congress, he thought, would be the most important item on the agenda, particularly in view of the changes that would take place, vitally affecting all the Asian countries in view of the military aid pact between U.S.A.? and Pakistan.

The Karachi Canard

At the time of going to press the following news-item came on the daily press columns:

The report from Karachi published in a number of papers that India had entered into a secret defence pact with Soviet Russia and China is entirely without foundation and totally false, it was stated by an official spokesman in New Delhi on December 30.

India does not have any military or defence pact secret or otherwise, either with Soviet Russia or China or with any country in the world nor is it her intention to enter into any such pact in the future. India's policy of opposition to such pacts is well-known and has been declared from time to time.

The fantastic report that India had entered into a military pact with Soviet Russia and China was circulated by the *London Observer* correspondent, Mr. Rawle Knox from Karachi. Knox wrote:

"Pakistan's decision to accept American military aid has been influenced by reports that reached Pakistan Intelligence Department some months ago, on what authority I cannot discover, that India had made a secret pact, in the event of war with China and Russia."

The fact that Pakistan official sources had to manufacture an obvious falsehood, to justify proposed Pak.-U.S. Pact, since India's policy in this matter is well-known, is interpreted by informed circles in Delhi as an indication of nervousness on Pakistan's part. The almost unanimous condemnation that Pakistan's efforts to obtain military aid from U.S.A. has received in the Middle East and South Asia, has apparently upset Pakistan's calculations of being the decoy for Asian countries which follow an independent foreign policy. Unable to counter this by any reasonable arguments, Pakistan officials seem to have reverted to earlier tactics of spreading falsehoods about India to justify their own wrong actions.

We would add that foreign news-hounds of the Conservative group papers, to which the *Observer* of London belongs, may well have helped knowingly in the fabrication.

Dawn on Pak-U.S. Military Alliance

The ***Dawn*** in an editorial article on December 9 welcomed the proposed U.S.-Pakistan military alliance. The paper refers to the fact that common religion had failed to prove as effective a cementing link for practical purposes as had been once hoped even between Pakistan and other Muslim countries. The daily wide-spread frustration in the minds of the people had partly been due to a realisation that Pakistan had no friends. All Pakistanis would naturally welcome the prospect of Pakistan becoming stronger militarily provided that did not affect the country's sovereignty or independence of action. The paper writes that if the stage had been set "for a mutually advantageous partnership between Pakistan and the biggest democratic power of the present-day world—United States of America—then it is heart-lifting news, and the nation will give full credit to those who have been able to bring about this, whatever their other failings may be."

The *Dawn* is a bitter enemy of India, and all things Indian, and therefore it welcomed the news good and early. This is a clear indication as to where the storm is brewing and how. Incidentally its remarks contain no reference to Soviet Russia, China or India. The *Dawn* would have been the first to howl about a secret defence pact, if there had been any rumours at that time, as between India and the Soviet Bloc.

The Pact and the "New York Times"

The *New York Times* had calmly let the cat out of the bag, long before the Karachi Canard was skied, in the following manner:

The *New York Times* said in a leading article on December 11 that some sort of programme designed to make Pakistan stronger militarily seemed to be one of the expected results of the Vice-President Nixon's visit to Pakistan.

"Such a programme," wrote the paper, "seems to us realistic, rational and feasible. There has been some loose and occasionally acrimonious talks about a deal on the basis of 'aid for bases.' The plain fact is that in any mortal struggle the whole of Pakistan would be a gigantic base for the free world."

The *Times* said: "That there should be anxiety in India over any proposals that would add to the military strength of her closest neighbour is only natural. The United States, however, cannot be expected to make its policies on the basis of India's apprehension, assurances can be given to India that our military assistance to Pakistan would be and should be for Pakistan's defence needs only. At the same time a strong Pakistan is vital to a strong South-Asia and a strong Middle East. Pakistan has the will to resist Communist, imperialist encroachment. More than that. Pakistani leaders are acutely aware of the danger. Therefore, they turn to us to help us."

Mr. Yoshiki Hoshino, Japanese Leftwing Socialist leader and a former Member of the Japanese Diet, who is in India at present, said that the proposed U.S.-Pakistan military alliance amounted to an "attack on the nations of Asia."

As far as India was concerned he thought that the alliance would work as a kind of "wedge" between India and Pakistan. "We expect that India would therefore strongly resist this move by the United States ultimately calculated to drag India and Asia into its bloc."

American Policy in India

The Indian reaction to the propaganda campaign of mischief that is going on in the U.S.A. has been summed up by the *People* of New Delhi.

The diplomatic correspondent of the *People* in New Delhi writes: "Not only is America trying physically and militarily to encircle India, but she is trying to do it politically. She is spreading lies about India's intentions and policies."

The U. S. was spreading the "dirty lie" that India was going Communist. The trend of the U.S. propaganda was that the trade pact recently signed in New Delhi between India and the U.S.S.R. had "something behind it." The American press had written that the pact was not merely commercial, but included an undertaking by the Soviet Union to provide military equipment to India.

The correspondent writes: "So clever are the lie-manufacturers that they knew that the whole thing was atrociously wrong. But anticipating the inevitable denial by India—and it has already been made—they had coupled the lie with the statement that a denial would be made by India, but it must not be believed!"

India could not conceive of giving up her policy of neutrality—a policy which was a moral, political, geographical and historical necessity.

But while India's relation with the Soviet Union had been quite cordial India was not going to buy defence equipment in the Soviet market.

If Pakistan's military powers were increased by American military help, India would have to think about it. Mr. Nixon's recent statement in Karachi that U.S.A. would protect Pakistan from forces operating against her had rightly been understood as an attack on India and as an incitement to Pakistan to go all-out in Kashmir.

Analysing U.S. policy towards India the correspondent says that America's policy was actuated by four motives, which were:

"(1) To get tough with Nehru;

"(2) To prevent India from 'dominating' Asia and Africa;

"(3) To reduce the aid that is now being given to India;

"(4) To aid Pakistan in every possible way. Pakistan is to raise as big an army as America wants for her mercenary and aggrandising purposes, and in pursuance of her policy of making Asians fight Asians."

America, he says, could hardly realise the implications of such a policy. All Indians—Congress, Communist, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali—were united in their support to Nehru against this threat to her national independence presented by the proposed U.S.-Pak Pact. The U.S.A. was afraid of India's moral ascendance in Africa and Asia and all their malicious charges of Indian domination could not "conceal the universal attempt of the Americans to promote a new imperialism, directly or indirectly, the latter by fostering white colonialism in Asia and Africa." The Indian planners have fully taken notice of the possibility of U.S.A. withholding her aid from India and were proceeding cautiously along several alternative lines.

The correspondent adds: "The reflex actions of the American policy have been quick and decisive. The question, therefore, is being asked in New Delhi why the idea of holding a plebiscite should not be dropped altogether and accession should not be ratified by the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir before America has her 'Formosa' in the Indian sub-continent and before Pakistan is enabled to 'treat the Kashmir question from a position of greater strength.' Surely, Pakistan cannot complain reasonably. She cannot allow America to arm her on one side and expect India to discuss the peaceful process of a plebiscite on the other."

Indian Custodian Forces

Under the caption "India's Truce Work Fogged by Propaganda" the *Worldover Press* in its November 13 issue gave a summary of the anti-Indian tactics by both of the belligerents, which is particularly interesting in view of what has happened later on. The *Worldover Press* is an American institution and therefore cannot be accused of any bias in its report against the American press or radio.

Confronted by a delicate and difficult task, India's custodian truce forces in Korea have been remarkably effective. Their work has been handicapped, however, by hostile criticisms from the Communists and the Americans, and by pumped-up propaganda in some American newspapers and radio-TV broadcasts.

1. Photographs have tended to show Indian guards taking prisoners back to the Communist side, thus creating (probably without intent) a false impression. One picture, however, widely published, was distorted by captions printed with it, though the United Press, which sent out the photo, has said that such captions were not justified by the accompanying information. The Pacific edition of *Stars and Stripes,* along with certain other papers, handled the photograph so as to pin on the Indians a pro-Communist use of force. A loudly wailing Chinese POW was shown being carried by two Indian guards to a reception center, apparently against his will. The truth was that the POW was going willingly, but was so overcome by emotion and fatigue that his knees buckled under him and he had to ask the help of the Indians.

2. India was accused of distributing among the prisoners leaflets containing Communist propaganda, the inference being that this was done at the request of the Communist representatives on the U. N. Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. The truth: previous explanations of the truce repatriation terms, made to the prisoners, were so inadequate and poorly done that a majority could not understand what was to happen. The Commission, too, was faced by a serious shortage of translators. In this situation, leaflets were printed in several languages. They dealt with procedures only, however, and had been prepared and carefully scrutinized by the entire Commission, and approved by the Swedes and the Swiss.

3. At a critical stage, propaganda emanating chiefly from South Korean officials reported that India

was to withdraw its troops. Aim of this propaganda was to weaken the Indians' authority. To this Prime Minister Nehru asserted in a scantily-publicized statement: "We shall do our duty, complete our task, and not run away from our responsibilities."

4. Indians have charged, truthfully, that their efforts have suffered by interference, in violation of the truce terms, both by Communists and offcers representing the U.N. Command. The latter, for example, tried systematically for a time to block altogether the Communist explanatory lectures.

5. American leaders took the attitude that genuine neutrality—required of the Indians under the truce terms they themselves had signed—was the same thing as being pro-Communist. Many a writer and commentator seized the occasion to blacken the Indian government. *Time* Magazine, for instance, after reciting Communist attacks on the Indian truce chairman, General K. S. Thimayya, continued: "His on-the-scene appreciation of Communist tactics meant nothing to New Delhi, where Nehru's government refuses to believe evil of the Communists."

General Mark Clark castigated the Repatriation Commission because, according to him, it assumed that all prisoners would automatically wish to be sent home to Communist China and North Korea. Secretary of State Dulles, in a statement to the press that caused tremendous damage to U.S. prestige throughout Asia, referred to the Commission's neutrality as "so-called." Dulles uttered no word of rebuke to the South Korean regime, which had threatened to break up the work of the Commission by force, nor did he, at least openly, protest the activity of South Korean agents planted among the prisoners to foment riots.

The truth is this: Polish and Czechoslovak members of the Commission insisted that prisoners be compelled by force to hear pleas for their return home; Swedish and Swiss members refused to allow this. The Indians cleverly frustrated the Communist members by saying they would use force only if instructed to do so by a unanimous vote of the Commission—which obviously could not be had.

The balanced *Manchestor Guardian* said of this episode: "Criticism most hurting to India has come, not from South Koreans or Communists, but from the U.N. Command, and to make matters worse, Mr. Dulles appears to endorse it." Said the *Washington Post*: "The blind rush to blame India. . . . .shows little understanding. Indeed, the argument that India is either for us or against us—that unless she agrees with the U.S. on interpretation of every regulation she is oriented towards the Communists—is basically a totalitarian line."

6. Were not Indians brutal when they fired into escaping prisoners and killed two? Why not use tear gas? Tear gas equipment, wisely, is not distributed to all guards; a tear gas squad is ready for certain emergencies, but could not, at the moment of the flash-escape, be summoned in time. The Indians were forced to choose between risking a few lives or large-scale slaughter. The situation is so ugly that, as in the case of a killing when murders in a compound were being investigated, the slightest toleration of disorder precipitates the killing of prisoners by each other. Critics should ask whether, if other troops than the Indians were in charge, there would be more or fewer deaths. *Friends of the first two men slain asked Indian officers to join in a mourning procession and after they did so, displayed a sign reading: "Welcome, neutral nations who serve humanity and advocate justice."*

7. It has sometimes been said that the people of India are not behind their truce forces, and opposed to the role the troops are playing. A drive to send gifts to the truce soldiers, however, has been highly successful thus far, collections in a brief time having reached nearly $25,000, much of it contributions by school children. Thousands of greeting cards have been designed, and written, by boys and girls. The Coffee Board donated enough coffee for a million cups.

8. There have been some innuendoes about the poor care given the prisoners by the Indians. The truth is that for a short period there was a lack of blankets. These, however, were supposed to be provided by the U.N. Command, and when the Indians asked for more, they were soon forthcoming. India is actually doing more for the POW's, by far, than technically required. Already the Indian Red Cross has sent them 10 tons of candy, 3,000,000 cigarettes, and many packages of tea, woollen stockings—and paper flowers! Sports equipment, motion picture films, pencils, blacboards for instruction (with teachers), play costumes and directors, experts on handcrafts and carpentry, doctors, 60 field ambulances, 26 mobile hospitals—these are only part of the contributions made by India to the prisoners' well-being.

While expressing regret at the attacks on India, Nehru advised a meeting of 200,000 at Bombay to keep cool, declaring: "We should not think that anyone who does not support us is our enemy."

U.N. Faces Two-sided Problem in Korea

The *Worldover Press* made the following comment at the beginning of the armistice on the military preparations that were going on behind the cease-fire line.

The comment shows up Rhee also in a clear light, as an anomaly in a democratic set up.

Some American observers in Washington and Tokyo are watching the build-up of Chinese Communist air installations in North Korea with mixed feelings. The flying in of military planes and the creation of air fields violates the armistice, and Washington has protested to the U.N. However, it is believed by some that while Red China is still taking a military interest in Korea, there is that much less chance of its further intervention in Indo-China. They reason that if China was eager enough for an armistice to sign up even after Syngman Rhee released thousands of war prisoners, a new attack from the north is not likely.

Mixed feelings, too, are manifested by Western diplomats over late events in South Korea. Despite Rhee's bellicosity, anti-war sentiment is definitely gaining ground among the people, and even in the ROK army. This appears on the face of it all to the good. It raises speculation whether Rhee, if dissatisfied with the Korean conference, can renew the war even if he wants to.

The trouble is, Rhee is up to his old tricks of suppression. Not only has he brought about purges in his cabinet; he has been purging the police and the youth corps. He has suspended three newspapers and arrested a prominent editor, on unconvincing pretexts. If he should find his stern control slipping, might he not "start something" rather than risk losing power ?

Enhancement of Japan's War Potential

One of the reasons behind the haste with which the U.S.A. has granted the aid prayed for by Pakistan, seems to be the failure of the attempt to persuade Japan into falling into line with U.S. programme. The *Worldover Press* reported over a month back, on that attempt as follows :

After a month of conferring, Japanese spokesman Hayato Ikeda and Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson came up with an informal agreement—nothing like the outlines of a specific pact—that Japan's armed forces must be enlarged. The talks amounted to a set-back for the American program, for how many troops Japan is to have, and in what way the constitutional issue is to be settled, were major issues left for the future. While Japan agreed for a while yet to avoid shipments of contraband goods to Red China, non-strategic exports can be considerably stepped up—which Tokyo chiefly wanted.

Japan is to get $50,000,000 in farm products under M.S.A., to be sold internally for yen, the proceeds to be used for eventual arming or other projects. Two key Japanese economic problems, however, remain unsolved. One is how to pay the two billion dollars Japan already owes the U.S. The other is how to secure greater foreign private investment. Foreign investments since the end of the war total only about $70,000,000, a small fraction of the need. Of this amount, 71 per cent comes from the United States, 13 per cent from the United Kingdom, and 10 per cent from Canada. Investors outside the U.S., according to British financial circles, are slow to sink money in Japan, not because they doubt Japanese industry's rising output, but because of their hesitancy to go up against American competition under conditions they consider relatively unfavorable.

"People's Daily" on Pak-U.S. Base Talks

The Communist Press has not been slow in making capital out of the Pak.-U.S. alliance. The following summary is a typical example. It is very cleverly written as most of the assumptions are on a factual basis. It also goes clearly to show that the Communist world is not taking sides, as between India and Pakistan, as yet. If it had it would not have put any emphasis on the danger to Pakistan consequent on this military alliance.

The *People's Daily* of Peking writes on December 9, in an editorial article that talks initiated by the United States for a military alliance with Pakistan jeopardised peace in Asia. Those efforts of the U.S.A. indicated that the U.S.A. was trying to set up an aggressive Middle Eastern bloc by dragging in Pakistan. Asian people could not but be very much concerned about these developments.

Sensing Asian opposition the U.S.A. tried to take cover and attempted to divert the attention of the people from those talks by various denials. But it was clear that the visit of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles and a number of U.S. Senators to Pakistan and the recent Washington visit of Pakistani Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had much to do with those talks.

"This intrigue of the U.S. war bloc in Pakistan," the paper continues "is part and parcel of the sinister plan to intensify aggression in Asia. The United States is trying to incorporate the 'military potential' of this Asian nation into its own strategic plans to carry out its vicious scheme to make 'Asians fight Asians'."

The U.S.A. was also urging Pakistan to conclude an alliance with Turkey, as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance. That move was intended to sow discord between Pakistan and other Moslem States, to put pressure on those Arab State reluctant to join the U.S. aggressive organization. At the same time the rulers of the U.S.A. were also taking advantage of the strategic situation of Pakistan by converting it into an American air base for launching military attacks against the Soviet Union and China and for a military encirclement of India and partly of Burma.

The paper further writes that it was difficult to believe that the U.S.A. was concluding that alliance for her "defence." "No one would believe that the security of the United States calls for bases on the territory of another country many thousands of miles away."

The paper warns Pakistan that U.S. military "assistance" was always accompanied with violation of the sovereignty of the countries receiving assistance. Western Europe, Latin-America, and Australia provided many instances of that fact. There was no possibility either of the solution of Pakistan's financial and economic problems with U.S. aid.

The conclusion of the U.S.-Pakistan military alliance would greatly strain Indo-Pak relations and would accentuate the crisis over the Kashmir question. "It would be a disastrous error to think that the United States is giving 'support' to Pakistan on the Kashmir question by a military alliance with Pakistan. With such an alliance the United States would further encroach into Kashmir arrogating to itself this important strategic base near China and the Soviet Union. Thus conclusion of a U.S.-Pakistan military alliance would be calamitious both to Pakistan and to India."

The people of China was also following those talks very closely beause if military bases were set up in Pakistan, which was close to the South-Western border of China, her frontiers would be menaced. "The people of China," writes the paper, "will not regard with indifference the American plan to set up military bases in that area and turn it into a hotbed of war and a source of international disputes."

N.N.R.C. Commission Report

The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea forwarded a report on December 27 to the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers Command and the United Nations Command. The report had been adopted by a majority vote, India, Czechoslovakia and Poland voting in favour and Switzerland and Sweden abstaining. The minority report submitted to the Commission by the latter two countries was also being forwarded to the two Commands.

PTI reports: "The majority report said that it could not record a finding that North Korean and Chinese POWs in the custody of the NNRC in the southern camp were completely free from the influence of the former detaining side (the U. N. Command) and in particular of the authorities of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), whose incursions made it impossible for the Commission to come to any other conclusion.

"'The Commission also became aware of the fact that the prisoners delivered by the U.N. Command were well-organized. The main object of such organization was to resist repatriation and to prevent such prisoners as desired repatriation from exercising their right.'

"'In pursuance of this objective, force was being resorted to by one set of prisoners against another with the result that any prisoner who desired repatriation had to do so clandestinely and in fear of his life.'

"Referring to the procedure for explanations, the report said: 'The conceptions of the two Commands about the conduct of explanations were so divergent that no common basis could be found for the Commission's guidance. The Commission had, therefore, to exercise its own independent judgment in elaborating such rules of procedure as would ensure strict fulfilment of the terms of reference, having regard to the state of affairs prevailing within the prisoners' camps and the lack of understanding displayed by the prisoners about the entire explanation work.

"As soon as the Commission adopted its rules of procedure governing the explanations, the U.N. Command lodged a formal protest against them, while the KPA and CPV Command generally agreed with these rules, although it made a number of critical observations concerning some decisions.

"'The Commission also noted that the U.N. Command's views coincided with those held by 'the representatives' of the prisoners who continued to display hostility to the conduct of explanations'."

The Commission further reports that when on October 15, the explanations began the Chinese and Korean prisoners under U.N. Command had refused to come out of their compounds even after the Commission had assured them that they would not be coerced in any way and those who did not wish to be repatriated would be brought back to their respective compounds. This refusal of the prisoners to come to the explanation tents confronted the Commission with the prospect of getting them out by the use of force which would probably have resulted in about 300 or 400 casualties.

The Commission had been divided on the question of use of force to compel the prisoners to come out of their compounds. The Chairman of the Commission, as the Executive Agent, had felt that without the unanimous backing of all the members of the Commission, force could not be used and consequently the Commander of the custodian forces had suspended operations and had given up attempts to bring the Korean prisoners out of their compound by the use of force.

The report says: "The Indian delegation was of the view that it could not accept the assertion that the prisoners had already made up their minds. This was contrary to the facts. Its acceptance would have frustrated the very basis of the Commission which was charged with the responsibility of helping to ascertain, in accordance with the terms of reference, the true decisions of the prisoners on the question of repatriation.

"The conduct of explanations was one of the fundamental and essential functions of the Commission and constituted its most important responsibility. Opposition by prisoners to the discharging of these functions and responsibilities of the Commission was unlawful both under the terms of reference and the rules of procedure. Consequently, force could be used to overcome that opposition.

"The Indian delegation felt that the terms of reference were no impediment to the use of force." But in view of the likelihood of a heavy casualty, the Indian delegation felt that the Executive Agent should have the unanimous authorization and support of the Commission and that the members should be ready to face the consequences arising out of the use of any force. But that support had been clearly lacking. The Swiss member of the Commission had stated that his Government would have to consider its very participation in the work of the Commission if force was used to compel prisoners to attend explanations.

In the circumstances, the Commission had given up the idea of using force and instead resorted to the only other course open to it—Persuasion.

The report recounts the repeated and lengthy interruptions in the explanation work. It adds that during the few days that explanations had been held, the Commission had observed a pattern of uniformity in the behaviour of the prisoners in the explanation tents. The prisoners had been normal and quiet when they were being brought to the explanation tents but within the tents a majority had become violent and had used the same language and had shouted the same slogans. The custodian force had posted three unarmed men within each explanation tent but while they could help to ensure order and discipline they had been unable to stop shouting. Only a minority, those who had sought repatriation and those who instead of shouting had sought to enter into a political debate with the explaining representatives, had showed an exception to that pattern.

The Commission could not assess the number ot prisoners who had been prevented from exercising their right of repatriation through fear and it was also not possible to state that all those who had refused to be repatriated had done so "freely and voluntarily and not because of certain fears inculcated in their minds over a period of time," the report adds.

"The Commission recognised that human beings reduced to live under the conditions of POW camps must have some sort of organizations voluntarily created for recreational and intellectual purposes. But the Commission entertained most serious doubts whether the organizations it had to deal with were of such voluntary character. Close and continuous intervention of outside influences lent confirmation to the doubts of the Commission.

"Indeed, the Commission itself was subject to a regime of threats and intimidations by the Republic of Korea, adding further to its difficulties."

In the POW camps acts of violence had been committed against those who had desired to exercise their right of repatriation. A number of murders had also been committed and attempts to investigate them had met with resistance from the "representatives of prisoners." A number of violent and hostile demonstrations had been staged in hospitals by the POWs.

The report concludes : "The Commission could not deal with the situation without resort to force, which it was most reluctant to do. The state of affairs in the camps was certainly not conducive to implementation of the terms of reference."

Bermuda Talks

The meeting of the leaders of the three big Western Powers at Bermuda from December 4 to 8 aroused much interest in diplomatic and political circles. But even before the meeting took place knowledgeable circles had been pessimistic about the possibilities of the meeting. French reaction had been that the Bermuda talks would be used to coerce the French into agreeing to ratify the European Defence Community Pact.

The only positive outcome of the conference has been the Western acception of the Soviet offer for a meeting in Berlin of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., France, U.K. and U.S.S.R. to discuss the problems of Germany.

The final communique of the conference was designed to convey the impression of unity of the Western Powers but observers openly commented upon the disagreements of policy between the Big Three. The *Times'* Paris correspondent reported on December 8 that French feelings about the Bermuda Conference and its final communique were somewhat mixed. The *Times* writes : "All observers agree the final communique is even more arid and uninteresting than documents which usually emerge from such meetings.

"Many of the French correspondents reporting from Bermuda have echoed rumours of Anglo-American differences about the true nature of Soviet intentions and about Far Eastern policy, and there have also been reports of alleged British discourtesies to M. Laniel." (*Statesman,* December 10).

Washington Press wrote of U.S. pressure on Britain to make concessions to Egypt in the suspended talks on the Suez Canal base. The Foreign office in London, of course, denied it.

On December 17, Sir Winston Churchill, the British Premier, did indeed admit in the House of Commons that, to quote him, "there have been some divergences of policy between the Western Powers," when they had discussed "current difficulties" in the Far East and South-East Asia at the Three-Power Bermuda Conference.

And within a week of the issue of the final communique of the Bermuda Conference, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles was heard to be threatening France with an "agonising reappraisal" of U.S. policy if the former failed to ratify the European Defence Community. The Secretary of State was supported by the President himself two days later. *Reuter* reported from Paris on December 16 that Atlantic Pact Ministers were meeting in Paris "for secret informal discussions on problems which included Franco-American tension over delays in fulfilling the European Army plan."

In the light of these developments it is clear that the main object of Bermuda Conference of patching up the differences amongst the Western Powers (what else could have been the object of such discussions? The Western Powers could have resorted to normal diplomatic consultations for agreeing to accept the Soviet invitation ; such a conference was clearly not required for that. Moreover, the Soviet offer came only on November 27, but the decision to hold the conference had been decided upon much earlier), have not been a success.

The Struggle for Soviet Succession

One searches history in vain for a case of a peaceful and bloodless succession to a dictator who has climbed to power by force and based his rule upon force without troubling to restore the ruptured fabric of legitimacy. When Caesar was assassinated, the triumvirate that followed tore the Roman Empire apart. The Directory that succeeded the terror of Robespierre was dislodged by Napoleon, who wrestled all his days with the problem of restoring legitimacy, only to end them on St. Helena. Hitler's Reich perished in a flaming bunker in Berlin and Mussolini's Imperium Romanum did not outlast his destruction. There had been disorder and panic when Mussolini and Hitler died, for the lack of a procedure for the succession to a dictator was further accentuated by the invading armies closing in on the rubble of their cities. But the disorder and panic which Stalin's comrades speak of springs not from such external events but from their hearts and the essence of their system. A system that is based upon an unending war "on all existing conditions and institutions," an unending war upon their own people and upon all other peoples, cannot develop a legitimacy. The word "panic" escaping the lips of the rulers of Russia betrays a fear that is ineradicably in their hearts; they fear the prostrate people over whom they rule, they fear the outside world which they plan to conquer, and they fear each other. That is why Beria, the No. 2 of the Triumvirate, became traitor overnight and was executed.

The Soviet Government is not a government by Soviets. The people have long ceased to elect or recall "Deputies." The Soviets have long ceased to elect their leaders or decide anything. Nor is the Soviet Government a party Government either. Party life ceases as soon as there is only one party and no opposition.

As the Soviets have long ceased to decide anything or select their leaders and officials, so the Party has long ceased to decide anything or select its leaders. What was once a party has become a "transmission belt" (the words are Stalin's) to convey and enforce the will of the leaders upon the masses. Both decision and personnel selection are from the top downward; a military-ideological, organizational apparatus, a pyramidal power structure culminating in what Max Weber has called a charismatic leader.

On the surface everything seems designed to last for ever and to insure a simple, quiet, peaceful succession. Was ever such monopoly of power wielded by so perfectly organised a mechanism? Thirty-six years of continuity in government. Thirty years of continuity of personal leadership in the person of the all-wise, all-powerful *Vozhd.* Over a third of a century of uninterrupted happiness of the people, of non-existence of opposition. More than that two decades of unanimous decisions on everything. Not the unity of human beings, but the unity of a monolith. Where is there a crevice in which might sprout the seedcorn of doubt, much less of disorder and panic? The Leader controlled the Politburo so long that at the Nineteenth Congress (October 1952) he could abolish it altogether in favour of a diffuse body so large and scattered that it could not be called upon to make day-to-day decisions. The Central Committee had long before been made into such a body.

The chain of command was so clear: the Leader controlling the Politburo, the Politburo controlling the Central Committee, the Central Committee controlling the Party. And the Party, in turn, controls an imposing apparatus of police, army, bureaucracy, press, radio, meeting halls, streets, schools, buildings, churches, factories, farms, unions, arts, sciences, everything. A ready-made machine, the greatest power machine in all history. Yet the first words of the orphaned heirs on the death of the Dictator are not human words of sorrow but ominous words about "disorder and panic" and "vigilance and uncompromising struggle against the inner and outer foe."

In all this mighty machine there is oppressive quiet, but no peace to ensure a peaceful succession. There is a multitude of laws, but no legality to provide a legal and legitimate succession. Lenin tried to prepare a "legal" and "peaceful" succession. Recognizing that he had acquired enormous personal authority, that perhaps willing it consciously, he had dwarfed the Party and its leading bodies and become a personal dictator, Lenin began to fear that his lieutenants would tear each other to pieces if any one of them tried to become a Vladimir Ilyich the Second. With no clear understanding of the dynamics of the totalitarian process he had set in motion, he sought to re-establish the moribund authority of at least one "collegial" body, the Politburo. His Testament proposed a collective leadership in which all his close lieutenants, working together, would replace him and together rule. For this purpose the Testament was carefully constructed, with a warning of the "danger of a split in the Party," with an adverse judgement on each of his associates to keep him from thinking that he was big enough to rule alone, and a word of praise for each of them, to indicate that none should be eliminated.

Collective leadership is difficult at best, but without democracy it is impossible. Where there is no constitutional rule for collective procedure, where in all fields there is dictatorship, where force settles all things, where opposition is not part of the game of politics but something to be eliminated and crushed, the whole momentum of the State and the system drives relentlessly towards personal dictatorship. So it was with Lenin; so it was with Mussolini; so it was with Hitler; and so it was with Stalin.

Even before Lenin was dead, Stalin began "disloyally" to gather into his hands the reins of power. The dying Dictator, speechless now from his third stroke, yet managed to add a codicil to his will: "Stalin is too rude, and his fault becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position. . . ." But Lenin's Will could not prevail against Stalin's will and the innate dynamics of the machine which Lenin himself had set in motion. Stalin did not even permit it to be published in the Soviet Union. Precisely because Stalin did not possess Lenin's moral authority over his associates, he found it necessary to use more physical power. Unlike Lenin, Stalin could not win by debate. His method was to enlarge the organizational manoeuvres and frame-ups which were already a part of Lenin's techniques, to compel his opponents to besmirch themselves morally by repeated "confessions." Then he killed them.

Lavrenti Beria seemed to be on his way out at the moment of Stalin's death. For more than a decade a favourite of Stalin's, he had first run Georgia as head of the Georgian police, and then to all-Union Security Chief. In 1946, after the post had been divided into two, a Minister of State Security and a Minister of the Interior, Beria was relieved of direct responsibility for either, and elevated to Deputy Premier "to devote full time to his main work." People assumed that the main work was either atomic energy and atomic espionage, or over-all supervision of both security forces. Beria's men were put in charge of both, as earlier his men had been put in charge of Georgia when he left for Moscow.

The first visible sign of Beria's decline was a large-scale purge of his appointees in his native Georgia during 1952. Mgeladze, an anti-Beria man, became First Secretary of the Georgian Party, and with the assistance of Police chief Rukhadze "crushed in a Stalinist manner" many lesser leaders. Stalin, as was his fashion, forced Beria to discredit himself with his own followers by sanctioning these purges. At the nineteenth Congress in October 1952, Stalin eliminated Beria's man, Abakumov, Minister of State Security of the USSR., from his party and government posts. And on January 13, 1953, the lightning struck again. After patient preparation by Stalin and Malenkov, it was announced that the top Kremlin doctors were "poisoners," and that the deaths of Shcherkov and Zhdanov, which had occurred while Beria was still a power in the Secret Police, were brought on by the doctor-poisoners. All this had happened because the Security Forces were guilty of "lack of vigilance." Things began to look ominous for Beria.

As a cerebral hemorrhage saved Stalin when Lenin was about to remove him as General Secretary in 1923, so death intervened to save Beria on March 5, 1953. The very next day, the Ministries of State Security and the Interior were recombined into one, and Lavrenti Beria's hand closed firmly on the mighty power lever. Beria was one of the three speakers at Stalin's funeral. It was he who made the nomination of Malenkov as Premier. On March 21, Malenkov resigned the post of Secretary through which Stalin had paved his way to power. But Beria had two serious handicaps to overcome. First of these was the unpopularity that has always clung to the head of the Secret Police. Beria's speeches began to include a vow to protect the civil rights of the Soviet citizen and uphold the Constitution. On March 28, a sweeping amnesty of petty offenders was proclaimed, and the Penal Code was ordered revised "within 60 days."

On April 3, the "doctors' plot" was declared a frame-up, the anti-Beria police leaders held responsible, and placed under arrest. In the name of undoing an injustice, a counter-purge thus got under way. On April 6, Semyon D. Ignatiev, whom Stalin and Malenkov had put into the post of Minister of State Security when Beria was losing his grip, and whom Malenkov had just made a Party Secretary, was accused of "political blindness and gullibility." On April 7, his ousting was announced.

One week later, on April 14, Beria struck back in Georgia. Secretary Mgeladze, Security Minister Rukhadze and "their accomplices" were charged with having framed up innocent Georgian leaders, "trampled down the rights of Soviet citizens," extracted "false confessions by impermissible means" (torture), "cooked up charges of non-existent nationalism," and shown themselves to be "enemies of the people." The accused were rehabilitated and restored to their posts. That same day, new police chiefs were appointed in virtually all the Republics of the Soviet Union. All published names seemed to be Russian, regardless of the nationality involved, and many of them were known Beria men.

The other obstacle to Beria's rise to absolute power was more insurmountable because it was intangible. Like Stalin, he was a Georgian. The once internationalistic Communist Party has long been playing with the fire of Great Russian nationalism and chauvinism. Now if a second Georgian from an obscure conquered province succeeds the first, the Great Russians will ask: "Are there no Russians left to rule over the Russian land?" It became impossible for a man labouring under the double handicap of Police Chief and Georgian immediately to lay open claim to the apostolic succession.

The Secret Police has its tentacles everywhere, in every factory, in every kolkhoz, in every Party organization. But the Party, too, has its cells everywhere, even in the Secret Police. The Army is riddled with Party agents and Secret Police agents and has been the most jealously watched power instrument of all. It was built by Trotsky who died in exile with a pickaxe blow in the back of his head. It was mechanised by Tukhachevsky who fell in the blood purges along with virtually the entire General Staff. Thereafter it bore a deep grudge against the Secret Police and it became easy for Malenkov to play up the Army leaders against Beria.

Problems of Private Enterprise

Planned economy and private enterprise have hitherto been regarded as quite incompatible and India's is perhaps the first experiment in introducing planning in a mixed economy. The result has been as is usual under the circumstances—the persistent conflict between the private and public sectors, between Government outlook and private capitalists' outlook. Now the problem is how to maintain the balance. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the last annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce raises more issues than solves them and he did not give specific relies to the specific issues raised by the President of the Chamber.

Pandit Nehru said that industrialists in India should approach their labour problems with a human touch and make workers feel they were partners in industrial undertakings. A human approach, he said, meant that managements should take workers into confidence. Such an approach, he believed, would improve employer-labour relations and result in a greater return from workers. He asked employers to think how far they were deliberately applying this human touch in their factories and workshops and how far they had made workers feel they were partners of the undertakings which they served. The Prime Minister said he was always in favour of the promotion of healthy trade union activity. He was against formation of bogus trade unions and against splitting up trade unions by employers. It was always far better for industrialists to have well-organised and disciplined trade unions than to have conflicting group of workers. He had no doubt that, if employers dealt with workers satisfactorily and took them into their confidence, their co-operation with the management would grow.

Pandit Nehru thinks trade unions had the right to strike but in the present circumstances the methods of settling disputes through strikes and lockouts should be considered out of date. The Government did not support attempts to resolve industrial disputes by strikes and lockouts, which involve wastage of national wealth. The parties should endeavour to settle their disputes by mutual agreement. In the absence of mutual agreement, disputed issues should be settled by arbitration by a third party, or through tribunals. It was sometimes said that tribunals were not functioning properly and that they should be abolished. Was it reasonable to suggest that the judiciary should be abolished because it had not given justice to this party or that? The most rational approach would be to suggest changes for improving the working of tribunals. They should always see that there was no upheaval and that the economic structure of the country as a whole was not upset.

The subject of labour relations also figured prominently in the speech of Mr. Pakes, President of the Chamber. Mr. Pakes pointed out that in this sphere there were many impediments to the more rapid expansion of industry in the private sector and to the flow of capital therein. Although he is not opposed to the degree of regulation implied in a dual economy, he, however, maintains that it is idle to hope that capital would happily flow in "under conditions in which an expanding or new industrial establishment may find itself totally unable, in times of recession, to shed its surplus labour, even on the most generous terms of compensation; in which technological improvements are impeded by the clamour against the resultant temporary retrenchment; in which rising wage levels and bonus awards imposed from outside sap the capacity of Indian industry to supply the home and external markets at reasonable and competitive prices." It is this aspect of the labour situation which is said, above all, to repel new enterprise and expansion.

Another aspect of labour relations to which Mr. Pakes referred was in connection with wages. He maintained that wages must be related to production and no increase in living standards of either the industrial workers or the masses as a whole could be achieved merely by raising the wages.

As regards the desirability of human approach to the workers in the factory, it is pointed out by Sri Homi Mody, that Pandit Nehru and many of his colleagues do not seem to have realised the basic fact that undue regimentation of labour-capital relations is not calculated to bring about mutual understanding. On the contrary, it will continue to keep the two sides indefinitely at arm's length. The famous "Giri Approach" was regarded as an indication of Government's awareness of this situation. But unfartunately Government has now discarded it, with Mr. Giri himself losing faith in the stand he advocated and Mr. Nehru making the suggestion as to the need for the Government to act as a third party to arbitrate in the disputes between workers and employers.

As regards the question of retrenchment, Pandit Nehru was rather vague. He said he was not opposed to retrenchment where it was necessary. He did not suggest that the textile or any other industry should carry on with "useless staff." He, however, wants that social reasons had to be taken into consideration while resorting to retrenchment, and a situation should not be created which would cause new difficulties or further complicate the existing ones. Labour-capital relation is a social need and should be viewed from the standpoint of social welfare. In the wider perspective, capitalists are not the exclusive owners, nor the interest of the labour is the only national interest. Wider social welfare should be the aim of all. The nineteenth century pattern of individual liberty has no basis in a modern welfare state and the interests of the capital is controlled by the interests of the society. An industrial concern should be viewed as a joint partnership of both labour and capital and either party should look to the interests of the other. From this viewpoint, the claim of the capital to use the "axe" whenever it so likes, is untenable. The question of surplus staff is not a matter of opinion, but a fact to be judged on each individual circumstances and it is a dangerous proposition to leave the matter entirely to the discretion of the capital.

Dealing with the point raised by the President of the

Association regarding the present taxation structure, Pandit Nehru said the Taxation Inquiry Commission, which was examining the matter in all its aspects would certainly take into consideration the suggesions made on behalf of the Association and other bodies. In his opinion, the progress and development of the country could not be financed by taxation alone. Taxation could not be meant only for helping the Government in carrying on its business. If they wanted to go ahead with industrialisation, they must take recourse to borrowing.

The object of taxation, as he understood it, was to equalize incomes and reduce big disparities of wealth. The income-tax, super-tax and other taxes all had this object. In India today, disparities in wealth are "terrific." However much such an economic system had endured in the past, the condition brought about by the modern social outlook would not allow it to exist further.

Referring to the profit motive, the Prime Minister emphasized that the Government were faced with entirely new problems in a new age which was changing very rapidly. They no doubt wanted industries to flourish and to have the incentive of making profit but within certain limitations. He refused to believe that human beings were such that, unless there was a profit-making incentive, they would not function properly. To suggest that would be doing great injustice to them. Many great inventions in the world were made not because of this incentive but because of some other ideals. They should think of the dynamic world and of dynamic India as it was today and put their heart into the new adventure of building India.

All income is a social product and the distribution must be socially determined. But where for some reason or other reliance is placed on private enterprise, the different concepts of income may be relevant and the reduction of the difference is essential.

Unfortunately, however, the Indian labour is lacking a most essential thing and it is the want of social welfare outlook. Sacrificing the greater interests of the country, they are today more inclined to party conflicts and their outlook is confined to group interests. While the cost of Indian labour is generally high, his efficiency is much inferior to that of Britain, America and Japan. The problem of Indian labour is his low productivity with high cost. The demand of Indian labour sometimes reaches such a height that it becomes impossible for capital alone to come to a settlement, unless the State intervenes. But State intervention sometimes makes the thing worse, as in the case of the Burnpur strike. The attitude of Indian labour is "all benefits, no liability." They should be reminded that in Soviet Russia strike means exile or liquidation. In that country labour strike is something incomprehensible as in the economic and political system of Russia the right of labour to resort to strike is non-existent. But that does not of course mean that there is no poverty among the labouring folk in Russia.

Government policy is often misleading and unhelpful to industry. The forced reduction in textile production is an example that the Government do not always look to the interest of the people at large. A conservative and sectional view is forced on the producers and the consumers as well against strong opposition both in the Legislatures and outside. The cotton textile industry is being told to make not what it thought the consumer wanted nor yet what the consumer thinks he wants, but the Government thought, some years ago for reasons which no longer held good, it would be administratively convenient to allow the consumer have. The argument that production control ensured minimum standards of quality did not hold good, for in the buyers' market the discriminating purchaser himself acted as a reliable and satisfactory form of control. A relatively small measure of temporary unemployment now will only help to ensure a much larger measure of permanent unemployment.

Shipping Target

The progress of the Indian shipping industry is progressively falling behind the schedule. With a coastline of about 4,000 miles, India is well placed to be the centre of an expanding volume of trade with a number of countries in Asia and the need for a well-developed shipping industry for the country is obvious. Apart from strategic considerations, which require a vigorous shipping policy, the fact that of the Rs. 1,000-crore value of India's foreign trade and Rs. 100-crore value of coastal trade, only a small fraction is carried in Indian bottoms, emphasises the need for giving top priority to the development of the mercantile marine.

Influenced by these considerations the Shipping Policy Sub-Committee (1947) recommended a target of at least two million tons in five or seven years; even then, India would have only 2 per cent of world's shipping tonnage. This target was considered necessary in order to enable the country to carry "100 per cent of the purely coastal trade of India, 75 per cent of India's trade with Burma and Ceylon and with the geographically adjacent countries, 50 per cent of India's distant trades and 30 per cent of the trades carried in Asian vessels of the Orient." The Government of India also approved this objective. But it is now being realised that both the target for shipping and the objectives of the shipping will remain unrealised even in the distant future.

When the Planning Commission came to consider the matter, it fixed the target for shipping at a very modest level of 600,000 tons, as against the then previously accepted 2 million ton target. The Commission have fixed a target of 315,000 tons for coastal shipping and 283,000 tons for overseas shipping; the tonnage now engaged in these two sections of trade is about 211,000 tons and 173,000 tons respectively. In order to increase the tonnage employed in the coastal and overseas trade, the Commission provided for loans to the tune of Rs. 4 crores and Rs. 6½ crores, respectively; the Companies were expected to provide Rs. 2 crores and Rs. 2.2

crores, respectively, from their own finances. The Planning Commission also assumed that the Hindusthan Shipyard would be able to make available during the period of the Plan about 100,000 tons, of which 60,000 tons could be utilised for replacement of obsolete tonnage and the balance for providing additional tonnage for coastal trade.

These calculations have been wrong and the expectations did not materialise. At the recent meeting of the Consultative Committee of Shipowners, two important matters were discussed. One was the acquisition of additional shipping tonnage during the period of the Five-Year Plan, and the other was the building up of a nucleus of a tanker fleet.

It may be recalled that the coastal trade has been reserved since 1950. But even today a number of ships has to be chartered to meet the demands of the trade. The Planning Commission has therefore laid down that it is essential to place an additional 175,000 gross registered tons on the coast and in the adjacent trades. This will include 60,000 gross registered tonnage for replacing old, obsolete and economically unserviceable ships.

As regards the overseas trades, the Planning Commission has estimated that the acquisition of 40,000 gross registered tonnage will enable the Eastern Shipping Corporation to fulfill its obligation in the African and the Far Eastern waters, and 70,000 tons for the Scindia and the India Steamship Companies will enable them to carry out their existing commitments in their overseas services between India and the USA, and between India and the UK and the Continent. The Planning Commission was therefore not imbued with any high idealism, but was moved by the consideration for immediate needs. The Commission was no doubt aware of the fact that India's existing tonnage was only half percent of the world's total tonnage, but unfortunately it has not paid due consideration for the race for acquiring additional tonnage. As a result, India's role as a maritime power has ceen ignored.

There are three possible ways in which India's tonnage could be raised : (1) to place new orders, (2) to buy ships under construction for other customers who are willing to dispose of their right to ownership ; and (3) to buy second-hand ships. As regards placing new orders, Germany is said to be quoting favourable terms. The U.K. delivery date is much longer, and Japan offers earliest delivery with high prices. The second alternative may bring earlier delivery, but prices are not always ettractive. The third course left is to buy second-hand ships so as to reach the target without much delay. Any way, all these possible courses should be tapped in order to raise our shipping tonnage.

According to the estimate of the Planning Commission, the acquisition of 275,000 gross registered tonnage (165,000 g.r.t. for the coastal and the adjacent trades, and 110000 g.r.t. for the overaseas trades), will require finance to the extent of nearly Rs. 29.7 crores.

To meet the requirements of the coastal trade, four ships aggregating 20,000 g.r.t. have already been constructed and delivered since the beginning of the Plan. These have been built by the Hindusthan Shipyard at a total cost of Rs. 2.11 crores. Further, the shipyard have also launched two more ships totalling 10,000 g.r.t. and these will be delivered early next year. Shipowners have contracted to purchase these two ships at Rs. 1.18 crores. The Hindusthan Shipyard has also received orders for five cargo ships and will shortly book an order for one passenger vessel. Their total tonnage will be 25,500 g.r.t. and they will be delivered within the Plan period. These will be purchased by the shipowners at a price of Rs. 5.65 crores. The Vishakhapatnam Shipyard will thus build and deliver 12 ships during the period of the Plan for coastal trade with a total tonnage of 55,500 g.r.t. at a cost of about Rs. 8.94 crores.

As regards the overseas trades, the Hindusthan Shipyard has received orders from the Eastern Shipping Corporation for the construction of two ships of nearly 11,200 g.r.t. The Corporation has also placed orders with a German firm for a ship of about 7,200 g.r.t. Their total cost will be nearly Rs. 3.08 crores. The Vishakhapatnam Shipyard will thus construct 14 ships during the Plan period—12 for the coastal trade and two for the overseas trades—the total tonnage being 66,700 g.r.t.

The Government of India has provided for loans to the extent of Rs. 10½ crores to the shipowners. But it is regrettable that even this amount has not been utilised in full by the shipping industry. Apart from the provision of loans for Rs. 10½ crores under "shipping," the Government of India has also provided Rs. 4.51 crores under "shipbuilding," or, nearly Rs. 15 crores in all to be advanced to shipowners by way of loans. The terms of the Government loans are somewhat stringent. Loans will have to be repaid within ten years, the rate of interest for the loans to be advanced for the purchase of coastal ships being 4½ per cent, and for the overseas ships being 2½ per cent. The industry, however, estimates that the total cost for constructing or acquiring 275,000 g.r.t. will be nearly Rs. 39 crores and the estimate of the Planning Commission in this respect is much too modest.

Pandit Nehru in his speech at the opening of the Marine Engineering Institute expressed his disatisfaction at the meagre nature of the provision for deep sea and Coastal Vessels in the Five-Year Plan. We hope he will press for the finding of ways and means to enlarge the scope.

Cottage Match Industry

The *Harijan,* quoting a bulletin of A.-I. Khadi and Village Industries Board, reports that two big concerns —WIMCO and National Match Factory—practically monopolised the match production in India. Those factories produced about 79 per cent of the matches consumed in India and nearly 200 factories produced the rest (21 per cent).

The small factories, run on cottage industry lines, were confronted with a number of difficulties, among which mention might be made of the difficulty in getting certain types of supplies which were under the control of the large-scale factories. In addition, those factories were not properly organised and had to pay a higher price for the raw materials purchased. They also lacked an efficient agency to push their sales. These factors combined to weaken their competitive power and they had to undersell their products. Moreover, the excise restrictions also proved too difficult of fulfilment by the small industries.

In a recent meeting the Common Production Committee of the Board had reviewed the situation and had suggested ways and means for the development of the small-scale and Cottage Match Indutsry, the report adds.

The review disclosed that five factories owned by WIMCO were now producing 80 per cent of India's match supply and in the course of the last three years 72 factories had to close down on account of the keen competition and powerful marketing machinery of the WIMCO.

The *Harijan* further reports :

"The Committee classified the match industry into four categories, A, B, C & D. Those match factories which produce more than 5 lakh grosses of match boxes yearly were put in class A. Factories producing 5 lakhs and less were placed in class B. Class C and D factories were defined as those producing 100 and 25 grosses match boxes every day. The Committee recommended that a cess of annas 4½ per gross of match boxes be levied on A class match factories. For the other classes subsidy was recommended at annas 1½ to B class factories, 4½ annas to C class and 6 annas to D class factories per gross of match boxes. According to the Committee, the cost of production for the village match industry would not be more than that for the large-scale industry. India requires about 36 crores of match boxes every month. The village match manufacturing industry in the first year would provide employment to nearly five thousand workmen in the country and help to relieve to that extent the unemployment problem."

Palm Gur Industry

The palm gur industry in India had originally been confined to only three States, *viz.*, Madras, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal. But as a result of the help of the Central Government extended in the form of grant of subsidies and provision of technical guidance since 1948, production was now going on in fourteen States.

The industry produced about nine lac maunds of gur annually and provided jobs for about two lacs of persons. About 35,000 more persons were likely to find employment as a result of increased production on account of the execution of the development schemes in various States, taken in hand in 1953-54.

Experience had shown that only quantitative increase in production was not enough for development of the industry without a simultaneous improvement in the quality of the product. Accordingly, certain emphasis had been laid on that aspect in the development schemes in Madras, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal.

Production had not been more encouraging "for certain handicaps caused occasionally by delay in the grant of permission to tap the trees in dry areas because of prohibition and in wet areas because of the fear of loss of excise revenue," reports the *Harijan* quoting a bulletin issued by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

World Rice Position

A preliminary estimate of the U.S. Department of Agriculture indicates that world production of rice in 1953-54 (August-July) would be slightly higher than in the preceding year. In 1953-54, world harvest of rough rice was forecast at 359,000 million pounds, compared with 357,000 million pounds in 1952-53 and 335,000 million in the average pre-war year.

Production was likely to be higher in almost every area of the Far East including India, Indo-China, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Pakistan and the Philippines. Increased production was also expected in the U.S.A., Cuba, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Colombia and Venezuela. In 1953, Japan's rice crop was the smallest in many years. The current Japanese harvest of rough rice was estimated at 21,996 million pounds, compared with 27,188 million pounds in 1952. Floods and typhoons which had caused considerable damage to Japanese crops, were responsible for this sharp fall in Japanese production.

In many parts of the world acreage under rice had been increased.

The Foreign Agricultural Service (F.A.S.) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture says that South-east Asia would have for export in 1954 quantities of rice sharply above those of the year before, and considerably larger than in any year since World War II. In its weekly report in the second week of December the F.A.S. estimated the export surplus of Burma and Thailand at about four million metric tons. Exportable surplus from Indo-China would amount to several lacs of tons.

The report saya : "Rice markets in South-east Asia are reported at a virtual standstill at the present time, with all importing countries except Japan having good rice crops—a rare occurrence. There is no surplus of good quality rice, however, and present sales are having little or no effect on demand for rice from the United States."

Abolition of Upper Houses

The Bombay Legislative Assembly passed a resolution unanimously on Dec. 14 recommending to the Parliament to enact a law abolishing the Upper House—the Bombay Legislative Council, the abolition to come into force after the expiry of the term of the present council. All the parties—Congress, Communist, Praja-Socialist and Peasants' and Workers'—supported the motion.

The original motion tabled by a Congress member Mr. L. D. Kothavale had urged for immediate abolition of the Chamber. But the House accepted an amendment moved by Mr. M. C. Parekh (Congress) providing for abolition to be effective after the expiry of the term of the present Council in 1955.

Article 169 of the Indian Constitution provided that Parliament might by law provide for the abolition of the Legislative Council of a State having a bicameral system of legislature, if the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned had passed a resolution to that effect by a majority of the total membership of the Assembly and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Assembly being present and voting.

Speaking on the motion Mr. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, said that while the Government did not want to influence the decision of the members he would remind the members that the Government of India was soon going to set up a High-Powered Commission to examine the entire question of the reorganisation of States. He presumed that Parliament would certainly await the views of the Commission on the system of legislatures in the new States to be formed. Therefore, it would be wise to retain the Upper House until the expiry of its present term. In this connection he suggested that Parliament might consider the views of other States before taking a final decision on the matter.

The resolution had been initiated by the Bombay Congress Legislature Party on a directive from the Congress High Command.

At present only Bihar, Madras, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bombay had be-cameral legislatures. The newly created Andhra State had no provision for a second Chamber. A move was already on foot for the abolition of the upper house in Madras.

The *Hitavada,* in an editorial article, welcomes the lead given by the Bombay Legislative Assembly for the abolition of the Upper Chamber, which the paper describes as a "drag on democracy." Public opinion had opposed the creation of upper Chambers in certain provinces even at the time of the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly on the matter. The Upper Houses, even the Council of States in New Delhi had no real power. The creation of a large number of legislators leading to the appointment of an army of ministers presented a threat to the democratic set-up. The work which many of the legislators did was negligible—but the money spent on them was a great drain on the country's resources. The Upper Houses were only "degnified debating societies without any power to enforce any of their decisions." Even as a forum for the training of future legislators and administrators they had been found wanting. Therefore, in the interest of democracy, the Upper Houses needed to be abolished. The paper trusted that the States of Bihar, Madras, Punjab, the Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal would take the necessary steps to get rid of their legislative encumbrances."

Prohibition in Bombay

Dr. T. R. Narvane, Deputy Minister of Prohibition of the Government of Bombay, disclosed in reply to a question on December 14 in the State Legislative Assembly that in 1952-53 60,431 applications for permits to possess and consume liquor had been received. Of those 1,781 had been rejected. He also stated that 58,893 applications had been received in 1950-51 of which 7,107 had been rejected. In 1951-52, out of a total number of 64,725 applications the Government had rejected 3,182. The minister added that 37 Government servants had been granted emergency permits in 1952-53, 28 in 1951-52 and 38 in 1950-51.

The Government could not disclose the names of the Government servants who had been granted liquor permits as it would not be in public interest to do so. In reply to another question by Mr. Tulsidas Jadhav, Dr. Narvane answered that it was not in public interest now to publish the names of the High Court Judges who had been granted liquor permits, the *Bombay Chronicle* reports.

3000 Apply for Jobs in Burma

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports on December 17 that the Burmese Embassy in New Delhi had received approximately 3000 applications from Indian nationals for 160 posts on the staff of the Electricity Supply Board, Union of Burma.

The report adds, "Candidates were required to have diploma and degree courses in mechanical and electrical engineering of a recognised university.

"Among the posts advertised were those of ten superintending engineers, twenty executive engineers, 50 assistant engineers and 80 overseers."

Mr. U. Ba Sein, Chairman of the Electricity Supply Board of Burma and Mr. U. Tun Ohn, Chief Engineer, had interviewed a number of candidates in New Delhi and would interview other batches in Bombay, Bangalore, Madras and Calcutta by January 19, 1954, when they would return to Rangoon.

Workers Buried Alive Near Oil Refinery

Seven labourers, including two women, had been killed on the spot and eight others injured when the top of the Corridor Hill, Ghatkopar-Mahul Road, near the site of the Standard Vacuum and Burma-Shell Oil refineries had collapsed on December 14 burying the workers, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The workers are reported to be part of a 30-strong gang engaged by a local contractor's firm to clear the hill prior to levelling a road and laying down railway track for a siding for the refineries. A waiting motor lorry had also been crushed but the driver had a lucky escape. The Fire Brigade led the rescue operations assisted by men of the Chembur Sub-Police Station.

The report adds: "The hillock was being cut down to prepare a linking road between the two refineries as well as for the railway siding from Kurla to Trombay.

"Though the site where the accident, one of the most tragic in recent years, occurred belongs to the Government it could not be established till late tonight [14.12.53] as to which party, the contracting firm, said to be Messrs. Patel and Motichand, was working for the Stanvac, the Burma-Shell or the Central Railway.

"All these three parties denied that the contracting firm was working for them," it is further stated.

Police Highhandedness in Silchar

The *Chronicle*, 18th December, reports that a public meeting under the auspices of Silchar Merchants' Association had been held on the 16th December at Silchar in protest against the alleged uncalled-for arrest and torture of Shri Bibhuti Bhusan Roy, a leading merchant of Silchar. The meeting had unanimously resolved to observe a complete general strike on the 18th December and to stop contributions to all Government-sponsored funds and also to boycott Government functions till adequate steps redressing the grievances of the business community be taken.

According to the paper, Shri Roy had allegedly been arrested in the evening of 13th December while entering his firm at Central Road, and had been tortured by the police, including the Superintendent of Police himself. The arrest had been made in connection with a reported escape of a person from police custody that evening in front of the business house of Mr. Roy when he had been absent from his firm.

In this connection the reporter of the paper recalled that "last year about this time the present S.P. of Cachar, Shri Lala, had to face severe public condemnation as a sequel to his assaulting an M.E. examinee violating the sanctity of an educational institution."

Incidentally, the following comment in the December 4 issue of the same paper is revealing. The paper writes : "Reported slapping of a Naga Socialist M.P. by the police is condemned. It requires investigation as to what could make the police so much insolent. May we know what action has in this respect been taken ?"

Discrimination Against the Bengali

The *Chronicle* reports on December 4 : "In reply to the demand for recognition of Bengali as a regional language of Assam Circle of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for recruitment and promotion of employees in the Department in the Assam Circle comprising besides the State of Assam, Manipur and Tripura, completely non-Assamese areas, made by the last annual conference of the Union of Post and Telegraph workers, Cachar Branch, the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs Department informs that

> 'Bengali cannot be treated as one of the regional languages of Assam Circle unless it is recognised as a regional language by the Government of Assam'."

In this connection the report refers to the widespread public resentment at this decision prevailing in Cachar, Tripura, Manipur and the hill districts and all other non-Assamese-speaking areas in the Assam Circle of P. & T. Department. In a resume of the relevant facts for consideration in this respect the report says that the Assam Circle did not consist of the State of Assam only. It had within its limits Tripura and Manipur, both non-Assamese-speaking areas and lying beyond the border of the State of Assam.

Even within Assam more than one-third of the population had Bengali as their mother tongue and only less than a third spoke Assamese. There were other tribal languages, such as, Mizo, Khasi, Naga, Manipuri, Garo, etc.

Tripura and Cachar and Goalpara in Assam were compact Bengali-speaking areas. About six lakhs of East Bengal refugees speaking Bengali as their mother tongue were now in Assam.

And even in Assam, Assamese was not a compulsory subject in Matriculation Examination at present and until 1951 many schools in Assam Valley proper also had no arrangement for teaching Assamese. Hindi as an alternative to Assamese was little better. Moreover, no adequate arrangements were there for teaching Hindi widely.

The *Chronicle* in a short comment on December 4, refers to complaints of instances, of flouting the recommendations of the Public Service Commission regarding appointments to different posts. That policy, it was alleged, was being pursued with regard to Bengali candidates in particular and various clever devices had been resorted to with a view to depriving the Bengali candidates of their legitimate claims on the basis of P.S.C. examination results.

The paper deplores this "sad and unfortunate" policy and says that this sort of parochial policy was bound to prove fatal to the collective interest of the State ; and it demands of the Government of Assam an authoritative announcement defining their policy in the matter of the allegations.

Deterioration in Refugee Rehabilitation

The *Chronicle* in an editorial article on December 11, refers to the deterioration of the refugee relief administration in Assam which had been particularly marked since the change-over of the administration from the Centre to the State. The seriousness that one could witness during the Central regime, though that too was considered far short of the demands of the situation, had, "since the change-over, been conspicuous by absence, careless, whimsical, thoughtless and a callous attitude gradually usurping."

The officers, "trained in the British school of colonial service," had in most cases been unable to appreciate the spirit of the age and pursued the old bureaucratic and dilly-dallying approach. The result was that "files multiply files, file-notes assume mounting dimensions, but solution of the problem goes farther every day. Refugees die and suffer like anything."

Meanwhile, the Assam Government's policy of evicting the refugees had asssumed such an alarming proportion that an All-Assam Day protesting against that policy had been observed all over Assam. The paper suggests that the Government of Assam should stop the eviction of the refugees and legalise the refugee settlements. "Public demands it, situation deserves it," the paper comments.

Portuguese Terror in Goa

Under Portuguese administration Goa now presents a virtual reign of terror. In a typically fascist manner the European administrators of Goa were now leading a campaign from behind the scenes to coerce the various village communities there into adopting resolutions of loyalty to the Portuguese administration.

The Bombay correspondent of the *Hindu* reports a case indicating the extent to which official interference and pressure were used by the Goa Government to achieve those ends. He writes : "Dr. Domingos Carneiro Allen, the European Director of Civil Administration, Goa, compelled the village community of Aldona in Bardez to adopt a resolution, at one of their meetings, deciding to hoist the Portuguese flag on the office premises of the community on Sundays and holidays and asking the Government's permission to that effect." (*Hindu,* 13.12.53).

Aldona, one of the largest villages in Bardez, was the home of many wealthy emigrants. Undoubtedly, the correspondent writes, the move was intended to carry the impression that even the emigrants were behind the Portuguese Government.

Before the last elections to the Lisbon Parliament were held in Goa, the Governor-General himself had warned the Regedores (village administrative heads) in Goa to submit statements to the headquarters at Panjim, indicating almost a cent per cent voting in favour of the two unopposed candidates of the Uniao Nacional, Dr. Socrates da Costa and Conego Castilho da Noronha.

After the Government of India had announced the closure of the Indian Legation in Lisbon directives had been issued by the Governor-General in Goa, through the Directorate of Civil Administration, to all the village communities to send telegrams to the Overseas Minister in Portugal, protesting against the "arbitrary step" of the Government of India. The telegrams, in turn, had been published in the local press under official pressure as "spontaneous expressi of loyalty of the people of Goa."

Meanwhile, the Portuguese rulers of Goa we strengthening their military installations and we importing huge quantities of American arms and Neg soldiers from Portuguese East Africa, reports t special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle.* T correspondent adds that the import of huge quantiti of modern American arms, and the boasting of th Portuguese military leaders that with American arm they were now more than a match for India, had prove false the denial of the U.S. Consul in Bombay, M Simpson, who had officially stated that the U.S.A. ha no interest in fortifications or other military prepara tions in Goa.

The African Negro soldiers, most of them very newl recruited and shipped to Goa under incredibly miserab conditions were "part of NATO plans under which th Portuguese Government has undertaken to recruit an train 400,000 African Negroes in a period of four years Goa is accordingly being used as a training camp fo NATO ends and is also incidentally being made to bea the heavy cost of these troops, from out of their own budget even though Portugal is paid for such training through American aid." (*Bombay Chronicle,* 12th December).

Those African troops would also help Portugal to keep the Goanese people under a reign of terror. More troops were expected. Meanwhile, the Goa Government had been quite perturbed at the leakage of its military preparations and had cancelled the usual programme of military parades on November 25, the 'Reconquest of Goa Day,' for fear of corroborating these reports. This Day had hitherto been an annual event of great official pomp and show.

Referring to the conditions in Goa, Prime Minister Nehru said on December 17, "Other steps might follow" in regard to the Portuguese possession in India. He added, "It will not be, if I may say so of a dramatic type which will suddenly burst upon this august world," the *UPI* reports.

British Atrocities in Kenya

Referring to the evidence in the recent trial of Captain Griffiths at Nairobi, which disclosed a horrifying picture of murder and brutality, perpetrated by the British soldiers in Kenya, and which also revealed that members of the Government forces had been offered 5s. for each Mau Mau suspect killed, Mr. Fenner Brockway, a member of the British Parliament, writes in the *Vigil* that those disclosures had "outraged" the "moral conscience of a large section of the British people."

He writes that the evidence given in the trial indicated that the psychology of a section of the white population in Kenya which did not consider the Africans as human beings had obviously spread from the bars of hotels in Nairobi to some army and police officers. "How else," he asks, "could monetary payments be offered for the death of 'suspects'? Not known terrorists, but those suspected of being terrorists."

Such wanton killing of the Africans were being carried out under the Emergency Regulations which permitted "authorised officers" to use force to the extent of "voluntarily causing death." The "authorised officers" as defined by the regulations, meant any member of the armed or police forces, any administrative officer, and even "any game officer or subordinate officer within the meaning of the Wild Animals Protection Ordinance !"

"In fact," writes Mr. Brockway, "this definition covers the greater part of the white male population in Kenya above 18 years of age, as well as the African members of the police and of the home guard."

No wonder that between two to three times as many Mau Mau "suspects" had been *killed* as wounded in Kenya—a fact admitted by no less an authority than Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttleton himself in the House of Commons.

Mr. Brockway lists two difficulties standing in the way of members in raising the question of these atrocities in British Parliament. First, it was difficult to gather witnesses in the case of the dead and in other cases names could not be disclosed lest they should also become the victims of similar fate.

There were instances of the armed forces sighting a group of Africans, who at the very sight of the forces would begin to run away. When they did not stop on being called upon to do so, the officer-in-charge would order his men to open fire. Next morning the Press would report that so many terrorists had been killed. "But more disturbing," continues he, "are the reports which we receive of Africans rooted out of their huts, by night or day, ordered to march forward —and then shot in the back." In this connection Mr. Brockway recounts the story of an African who had been taken out to be shot and had been saved only by the refusal of the ranker in the police to obey the order to fire. A report of that incident had been forwarded to the Colonial Secretary in April, 1953 and no reply was forthcoming, except an acknowledgement that it had been sent to the Governor of Kenya for comment. In August, the Colonial Secretary had stated that the Governor had not yet commented on the report and that he would write to Mr. Brockway after the comment had been received.

Giving a short account of some of the other allegations received by him from suffering Africans, Mr. Brockway concludes with the demand for setting up a dependable Commission of Inquiry to go into the allegations and for the immediate withdrawal of the "Shoot to Kill" ordinance.

Side by side with such outright barbarities is going on an intensely anti-Indian campaign by the European press and public in Kenya, because the Indian people and Government had expressed their disapproval of British Government's policy there. That propaganda had of late been whipped up after the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee (which hardly goes far enough) deprecating the use of heavy bombers in the anti-Mau Mau campaign. The latest outburst has come from Mr. S. V. Cooke, European member of the Legislative Council who said, "I am determined to oppose any proposals designed to lead to Indian participation in the executive Government of this country." He made it clear however that he did not "include the Pakistani in the term Indian." (*Hindu,* 20.12.53).

Summing up the situation in Kenya the Nairobi correspondent of the paper writes: "For long the Indians in Kenya have shared with the Kikuyu people the wrath and distrust of the settlers, and it appears that the two communities are destined to continue being coupled as the twin target of political attack by the Europeans in this colony in the crucial days that lie ahead."

The correspondent, however, refers to the regrettable speeches of two Asians—one by Mr. Ibrahim Nathoo, an Islamic member representing Muslim interests and another by a non-Muslim member, Mr. C. Madan—in support of a vote of thanks to the United Kingdom Government for its £11 million aid to Kenya in course of which they had condemned the Government of India's attitude to and the Congress resolution on Kenya. According to the said correspondent, "So completely was Mr. Nathoo carried away by his emotion that he actually went on to describe Great Britain as his 'mother country'."

It is absolutely needless to comment on this in that in the absence of such boot-licking sychophants no foreign country could have ever been able to dominate another. No word of condemnation would be enough for them.

Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement

An Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed in New Delhi on December 2. The Agreement would run for five years. The purpose of the agreement was stated to be the establishment of closer economic relations between the two countries. Under the agreement both the States pledged to provide maximum trade facilities between the two countries. All payments were to be made in Indian rupees and for that purpose the State Bank of the Soviet Union would maintain accounts with one or more commercial banks in India. The Soviet Union would set up an organization in India for promoting trade between the two countries. The agreement also provided for the participation to the maximum extent possible of Indian shipping in the Indo-Soviet trade.

Though goods for exchange between the two countries were listed in schedules, trade in other commodities could also be carried on in accordance with import, export and foreign exchange regulations in the two countries.

The Soviet Union agreed to render technical assistance required for installation and operation of equipment supplied by USSR to India. She had also signified her willingness to render technical assistance for the planning and execution of various projects in India.

According to the joint communique issued by the representatives of two countries: "Among the goods agreed for export from India during the first year of the agreement are jute manufactures, tea, coffee, tobacco, shellac, black pepper and other spices, wool, hides and skins, vegetable and essential oils and a number of other goods.

"The list of goods agreed for export from Russia includes food-grains (wheat, barley), crude petroleum and petroleum products, timber and paper, iron and steel manufactures, chemicals, dyestuffs, medicaments optical goods, cinematograph films, printed matter and other goods as well as a wide range of industrial equipment, including boring, mining and road-building equipment, excavators, electrical equipment, equipment for the textile, shoe, food and polygraphical industries, tractors and agricultural machinery, various machine tools and instruments."

India's trade with the U.S.S.R. in recent years had been negligible, Indian exports to U.S.S.R. in 1952-53 being valued at only Rs. 85 lakhs. Sri H. D. Malaviya in an article in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* shows that between 1913-14 and 1917-18, the average annual export from India to U.S.S.R. amounted to Rs. 3,23,79,000 with an annual average favourable balance of Rs. 3,12,62,000. In the post-revolutionary period the trade registered a sharp drop and in 1923-24, Indian exports to that country amounted to only Rs. 26,000 with a deficit of Rs. 14,94,000. The Soviet Union's position in India's export trade would be clear from the following table:

Value in Crores of Rupees

Year	Total exports of Indian merchandise	Exports to Russia	% share of Russia in the total of exports
1913-14	241.35	2.45	1.0
1928-29	251.09	.25	0.1
1938-39	162.79	.38	0.2
1944-45	211.05	.37	0.17

The British rulers had realized the great importance of Indo-Soviet trade. That is why in the early years of this century Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Black had been sent to Russia to study prospects of Indo-Soviet trade. Messrs. Chadwick and Black's *Report on Indo-Russian Trade* submitted to the Government of India had dwelt on the vast possibilities of expanding Indo-U.S.S.R. trade.

Lately the Soviet leaders had been emphasising the Soviet Union's interest in expanding her foreign trade and extending the trade to other countries, Mr. Novikov, a former Soviet ambassador to India, had declared on the occasion of the International Industries exhibition in Bombay that his country would be willing to supply capital goods to India and to accept payment in Indian currency. In several sessions of UNECAFE, the Soviet representative had spoken in the same vein.

Sri Malaviya writes: "Apparently, our Commerce and Industries Ministry took the necessary hints from these authoritative declarations of Soviet representatives and quietly pursued the matter. And with the coming to India of Mr. Menshikov, the new Soviet ambassador, the agreement was concluded."

Much depended on the successful implementation of the agreement, so far as expansion of Indo-Soviet trade was concerned. A great responsibility devolved on the U.S.S.R. in this respect. "On our part," Sri Malaviya writes, "we have no doubt that India stands to benefit from this Trade Agreement. India's intentions are peaceful as are those of the Soviet Union and the two can co-operate despite differences in ideology. And this agreement should not annoy our other trade friends like the U.S.A., and Great Britain, with whom, it may be taken for granted, our trade would continue to be the largest."

New Sheriff of Calcutta

Shri Dhirendra Nath Mitra, born April 18, 1891, is the son of the late Upendra Nath Mitra. He was educated at St. Xavier's College, the Presidency College, and the University College, Calcutta. He married Suchandra Devi, daughter of Raja Subodh Chandra Mullick in 1916. He has been appointed Sheriff of Calcutta with effect from December 20, 1953. Having retired from the service of the Government of India in January, 1953, he joined the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd., as its Chief Adviser, which post he is still holding. Formerly he was Solicitor to the Government of India from 1937-47, the first Indian to occupy that position. For some time he was also a Solicitor of the Supreme Court, England. He was representative for India at World Health Assembly and at U.N. Conference on Freedom of Information. He was also an Adviser to U.N. Conference on Human Rights. He was Governor of the League of Red Cross Societies. He led an Indian Delegation to the Diplomatic Conference for Establishment of International Conventions for protection of war victims.

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HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE—ITS PERSONNEL

By Prof. G. D. SRIVASTAVA, M.A.

The quality of a Legislature's work is to a great extent dependent on the general character and ability of its members. An analytical survey of the House of the People on the basis of the age, political experience, educational attainment and occupation of its members will provide fruitful data for determining its outlook, efficiency and representativeness. In view of the inadequacy of the available information and the necessarily subjective nature of the survey the figures and the conclusions should be regarded as indicative of certain tendencies rather than as embodying quantitative finality.

Taking the year 1952 as the base, Table I shows the distribution of the members of the House of the People in the various age groups :

Table I

Comparative Ages

Age-groups	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
20 to 25	1	—	—
25 to 30	9	3	6
30 to 35	35	11	5
35 to 40	42	16	5
40 to 45	46	13	8
45 to 50	60	9	9
50 to 55	90	5	8
55 to 60	39	6	5
60 to 65	24	4	2
65 to 70	7	1	2
Above 70	1	—	—

[The analysis is confined to 472 members of the House as the ages of 27 members out of 499 could not be ascertained. For purposes of comparison Praja-Socialists, Communists, People's Democratic Front, R. R. Party, etc., have been grouped under Parties of the Left.]

248 members—50 per cent of the total strength—belong to the 40 to 50 age-group. The House thus consists mostly of elder statesmen and is dominated by age. In this respect it resembles the American House of Representatives in which the average age of a member is about 50 years.

In respect of age there appears to be a significant difference of emphasis among the various parties. The Congress members are on the whole older than their counterparts of other parties. While the youngest Congress member is 23 years of age and the oldest 73 years, the party has its greatest concentration in the 40 to 55 age-group which has 196 members constituting 60 per cent of the party strength. 161 members are above 50 years of age. On the other hand, members belonging to the parties of the Left are appreciably younger. They have their greatest concentration—about 60 per cent in 30 to 45 age-group while only 16 members are above 50 years. Others occupy the high plateau between the forties and fifties.

This interesting contrast points to the conclusion that Congress members have had to undergo a relatively long period of apprenticeship in public and parliamentary life before they could be elected to the present House. The leadership of the party resides in the old guard who have long parliamentary experience to their credit. The parties of the Left which show a preponderance of youth have had fewer opportunities of working in the legislatures primarily because their main energies have not been directed towards the parliamentary programme. It also indicates that the leadership vests in the younger generation to whom extremism had always a stronger appeal. The following table giving the political experience of the members supports this assertion :

Table II

Political Experience of Members

	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
Members who have experience of Central Legislature	83	1	6
Members who have experience of Provincial Legislatures	76	5	7
Members who have experience of Local Self-Government	70	9	10
Members who have no political experience	120	47	50

In the case of the Congress, experience of old Provincial Assemblies and Central Legislatures seems to be the best preparation for continuance in the present House. About 50 per cent of the Congress members have such an experience to their credit. Most of the members belonging to radical parties are comparatively new to their task. Only about 10 per cent have parliamentary experience. Most of them are first termers and fewer than one-third of them have political experience as members of former Provincial legislatures or of local self-governing institutions.

Table III

Educational attainments of Legislatures

	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others	Total
University Graduates	220	47	43	310
Members who have received higher Secondary Education	120	14	8	142
Members who have received only Elementary Education	28	4	4	36

310 members—62 per cent of the total strength—are university graduates but if the lack of college education is generally regarded as a handicap in politics, the figures do not bear it out.

TABLE IV

Occupations of Legislatures

Occupations or professions	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
1. Agriculture—			
(*a*) Farmers	43	11	3
(*b*) Landlords	17	1	3
2. Business	37	4	7
3. Professions—			
(*a*) Law	110	11	11
(*b*) Education	22	5	5
(*c*) Journalism	25	4	4
4. Retired and former civil and military personnel	20	1	7
5. Whole time public workers	60	22	2
6. Miscellaneous	16	6	7
7. Unknown	35	—	—

The occupations of candidates cannot be easily subjected to reliable statistical analysis to the same extent as their age and political experience. The first difficulty is the unwillingness of some members to impart precise information about their calling. One can know only what the candidate wishes to tell. A second difficulty arises from the high degree of occupational mobility among the members. The case of a legislator who began as an agriculturist, worked as an advocate, took to journalism and ended by becoming a member of parliament is typical for the range of his occupations. The occupation of such a person is difficult to determine for purposes of classification. In the present analysis a commonsense procedure has been adopted. An attempt has been made to find out the "formative" occupation of a member—the occupation which is likely to have moulded his outlook before he joined active political life. The classification has therefore been made on the basis of what may be termed as a man's first job. In some cases the entire life of a person may be so much soaked in active social and political work that no other label than public work would have any meaning. Such persons have been therefore included in the category of wholetime workers.

The outstanding features of the above table may be summarised as follows:

1. There is a spokesman for almost every aspect of national life. An individual member can at best be an expert in a restricted sphere but all the members taken collectively may have sufficient knowledge of most of the national and international problems of the day. In this sense the House of People is representative of the various classes and professions. There are, however, important limitations and gaps.

2. The House does not show perfect correspondence between the proportional distribution of seats and the relative importance of the different spheres of national life. The professions contribute the largest number of members. Public workers and agricultural interests constitute the second and third largest groups. 207 members—40 per cent of the total strength—are drawn from the professions: lawyers, authors, journalists and educationists. If another group of 84 members consisting of trade union and regular party officials, social and political workers, is added to these, the number of professional politicians would be 291 giving them about 56 per cent seats.

3. Among the professions law looms large. They number 132, roughly one-third of the House. This may be due to the fact that law in our country is the best gateway for entering public life. The tradition that the man who knows the law, can make the law, gives lawyer-members additional prestige in the legislature. The predominance of legal profession in our country may be profitably compared with their representation in U.S.A. and Britain.

Comparative Strength of Lawyers

U. S. Congress, 1945—Senate 62 and House of Representatives 241.

British House of Commons, 1945—93.

This gives them 65 per cent seats in the Senate and 55 per cent in the House of Representatives. In Britain, they have about 15 per cent share of seats. Thus the proportionate strength of lawyers in India lies midway between their position in U.S.A. and England. As such our legislature follows the usual pattern and there is nothing alarming in the large number of lawyers who have found their way into it.

Parliament is largely a talking place. The professional group consisting of lawyers, educationists, journalists and public workers equip themselves for parliamentary work by training in one of the occupations most concerned with the arts of publicity, organisational activity and persuasion.

4. Political parties reveal an interesting difference in the percentage of their members drawn from the various occupational groups. About one-third of the members of the radical parties are drawn from trade union officials, party regulars and wholetime public workers. In case of the Congress this class accounts for only 14 per cent. Big businessmen, landed interests, former civil and military personnel figure more prominently in the parties of the right than of the left.

Speaking generally, the House of People represents a range of choice which practically covers every occupation and interest but for the lack of adequate representation to manual workers. Parliament is not the microcosm of the nation and so the natural predominance of the professional and talking classes should not be cavilled at. No particular training can produce the ideal legislator because he need not have perfect knowledge and expertness. He needs the general power of judgment, shrewdness, tenacity and insight into human character. Ample variety in the legislature therefore gives it a more representative character. A lesser representation of the professional classes would, however, permit broader representation of other elements in the body politic and contribute to make the House of People a somewhat more exact cross-section of Indian population than the present House.

SOURCES

1. *Parliament of India—House of the People Who's Who* (1952) (Parliament Secretariat, New Delhi).
2. *The Indian and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who* (1952-53) (*Times of India*).
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ECONOMICS OF STUDENTS' TURMOIL

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

All that happened in Lucknow during the last few weeks requires serious thought and consideration by those who are vitally interested in the promotion of peaceful and democratic traditions of public life in this country. The whole trouble is supposed to have arisen out of a comparatively minor matter. Whether the membership of the Students' Unions should be compulsory or optional is a subject over which there can be honest difference of opinion. Both in India and abroad, different types of constitutions for students' organisations prevail in different colleges and universities. We must realise, after all, that Students' Unions are not like Trade Unions where the workers are organised to safeguard their economic interests against the mill-owners : they are, in fact, meant to be in the nature of extra-curricular or co-curricular activities to supplement academic studies. In India, the relations of teachers with their pupils have been, from time immemorial, of the most sacred and sublime nature. It will be nothing short of a great tragedy if the teacher-pupil relationship is in any way reduced to the level of Trade Unionism in the economic or commercial sense. From this standpoint, the recent disturbances in the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities must be regarded as most unfortunate. Whatever might have been the grievances of students in regard to the constitution of their Unions, the acts of violence and indiscipline perpetrated by them deserve the severest condemnation.

It is, however, not enough to condemn those events and not to try to study the basic causes of unrest and turmoil among the student community. During my tour round the world a few years ago, I had the opporunity of visiting many countries and contacting students of different universities in various parts of the globe. I can say with confidence that Indian students are in no way inferior to the students of any other country in the world from the point of view of intelligence, resourcefulness and hard work. Our youngmen also played an important role in the history of freedom struggle in this country. They have been acquitting themselves very creditably in various fields of technology and research relating to the programmes of economic and industrial development in India. We are surely proud of their achievements and have great faith in their potentialities. If they are in a sullen mood today, it is due to a variety of causes. Their agitation is partly due to political reasons because a few party-men try to exploit young students for furthering their political ends. This is surely detrimental to the growth of healthy educational traditions and merits emphatic disapproval. We have been of the definite view that our youngmen, so long as they continue to be students, should not dabble in party politics, although they should take a deep interest in national and international political events. After the completion of their studies, they will, of course, be entirely free to join any political party in the country. But, as Gandhiji observed, students should be "searchers and not politicians."

Turmoil among students is also partly due to the ever-widening gulf between the teachers and the taught. In our colleges and universities, the teachers are now more interested in their examinerships and group rivalries than in the primary task of imparting sound knowledge to the youngmen entrusted to their care. The personal example of the teachers is not capable of inspiring the students for imbibing high ideals of conduct. There is a marked fall in the standards of scholarship among teachers with the inevitable result that "scholars" have now become rare commodities in our educational institutions. Schools and colleges have become veritable centres of commerce and business; they are more in the nature of factories manufacturing unemployable graduates rather than the Temples of Knowledge. That is why an undesirable type of Trade Union spirit manifests itself in these educational institutions and leads to most deplorable conditions and consequences. The *Gurus* of old concerned themselves mainly with the imparting of knowledge and character to their pupils and cared very little for the tuition fees that the students paid according to their capacities. Our educational centres are now mainly concerned with the financial aspect and pay very little heed to the moral, emotional and intellectual development of the students. This is, surely, a very sorry state of affairs and requires our urgent and serious attention. The numerical strength in schools and colleges has become very unwieldly; there are regular "shifts" as in the factories. It is, therefore, futile to expect great results from such commercialized educational concerns.

Above all, uneasiness among students is mainly due to a deep sense of frustration. After spending their youthful energies and hard-earned money of their parents, they are faced with bleak prospects of hunger and unemployment in a society which is still full of glaring economic inequalities. The existing system of education is so unrealistic and "bookish" that its products cannot afford to entertain any high hopes of a bright future. On the one hand, the nation needs a vast number of trained technicians for a variety of developmental schemes under the first Five-Year Plan, and, on the other hand, there is an ever-increasing army of unemployable undergraduates, graduates, and post-graduates who are compelled to knock from door to door for obtaining jobs befitting their academic degrees and diplomas. The type of education at present imparted to our youngmen has hardly any relation to the realities of the situation. In place of purely Arts or Science courses, there is an urgent need for establishing a number of Polytechnical institutes with a view to training up students for specific positions in life. In other words, our academic system requires radical changes in order to integrate education with the National Plan of economic development. Mahatma Gandhi gave us a new system of Basic Education for training young boys and girls through the medium of productive crafts and community work. It is gratifying to know that the Government of India and the Planning Commission have now accepted Basic Education as the future pattern for schools and colleges in this country. The Secondary Education Commission has also recommended such type of craft-centred edu tional institutions with diversified courses of study accordance with local conditions. We earnestly ho that no further time will be lost in introducing fa reaching changes in the Primary, Secondary a University stages of education so that students m be able to put their heart and soul in the studies th they are expected to pursue during the best portio of their lives. Systematic plans for reforms in edu tion should be prepared by the State Governme almost immediately so that there may be visible sig of improvement from the next academic year. Wit out such fundamental changes in the pattern education, it is impossible to enforce artificial dis pline among students through appeals and threats.

This does not, however, mean that we shou tolerate acts of violence, arson and goondaism fro any quarter. Despite the economics and politics students' turmoil, the fact remains that indiscipli and violent activities must be checked and suppress effectively if democracy is to survive and develop India. We are fully conscious of the fact that the are a few political parties in this country which a out to create chaos and violent upheaval in society f attaining their objectives. They do not hesitate t exploit all kinds of situations for fostering crime a confusion. The State cannot afford to treat such a lightly and leniently. Threats of fasts and hung strikes have become the fashion of the day. "Morcha are another kind of "political stunts." The techniqu of fasting was employed by Mahatma Gandhi on ver rare occasions. He considered himself the master that technique and did not allow others to use without his specific consent. Acharya Vinoba Bhav who is the greatest and noblest disciple of Gandhi, also tells us that fasts that are being undertaken f trivial causes are very wrong in conception. Th are surely against the spirit of Gandhi. I woul therefore, earnestly appeal to all students in t country not to reduce the noble instrument of fasti to a farce. The Nation expects great things fro them. In more sense than one, they are the builde of New and Free India. Let them realise their onero duties to the Motherland and rise to the occasio With radical reforms in the system of education a with substantial improvement in the economic con tion of the country, we have no manner of doubt th the youth of India will come into their own and pl a historic role in rebuilding this ancient land on t sound foundations of peace, democracy and econo justice.

AIR TRANSPORT IN INDIA

Its Origin and Development

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

I. Introduction

The importance of Air Transport in a country of long distances like India cannot be over-emphasised, but it is a pity that our position in the civil aviation is not at all satisfactory as compared to that of such important countries as the U.S.A., Britain, France, Australia, Italy and Germany. Although India has undoubtedly made rapid strides in civil aviation since 1939, and continues this performance on a higher scale in the world perspective, her place on the air map is unimpressive. But she has earned a secure position for herself in the internal routes as well as in the international sphere. The following table reveals the advanced state of air transport in the countries of Europe and North America, but it is important to emphasise that the progress made by India is much more spectacular that the progress in these two continents. The growth and development of India's passenger, cargo and mail traffic as well as the distance in kilometers flown by India is quite remarkable. The fact, however, remains that the U.S.A., U.K. and Netherlands have a preponderating share in world civil aviation operations, as will be clear from the table reproduced below :

Country	Years	Km. Flown	Passenger Km.	Cargo ton Km.	Mail ton Km.
		(in thousands)			
Australia	1939	13972	70771	....	....
,,	1950	75167	1268689	42395	8143
Canada	1939	15482	33484	1411	623
,,	1950	47123	857121	9078	6629
France	1939	11180	74221	823	1435
,,	1950	48057	1117986	32615	14263
India	1939	2714	2139	28	329
,,	1950	30404	375582	18157	4255
Netherlands	1939	9460	60622	1136	1750
,,	1950	33663	772112	24334	7155
Thailand	1939	157	43	1.3	11.7
,,	1950	2035	18552	430.2	48.9
U. K.	1939	18450	90714	1380	11579
,,	1950	77617	1227479	35818	19804
U. S. A.	1939	146195	1214652	4834	12571
,,	1950	758966	16444823	114943	106868

The basic causes of the low rate of progress in India are many. A low level of economic activity, the small number of business concerns and only a few industrial cities large enough to support this high-rated transport, and the high cost of petrol, are in the main responsible for this state of affairs. When the under-developed character of the country is kept in view, and when it is remembered that so far nearly 40 cities have been brought within the network of air route, the expansion of air transport may be regarded as encouraging. India's vast area, her temperate climate with the usual clear sky, her geographical position in the East at the head of the Indian Ocean, and the great need to develop the second line of defence in the air, are all important factors which augur well for the steady growth of civil aviation in the years to come in the country.

II. A Brief History of Its Growth

Civil aviation in India owes its growth to an experimental flight by Sir George Lloyd in 1911, when he flew from Bombay to Karachi. A few exhibition flights were also given in 1911. The first World War emphasized the importance of the geographical position of India as an important link between Europe and the Far East and Australia. The introduction of air mail service between Karachi and Bombay created an interest in civil aviation. But this service was purely a governmental adventure and was established as a temporary and experimental measure, and was soon closed down when sufficient data relating to running expenses were collected. After World War I, the regular weekly Imperial Airways service between Karachi and London, the inauguration of the French and Dutch airlines across India, the introduction of the Empire Air Mail Scheme and the rapid development in other countries aroused the interest of the Government and the public. Up to 1927, the Government policy was confined only to the grant, *i.e.*, lending of landing facilities to the foreign aviation companies. In 1927, the Civil Aviation Department was opened, a Director and a Deputy Director of Civil Aviation and a Chief Inspector of Air Craft were appointed only after India became a party to the International Air Convention. Aerodromes and Flying Clubs were established in certain places. In 1931, the Government arranged with the Imperial Airways Ltd. to operate an air service between Delhi and Karachi, but the agreement expired by the end of 1931. A fresh agreement was therefore entered into in 1932 with the Delhi Flying Club for service between Karachi and Delhi both for mails and passengers. Then a scheme was worked out for a weekly air service between Karachi and Calcutta for the weekly arrivals and departures of the air mails conveyed by Imperial Airways Ltd. from and to England but due to financial stringency it was abandoned. In 1932, the Tata Airways Ltd. under a ten-year contract with the Government started a weekly feeder service between Karachi, Bombay and Madras connecting at Karachi with the London-Karachi service. In 1933, the Indian National Airways Ltd. was established at Delhi to participate in the Indian Trans-Continental Airways Ltd. and develop feeder and other internal air services in Northern India. The I. N. A. Ltd., operated bi-weekly services between Calcutta and Rangoon and a daily service between Dacca and Calcutta but it was abandoned in 1935 on account of lack of patronage. Under a ten-year agreement with the Indian Government it also instituted a weekly service from Lahore to Karachi.

In the same year arrangements were made with the British Government and the Imperial Airways for extending the London-Karachi service across the subcontinent to Singapore as a link between England and Australia Air service. For this purpose Indian Trans-Continental Air Ways Ltd. was formed with a majority of Indian directors in which the Imperial Airways Ltd. held 51 per cent shares, the Indian National Airways Ltd. 25 per cent and the Government 24 per cent. This Company operated jointly with the Imperial Airways a weekly service from Karachi to Singapore. From 1935, the Imperial London-Karachi service and with it the Trans-India service to Calcutta and the feeder services were operated twice weekly. In 1936, the Second Trans-India service was extended to Australia. In 1936, the Air Services of India Ltd., serving Bombay and Kathiawar, was formed. This Company made good progress and was carrying 70 per cent of the total air traffic in India but it had to be closed down in 1940 due to uneconomic servicing. In 1938, the Empire Air Mail Scheme was introduced. Under this scheme the whole of letter mail between the empire countries on the U.K.-Australia and U.K.-Africa routes was to be carried by air, no surcharge was to be levied. The Indian Government had to provide facilities for the distribution within India by air of the Empire mail brought by the Imperial Airways up to Karachi and in the reverse direction for bringing to Karachi all Indian mails destined for empire countries. To fulfil this obligation the Government of India entered into a 15-year contract with Tata Sons Ltd. and the Indian National Airways Ltd. for the carriage of mail on their routes. The Agreement was reached on these points :

(*a*) The Karachi-Madras route was to be extended to Colombo under agreement with the Ceylon Government ;

(*b*) The services should be operated with the same frequency as Imperial Airways Service:

(*c*) In the case of Tata Sons, the Government guaranteed to pay them Rs. 15 lakhs per year for carrying mail on the Karachi-Colombo route up to 500,000 lbs. plus Re. 1 for each lb. of the extra mail ; and

(*d*) Rs. 3.25 lakhs per year to National Airways on the Karachi-Lahore route up to 130,000 lbs. plus Re. 1-8-0 for each lb. of the extra mail.

The scheme made possible the stepping up of the two services to larger aircraft and greater frequency (5 times a week).

In 1937, the Tatas established a service between Delhi and Bombay operating twice weekly in fair weather. In 1937, the Air Services of India Ltd. also began an air service from Bombay to Kathiawar and to Kolhapur 6 times a week. The special features of this line were the high loads of passengers and comparatively low fares. But unfortunately due to war this service was discontinued in 1940.

Thus by 1939, the total route mileage in operation was 5,190 miles. The development was slow but steady. The two pioneer companies Tata Sons and the Indian National Airways had by then firmly established the foundation of scheduled air transport in India with comparatively small financial assistance from the Government. They had also demonstrated that air lines could be organised and operated efficiently on long and difficult routes if proper encouragement is given. In spite of difficult seasonal weather conditions, the regularity and safety of operation of the Indian Air Services was of a very high order bearing comparison with that of the most advanced countries. The Government was extending the ground organisation facilities. It had spent up to Rs. 1½ crores towards the provision of aerodromes, hangers, workshops, technical and administrative buildings and air route lighting. But with the outbreak of World War II drastic changes took place in the Air Transport. The Empire Air Mail Service was suspended in September, 1939, but a restricted service was maintained till June, 1940, when this, the air mails to J. K., was totally stopped. Air service to England was resumed in 1945 but the Empire Air Mail Service was finally abandoned from 1st April, 1947. Thus before the war there were 9 external services operating across India, Europe, Africa and Australia. In India, all air transport operations were put on a war footing under which air services were run directly for the Government and the defence services. The Tata Sons and Indian National Airways were entrusted with the operation of services in different parts in collaboration with the Royal Air Force, Transport Command. The Government helped these companies in every possible way. The Government loaned them aircrafts under Land Lease Agreement. These two services operated on a number of routes. These companies were put on a sound footing as they had got enough financial help from the Government by way of remuneration for their services. When the war came to end, the Land Lease aircrafts were withdrawn. These companies equipped themselves with Dakotas purchased from the U.S.A. foreign Liquidation Commission.

III. POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

With the close of the war, the government was forced to enunciate a definite policy for the development of civil aviation in the country. Sir Frederick Tymmas, a former Director of Civil Aviation, had made certain important suggestions for developing civil aviation :

(1) He prepared a list of the trunk air routes which required the first priority by the Government and also the essential links between these trunk services.

(2) He suggested that not more than 4 private air lines should make up the deficits of the companies during the first five-year period.

(3) He also suggested that to ensure rational and orderly development of air transport, in the

post-war period, no transport services might be operated without a license issued by an Authority set up by the Government for that purpose.

(4) Further, the establishment of a Central Board for licensing scheduled air transport services was also recommended.

(5) For the operation of external services he proposed the establishment of two corporations, one for the operation of services to the East and the other for the West.

The Government accepted these suggestions. On their basis, for the development of air transport, it said :

> "The policy of the Government is :
>
> (*i*) To permit the development and operation of air transport services, both internal and external, by a limited number of sound and reliable private commercial organisations with their own capital and operated under normal commercial principle of risks of losses and prospects of gain. (*ii*) The operation of the transport services would be subject to licenses granted by the Government ; without such a license no air transport service can operate. (*iii*) The grant of State assistance in specific cases will be entirely at the discretion of the Government and the conditions to be laid down in each case. In specific cases, Government should take a financial interest in Companies operating air services and appointing a Director on the Board. It should, however, not take a controlling share in such cases. (*iv*) All the main air services in India should be operated by about four companies."

Along with the declaration of the Government's policy, the Indian Air Craft Act 1934, was amended and consequently an Air Transport Licensing Board was established in 1946. This Board was entrusted with the work of granting licenses to the operating companies on its being satisfied on these points : (*a*) that the financial stability of the Company applying for a license was sound ; (*b*) that if license is granted, the company will maintain a proper standard of operational efficiency ; (*c*) that there was really a great demand of traffic on the proposed route ; and (*d*) that the Company would be able to meet the genuine requirements of the public regarding air transport.

With the establishment of this Board, a great improvement took place in the air transport. A large number of companies were floated for the operation of air services by the beginning of 1947. As many as 27 companies had been registered with an authorised capital of Rs. 42 crores of which the Government had authorised the issue of Rs. 9 crores, and 96 air routes had to be covered by them. Up to 1949, licenses were granted to 11 air companies.

The partition of India in 1947 affected the Air Transport very much. Air route patterns were changed. Orient Airways transferred its head office and activities to Pakistan. Indian National Airways had to give up a number of routes which lay in Pakistan. The airlines assisted the Government in evacuating refugees from West and East Pakistan. The part played by the civilian aircraft in refugee evacuation and in Kashmir operations showed the potentiality of this form of transport and considerably influenced the Government in determining their aviation policy.

In order to give relief to those companies whose operating cost had risen because of an increase in the price of aviation-fuel and the expenditure on salaries and wages, the Government adopted these measures in 1949 : *Firstly*, to facilitate the early carriage of mails, an "All Up" mail scheme was introduced on 1st April, 1949. The surcharge on mail for air conveyance was abolished. *Secondly*, a rebate of import duty on petrol consumed in civil aviation to the extent of 6 annas per gallon was granted by the Government from 1st March, 1949. This amount was later increased to 9 pies per gallon. A number of developments including various mutual agreements between different companies, the starting of new ones, the equipment with the new types of planes with a seating capacity of ten passengers only, took place till 1949.

By this time the Government of India considered the question of conveying mails between the four main cities of India, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi by night, but as the night air mail services were to be on an experimental basis and the routes were not fully equipped from the point of view of safety of passengers, the scheme was restricted to the carriage of mails only. The Licensing Board granted a license for the operation of mail services to Indian Overseas Airlines for one month with effect from January, 1949, which was extended to June 1949, after which date it was abandoned due to certain financial difficulties. Eventually, the license was granted to a non-scheduled operator, the Himalayan Aviation Company, to operate night mail services for 3 months, which ultimately was extended to January, 1951. This Company reduced its rates which was bitterly criticised by other air-operating companies. As it was a non-scheduled company some technical difficulties arose and hence the license was withdrawn on the recommendation of the Air Transport Enquiry Committee of 1950.

For external services to the West, Air India International was registered on 8th March, 1948 with an authorised capital of Rs. 7 crores and paid-up capital of Rs. 2 crores, of which the Indian Government subscribed 49 per cent and had the option to acquire a further 2 per cent at one time. Air India took up 10 per cent of the capital and the balance was subscribed by the public ; 50 per cent of the profit earned by the Company was to go to the Government and the Company would have full rights of operation for a period of 10 years over all western routes. The Company's services from Bombay to London *via* Cairo and Geneva was inaugurated on 8th June, 1948. For external services to the East, licenses were granted in 1949 to two Companies, the Bharat Airways and Indian Overseas Airlines, to operate their servic[illegible] two routes, *viz.*, (*i*) Calcutta to Tokyo *via* Bangkok, Hongkong and Shanghai, and (*ii*) Calcutta to Singapore *via* Bangkok and then to Australia.

Between 1946-49 licenses were granted to a number of non-scheduled operators freely and hence several non-economic units sprang up in the field.

IV. AIR TRANSPORT ENQUIRY COMMITTEE AND ITS FINDINGS

In view of the increasing importance of the air transport service in our country, the Government of India appointed the Air Transport Enquiry Committee under the Presidentship of Rajyadhyaksha on 8th February, 1950. To this Committee was entrusted the work of reviewing the present state of air transport in India and advising the government on the lines on which future development might be made so that the standard of operational efficiency of the companies might increase.

This Committee made a thorough investigation into the conditions of air transport industry in India and pointed out that the industry suffered from the following difficulties and defects :

Firstly, the number of operating units is much greater (if these are two) than that required (there was no work for more than 4 companies) to conduct the existing volume of air transport on an economic basis which has resulted in multiplication of overhead charges, wasteful competition amongst the operators resulting in reduced revenues. *Secondly,* there was an over-equipment of the companies with consequent drain of capital resources, low utilisation and heavy current running costs. *Thirdly,* there has been severe competition among the operators for a comparatively limited supply of technical personnel and this has resulted in the rise of wages and salaries to high levels, thereby raising the operating costs to a great extent. *Fourthly,* the Board harmed the operating companies by delaying in the disposal of applications for licensing. *Fifthly,* the organisation was very unwieldy. Some companies incurred heavy expense on organisation without taking into consideration the actual amount of traffic handled by them. They organised for an eventual operation of 50,000 hours whereas their work was for 20,000 hours only. Still others lavishly spent on equipment. They purchased a large number of Dakotas and spare parts from the disposal stocks. *Sixthly,* operating companies lacked proper planning. *Seventhly,* the cost of aviation fuel was also very high. It increased from 30 as. per gallon in 1946 to 41 as. per gallon in 1949. The companies had also to bear sales tax too. *Eighthly,* after the introduction of night services fares were reduced by the companies. The companies operating day services were also compelled to reduce fares thus weakening their financial position.

V. REORGANISATION OF THE AIR TRANSPORT

The Air Transport Enquiry Committee felt that only four operating companies were needed with their headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Hyderabad. In order that the operating units should be economical, it suggested that the smaller companies should unite among themselves so as to form the four big operating units, and if it was not possible it emphasized that licenses already granted to certain companies should not be renewed. But the six companies which hold 10-year licenses should be permitted to operate.

Secondly, Air Transport should be reorganised, the number of aircrafts should be reduced, rates and fares should be increased and superfluous staff retrenched. This measure will ameliorate the economic position of the companies.

Thirdly, rates and fares should be reasonably fixed, giving the operator a return of 10 per cent on fixed capital assets. The rate of mails should be freight rate plus 12½ per cent. The fixing of rates should take into consideration the cost of operation, reasonable profit, 'what the traffic will bear' and need for the expansion of air services.

Fourthly, the Committee felt that as a result of the reorganisation at least 25 Dakotas would be rendered superfluous which would mean Rs. 2½ lakhs as the maintenance cost per annum. They, therefore, suggested that Government should bear half the cost of this surplus craft and the surplus staff should be absorbed in I.A.F. Further, the Government should continue giving financial assistance to the Air Operating Companies in the form of rebate on aviation fuel.

Finally, non-scheduled operation should be allowed to continue their existence provided they do not enter into unhealthy competition with the regular air lines, but they should not be permitted to operate on the routes already covered by the scheduled companies. Minimum charter rates should be prescribed by the Director-General of Civil Aviation.

Thus the A.T.E.C. suggested a very comprehensive scheme for the rationalisation of Air transport in India :

> "Greater emphasis has been laid on the merging of the present companies into 4 units, the reduction in the number of aircrafts, increase and stabilization of rates and fares, curtailment of superfluous organisation and certain other technical details."

The Committee remarked that if this scheme was implemented, the operating companies will be financially self-sufficient from 1st January, 1953. But reorganisation could not be taken up immediately due to heavy commitments of the Government.

VI. STATE OWNERSHIP OF AIR TRANSPORT SERVICES

The question of State ownership of air services was first of all considered by the then Minister for Communications in 1947 at a conference, which discussed the following points in favour of the rationalisation of air transport. It said :

(1) Aircrafts would be utilised to the maximum capacity and the duplication of workshop and superior staff would be minimised.

(2) As the State provides training facilities to the pilots, it is thought desirable that air services should be nationalised.

(3) As air services would come under one management, their operational efficiency will increase enormously.

(4) The State has to incur heavy expenditure for the construction of aerodromes, establishment of meteorological stations and provision of communication facilities ; it is but fair that the services should be owned by the Government.

(5) With the nationalisation of air transport, the profits will go to the Government and may be usefully employed in various public utility concerns.

The conference put forward these arguments against nationalisation. It said :

(1) If the air transport is nationalised it is feared that the same standard of efficiency cannot be maintained as is usually available when it is under private ownership.

(2) If nationalisation of transport is accepted, there is every likelihood of strained relations between the employees and the Government, especially in the case of the pilots of the proposed corporation going on strike.

(3) With the economy in personnel, some employees are sure to be retrenched which will be a sort of headache to the Government.

(4) As the proposed Corporation will enjoy monopolistic rights, it is expected that all the evils of monopolistic organisation will creep in. Absence of fair competition will further worsen the situation.

(5) After nationalisation, Government will interfere in the day-to-day working of the corporation and this will lead to unnecessary friction among the members of the Legislature besides a clear wastage of time.

(6) As air transport is still a luxury service for the masses, they would prefer that more money should be spent on other forms of transport and thus this industry will not develop as quickly as it should have developed.

(7) Government will have to pay a large sum of money by way of compensation to the existing companies which will create another financial difficulty in such hard times.

While giving suggestions to remove the defects in the air transport, the A.T.E. Committee ultimately discussed in detail the question of the nationalisation of the air transport. The Committee gave the following points in favour of State ownership :

(*a*) One unit in charge of all the operations can use the available resources, *viz.*, workshop capacity, technical personnel and equipments to the maximum advantage.

(*b*) Nationalisation of air transport would be an advantage from the point of view of national defence.

(*c*) Without the same predominant profit motive as in the case of private enterprises, a State organisation would operate with the main policy of giving better and cheaper service to the public.

(*d*) A unified administration should bring about a certain amount of economy in expenditure as compared to that incurred in the case of operation by several units. This economy is estimated at 3½ per cent.

(*e*) The private air lines would need financial assistance from the Government if they are to stand on their own legs. Hence, if it be the case that the industry must be assisted by the Government, it is preferable that the Government themselves should run it in their own way. This would incidentally save the setting-up of any machinery to assess the amount of assistance required and to see that it is rightly spent.

The Committee said that there were several factors which needed careful consideration before nationalisation is decided upon. These points were :

(*i*) Civil air transport, being a highly technical industry of a very specialized character, requires on the part of the management maximum initiative and technical efficiency to keep pace with developments, readiness to take financial risks in replacing equipments, and constant personal attention on the part of all the staff dealing with the customer and an endeavour to please and serve him. On all these counts, State administration cannot compare with private enterprise.

(*ii*) It is doubtful whether there will be a sufficient number of persons available to Government combining both business and administrative experience for a big State enterprise like this.

(*iii*) As the Government of India granted 10-year licenses to the Air Operating Companies in July, 1949, it appears that the Government's policy was to leave the development of air transport in the hands of private enterprise. Therefore, if nationalisation is resorted to before the expiry of this period, there will be a change in the government policy and this might adversely affect the development of other industries too.

(*iv*) In the matter of efficiency, a governmental organisation, by a lack of flexibility and due to rigidity in financial matters, would be at a considerable disadvantage.

(*v*) In regard to economy in expenditure, there would be the fundamental handicap as regards finding a satisfactory means of measuring the economic efficiency of the State organisation, because it would be a national monopoly.

(*vi*) Operational efficiency of the Indian air transport companies has been uniformly good. Therefore, the question of taking them over does not arise.

(*vii*) If nationalisation is decided upon, which will be a sudden change over the existing policy, there is likely to be a sudden drop in efficiency at least in the early years.

(*viii*) If India is to keep abreast of the advancements in civil aviation in other countries both as regards equipment and technique, additional capital outlay would be involved ; it is quite likely that the government will be called upon to assist them in carrying this burden. There is nothing unusual in such assistance being given, as in fostering such important industry every government extends the necessary aid.

The Committee, therefore, felt that time was not ripe for eliminating private enterprise from the field of air transport in India. They suggested that this question should be postponed for at least five years after which it may be re-examined. If however, the government then decide to take up air transport services under its ownership, their operation should be entrusted to a Statutory Corporation which should work purely on commercial lines and which should be given complete freedom from governmental control except in regard to the main policy.

This Committee also envisaged that the India air operators should replace more modern machines in place of the Dakota aircrafts. A conference was therefore called in January, 1952, of the representatives of the air line operators to decide about the estimates of the replacement requirements, to select aircrafts which would replace the present Dakotas and Vikings and to discuss the problem of financing the purchase of new aircrafts. The conference estimated that 20 new aircrafts were needed at a cost of over Rs. 10 crores.

The Planning Commission has suggested that the air services should be placed in charge of a corporation in which the shareholders of the existing companies may be allowed to take proportionate part, if they wish to do so in exchange of their present holdings. The Central Government's share of the corporation should be large enough to secure the control over the industry. The total expenditure including the compensation to be paid to the existing airlines plus the price of purchase of 13 aircrafts will amount to Rs. 9.5 crores. But if the existing air lines agree to take shares of the corporation in exchange of the present holdings then the capital outlay will be Rs. 6.5 crores only.

In April, 1952, a Civil Aviation Committee was set up by the Government under the chairmanship of Shri M. A. Master to examine the existing system of civil air pilot training in all its aspects, *viz.*, for suggesting the qualifications and methods of selection of trainees, organisation of the training institutions; setting the curriculam for the training of pilots of various grades, considering financial assistance to the trainees and looking to the operational efficiency of the pilots and giving encouragement of private flying. This Committee submitted its report in January, 1953. It recommended the setting-up of the Civil Air Board and suggested that the Government should raise their annual subsidy from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 18 lakhs; and an increased number of N. C. C. should be trained with financial assistance of the Central and Provincial Governments. It has recommended five categories of licenses—the student pilot, private pilot, commercial pilot, senior commercial pilot and air line transport pilot.

VII. NATIONALISATION OF AIR TRANSPORT COMES IN FORCE

The Air Transport Corporation Bill was introduced in the House of the People on 21st March, 1953 under which two corporations were intended to be set up, one for operating international services and the other for inland services, *viz.*, Indian Air lines and Air India International. Each of the Corporations shall consist of not less than five but not more than 9 members appointed by the Central Government, one of who will be its Chairman. The two corporations wi take over the undertakings of all existing air compani as going concerns and all the personnel of those companies who were employed by them on June 30, 195 would be transferred to the two corporations and the terms and conditions of service will continue to be th same. This Bill was passed by the Council of State on May 14, 1953. A sum of Rs. 480 lakhs will be pai on account of compensation to the existing air transport companies, 10 per cent of which will be paid i cash and for the balance the corporation will iss bonds bearing interest at 3½ per cent per annum an redeemable at par at the end of 5 years. Both th interest and redemption of the bonds are to b guaranteed by the Central Government. The amou of compensation will be based on the valuation of the assets, after making due allowance for the liabilitie The assets will be valued with reference to the co which each company incurred when it acquired particular asset and provision for depreciation is mad somewhat on the lines of the provisions contained i the Indian Income-tax, 1922. The principles of compensation are detailed in the Schedule appended to th Bill and the amount of compensation in cash of eac company is to be settled in agreement with the Company on the basis of those principles. In the absen of agreement, the assessment of compensation will b made by a Tribunal, which will consist of 3 membe appointed by the Central Government, one of whor will be a judge of a High Court.

Accordingly, nationalisation of air services whi was to take place originally on 1st April, 1953, but wa postponed till August 1st when an inauguration cer mony was held at Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Madra Nagpur and Hyderabad. The Government have set u two corporations—Indian Air lines and All-India Inte national Corporation—one to manage internation routes and has Mr. J. R. D. Tata as its Chairma and the other to run internal air service has Mr. C. Mahindra as its Chairman. In this connection M Jagjivan Ram has disclosed that two super-Constell tions and two Comets have been ordered for the A India International so that it could compete wi other lines without any handicap. These aircraf would cost about 3½ crores of rupees.

The Five-Year Plan makes substantial contr butions for the development of air transport in Indi For the first two years, *i.e.*, 1951-52 and 1952-53, Rs. 1 lakhs will be spent per year of which Rs. 150 lak will be spent for the remaining period of the plan, t total amount earmarked is Rs. 967 lakhs of whi 70 per cent will be spent on works and 30 per cent the technical improvements. The plan also sugge that within 5 years, the operating companies shou replace Dakotas and Vikings by modern types planes.

The progress of civil aviation in any country depends on the number of air ports and the quality of facilities available there. In 1939, there were only 12 civil aerodromes in India, but they were not sufficient for the need of the country and this deficiency was realised by the Government during World War II. Under the post-war plan the Government proposed to develop 4 international, 10 major, 37 intermediate and 67 minor aerodromes, but on account of the partition of the country this plan had to be revised and under this revised plan it was decided to have 3 international aerodromes—Santa Cruz, Palam and Dum Dum, 7 major aerodromes at Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Patna, Allahabad, Madras, Vizagapatam and Lucknow, 13 intermediate and 22 minor and 21 new aerodromes in India. We have now 75 aerodromes maintained by the Civil Aviation Department of which 3 are international, 8 major, 27 intermediate, and 37 minor aerodromes, 20 are equipped for regular night flying facilities.

In order to provide facilities for ordinary citizens to learn flying at a very reasonable and concessional rate, there are 9 subsidised and 3 non-subsidised flying clubs in India. The subsidised flying clubs are at Bombay, Lucknow, Patna, Delhi, Jullundhar, Nagpur, Barrackpore, Madras and Bhuvaneshwar and the non-subsidised flying clubs are at Bangalore, Jodhpur and Hyderabad.

Facilities for the training of operating and technical personnel exist at the Civil Aviation Training Centre, Saharanpur and the Government Flying School at Allahabad.

In order to provide for radio communication service to aircraft flying, there are 52 centres of Aeronautical Communications Service, which provide facilities for air and ground communications, radio aid to navigation, point to point communication and meterological broadcasts for the benefit of aviators.

Thus, the story of Civil Aviation in India is made of a series of haphazard steps and miscalculations resulting in an enormous waste of resources, although, after 1947, it had made tremendous increase in flying activities. In 1952, Indian Air Transport Companies were operating scheduled air transport services—internal and external—covering an unduplicated mileage of 20,700, employing some 170 aircrafts, 250 pilots, and 180 other crew. More than 14 million miles were flown, carrying more than 400,000 passengers, 5,000 tons of freight and 1,500 tons of mail.

It is hoped that with the integration of air services great strides will be made in future. The future prospects of air transport are very bright in India, for India enjoys a suitable climate, favourable geographical position at the head of the Indian Ocean and good meteorological conditions. What is required to be done is the acceleration of business activities and the improvement of the air organisation. Fares and freights should be reduced and frequency of air services has got to be increased. India should be made more air-minded.

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MECHANISATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY PROF. K. C. PETER

INDIA lives in her villages, villages full of beauty, colour and charm. Nearly 7 out of 10 people pursue agriculture as a profession. Much more than that. For Indians, agriculture is not a business, but a tradition, a way of life, a mode of living. The stark reality is that we are in the stranglehold of acute food scarcity. "More mouths, less food"—this explains the situation. There is a pang in the thought. The 'breeding storm,' right in the frenzy of which India is, shall have brakes on. That is a different question altogether. The present need is that we must produce enough food for the teeming millions of India.

SCARCITY IN THE LAND OF PLENTY

Modern agricultural implements and techniques can play a vital part in heightening agricultural productivity. As far as commercial crops go, India is one of the world's largest producers ; but as regards food crops, India is left in the lurch. India produces 660 lbs. of wheat per acre, Japan 1713, Egypt 1918. In the case of rice, India produces 1240 lbs. per acre, Japan 3444, Egypt 2998. The comparison boils down to this—the wheat yield per acre in Japan is more than twice India's and Egypt's thrice India's. In the matter of rice, Egypt produces two times India's and Japan nearly three times. If India can raise her yield of wheat alone to the Egyptian standard, India will be self-sufficient, free from foreign food.

THE WAY OUT

Can India produce sufficient food for her 360 millions ? 'Yes' is the answer. We have to mechanise agriculture wherever possible as USA, Canada, Australia or Russia has done. If mechanisation of agriculture is not possible in certain tracts, we have to bring into full play improved agricultural implements specially designed for the region like Rajah plough, double-furrow plough, multi-furrow plough, etc, drawn by bullocks.

Power-machines, such as tractors, caterpillars, etc., with all accessories like ploughs, discs, harrow-drills, cultivators and combine harvestors, cover every stage of agricultural processes. An agriculturist can use a jeep-plough, ten to fifteen times more efficient than an ordinary plough. He may use a heavy tractor, a medium-sized or a light one, suiting to the conditions of the land. The aim of using agricultural power-machines is to increase the output per worker and to reduce the cost of production.

There are certain conditions to be fulfilled before the adoption of modern mechanised implements in India. Firstly, there is the technological condition—that a farm served by a small-size or medium-size crawler tractor shall be 25 to 50 acres in extent. With a pair of bullocks the Indian farmer has control over 1.5 horse-power. But given a medium-sized crawler tractor, the Indian farmer has control over 20 to 30 horse-power. It means that using the power-machine is 16 times more advantageous.

Secondly, there is the economic condition. In India, labour is cheap and in abundance. The Indian farmer's capacity to incur heavy expenditure is far less. A light tractor with accessories costs Rs. 5500, a heavy one from Rs. 9000 to Rs. 20,000, and buying one will increase the farmer's capital investment seven times or more. Aside this, only 10% of the total cultivated land will be available for mechanised agriculture at present. Thirdly, there is the educational condition. The people shall be given basic training in mechanical and electrical principles. Otherwise, the cost of repairs will mount up as years go by, making mechanisation a losing game.

THE POSSIBLE RESULT OF MECHANISATION

Supposing that these conditions can be fulfilled through co-operative consolidation of holdings and other means, it is good and proper that we consider the possible results of mechanisation on our agricultural economy and social structure.

On the main, not less than four arguments are raised by those who say that mechanisation creates more problems than it solves. One: During depression, agricultural machines will be a financial burden, because labour will become dire cheap. Two: Mechanisation will lead to displacement of labour and consequent (technological) unemployment. Three: Capitalist tendencies will accentuate as the capitalists buy up neighbouring small land-holdings and as capitalists drive out labourers *via* labour-saving devices. Four: The social pattern will go capitalist giving rise to disparity of wealth and income and gross abuse of leisure.

Still practical difficulties are there, the most important of which are sub-division and fragmentation engendered by Indian laws of inheritance. Out of 361 million people, 250 millions depend on agriculture alone. Of the 250 millions, 45 millions are landless and 31½ millions rely on land "wholly or mainly or mainly unowned." Add to it the hurdles thrown in by the pepper-pot distribution of microscopic farms of an average 5-acre size. The size of an average American farm is 145 acres, the size best suited for large-scale mechanisation. If lands are consolidated into blocks of economic holdings fit for mechanisation, at least 30% of the rural working population will be thrown on the scrap-heap of unemployment; 31 million people will be unemployed. Today, 10% only of the working population is absorbed in industries.

THE PREREQUISITES

Mechanising agriculture is a problematic proposition. Yet, today it is a greater necessity than ever, for right here the devil of neo-Malthusianism is raising its grizzly head. Hence, the sooner we solve the problem of food, the better for the nation.

Firstly, we must have big-size farms, 25 acres and above. We can have them through co-operative consolidation of holdings and co-operative farm methods. Only then can we do away with the danger of accumulation of land and farm-capital in fewer and fewer capitalist hands. The displaced labourers shall have to be absorbed in industries. For the stability of national economy a balance has to be maintained between agriculture and industry. Moreover, by the supply of electric power to all parts of this vast sub-continent, cottage industries and subsidiary industries can flourish side by side with large-scale industries. That will solve the problem of employment.

Secondly, India requires conservation farming. Vital principles of economy must have their say in farming. Every farm must have machines and accessories befitting to raise the best yield possible. It is the function of agricultural engineering to evolve suitable light and small mechanical aids to the Indian farmer. India needs multi-purpose machines that can be used also for lift-irrigation for pumping water high and for doing other odd jobs. The fact that India is going to have her own tractor industry throws our hopes sky-high.

Thirdly, if 68 million acres of cultivable waste and 35 million acres of fallow lands are brought under the plough with the help of bulldozers and heavy tractors, it will release another 40% of the total area cultivated for efficient cultivation. In such areas, State farms shall be the ideal and shall give the lead.

Fourthly, the domesticated animal population eats into the food of man. But machines do speedy operations, demand no food, bring in economy in costs, perform delicate jobs and push down labour and water requirements.

Lastly, the use of modern agricultural implements will bring into India, the machine-sense, a love of team-work, discipline, economy and planning. Machines slave for man, keeping off his shoulders physical drudgery, leaving him to follow the creative pursuits of a rich and varied life.

Mechanisation of agriculture, apart from plugging many a leak in our national economy, will give India a new healthy outlook, and a new hope of a happier and more prosperous future.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN WEST BENGAL

1948-52

By KANIKA SOM, M.A., Dip. L.W.A.

THE importance of harmonious industrial relations in the industrial development of the country has long been recognised down from the Royal Commission of Labour in India (1931) to the Labour Investigation Committee (1946) and this has been given its proper place in our First Five-Year Plan. The reason for this is simple: the setting-up of good industrial relations in a country is one of the bases of its economic prosperity and all-round uplift. An objective study of the industrial relations in West Bengal since independence is therefore of particular importance.

THREE ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There are three aspects of industrial relations—industrial disputes, absenteeism and trade unionism. Data on these are published by the Government of West Bengal. Those on industrial disputes show the monthly averages of strikes (including lockouts), of mandays lost due to strikes, and of the total workers involved in strikes for the years 1948-51. From these, two other useful measures can be derived: Magnitude of strikes, *i.e.,* the average number of workers involved per strike, and duration of strikes, *i.e.,* the average number of days a strike holds on. The absenteeism rate is defined as the manshifts lost due to absenteeism of workers as a percentage of the total manshifts scheduled to work. For the data of trade unionism we have the monthly averages of the trade unions registered and the membership of trade unions.

TABLE I

Industrial Disputes: Monthly Averages

Year	Total Mandays Lost	Total Number of Disputes	Total Workers Involved	Mognitude of Strikes	Duration of Strikes
1948	176,298	25	24,531	981	7.19
1949	180,456	22	18,975	862	9.51
1950	61,550	12	9,553	796	6.44
1951	33,645	17	6,491	382	5.18

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

In table 1 and chart I, we have given the total mandays lost, the total number of disputes, the magnitude and the duration of strikes for the years 1948-51 (figures for 1952 have not yet been published by the Government). The figures of mandays lost due to strikes is the best quantitative measure of the effects of strikes on the national economy. From the table and the chart we see that days lost in strikes were very high in 1948 and 1949 (about 180 thousand), but in recent years these have considerably decreased; in 1950, days lost due to strikes were 62 thousand and in 1951, 34 thousand. In recent years therefore we note an improvement in industrial relations so far as can be observed from the figures of days lost in strikes. The frequency, *i.e.,* the number of strikes was the highest in 1948 (25 in number), and it decreased up to 1950 (when the number was 12), but again rose to 17 in 1951. On the whole therefore the frequency of strikes

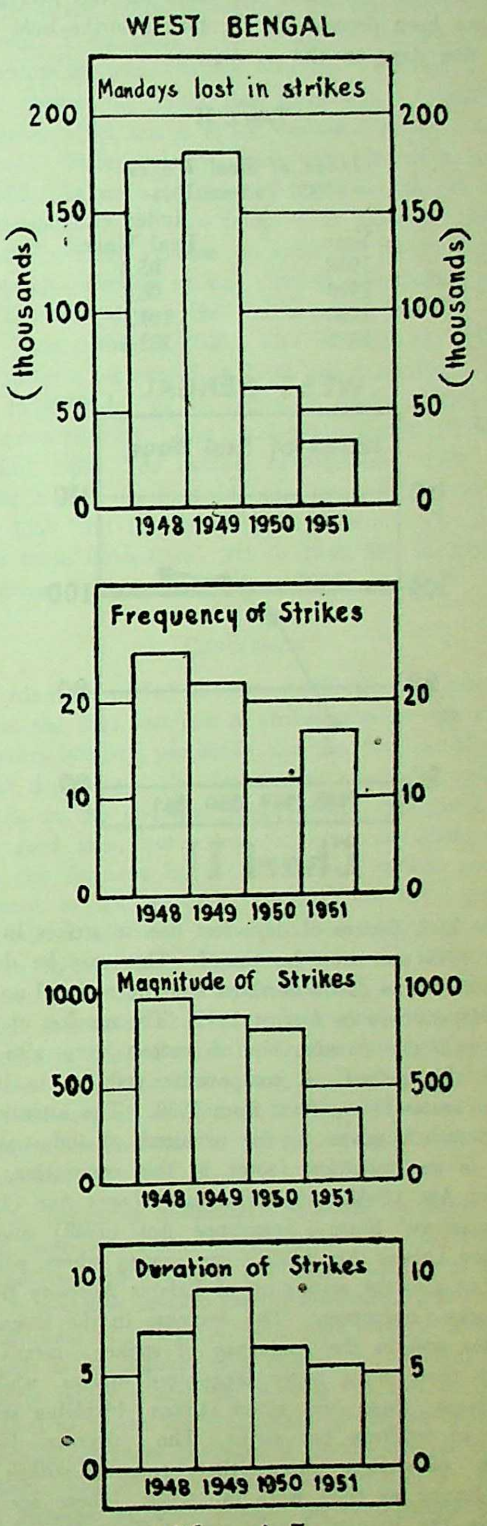


Chart I

is decreasing. The magnitude of strikes, *i.e.*, the average number of workers involved per strike is consistently decreasing over the years. In 1948 there were 981 workers per strike, while in 1951 there are 382 such. The duration of strikes was highest in 1949, when a strike held on for about ten days on the average. It has since been decreasing. In 1951 a strike held on for about five days on the average.

TABLE II

Index of Real Wages
(1939 Index=100)

Year	Index of Real Wage
1948	85.8
1949	96.8
1950	101.1
1951	102.4

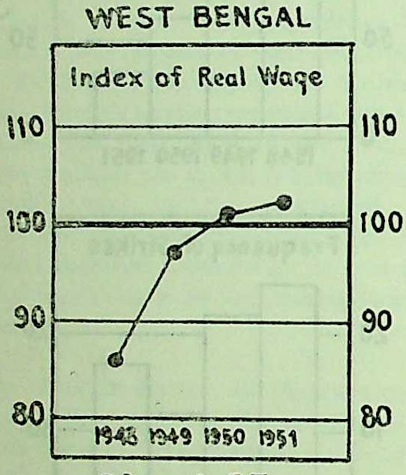


Chart II

The high figures of days lost due to strikes in 1948 and in 1949 may now be traced. This may be due to the consciousness of the workers and the national upsurge with independence in August 1947. The number of trade unions and the membership of unions were also very high in this period. A comparative stability in labour relations seems to set over from 1950. The attention of the Government given to the problems of industrial relations is an important factor in this connection. The Factories Act (1948), the Minimum Wages Act (1948), the Employees' State Insurance Act (1948) and the Plantation Labour Act (1951) are, among others, pointers to this, as also the setting-up of Labour Advisory Boards and Works Committees. The decrease in the magnitude of strikes and in the frequency of strikes means that formerly there were many large-sized strikes, while in recent years there are fewer strikes involving smaller number of workers per strike. The decrease in the duration of strikes means that recently strikes are not prolonged as they were in 1949. These are good ~~points~~, in the industrial relations of West Bengal. The Korean War does not seem to have any depressing effect on industrial relations. While the cost of Living Index was increasing, the Index of Annual Average Earning of workers was also increasing and we see from table 2 and chart II that in 1948 the Index of Real Wage of workers was 86 (1939 Index=100), in 1949 it was 97, and in 1950 and 1951 it was 101 and 102 respectively. With the advent of a war therefore there was increased industrial activity with a rise in real wages.

TABLE III

Absenteeism Rates : Monthly Averages

Year	Total	Absenteeism Rates in Industries Engineering	Textiles	Miscellaneous
1948	9.95	10.01	6.30	10.81
1949	10.55	9.55	7.41	13.90
1950	13.46	11.37	7.03	21.61
1951	12.76	10.20	6.82	25.86
1952	12.88	10.31	5.96	34.79

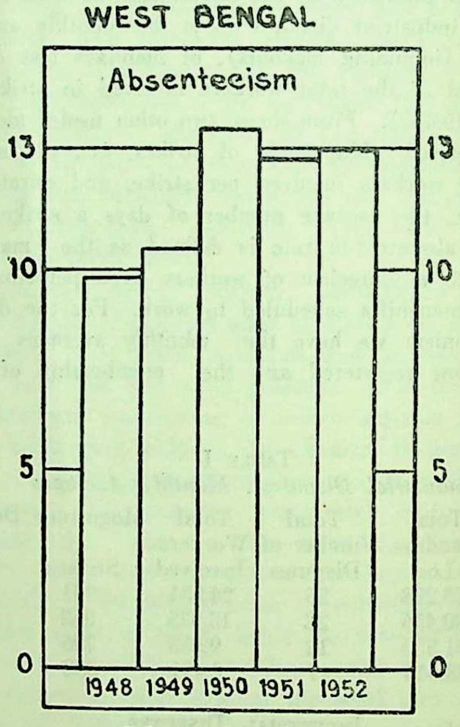


Chart III

ABSENTEEISM

From table 3 and chart III we see that absenteeism rate in West Bengal industries is generally increasing over the years. In 1948 it was 9.95, in 1950 it was 13.46, and in 1952 it is 12.88. In the Engineering and the Textile industries the absenteeism rates have almost been steady, but in the industries in the "miscellaneous" group these are steadily increasing. From 10.81 in 1948, the absenteeism rate for the miscellaneous industries shot up to 34.79 in 1952. This would lead one to apprehend that adequate attention on the problems of absenteeism in the miscellaneous industries is not being given. We would like to draw the attention of the authorities to this.

Table IV

Trade Unions : Monthly Averages

Year	Total Trade Unions Registered	Total Membership of the Registered Trade Unions	Average Membership
1948	43	12,215	284
1949	22	6,987	318
1950	12	10,654	888
1951	18	4,192	233
1952	28	5,074	181

Trade Unionism

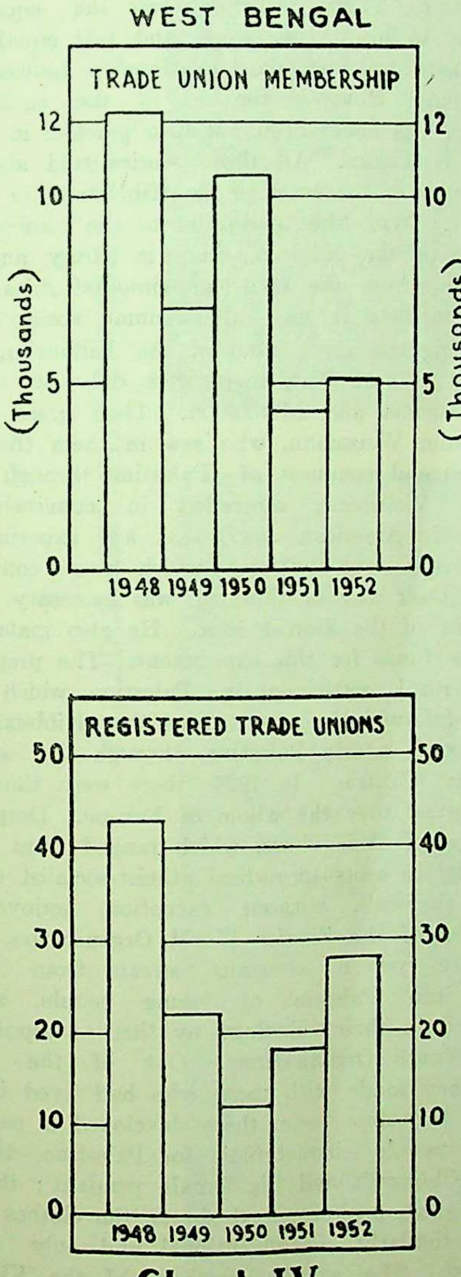


Chart IV

Trade Unionism

Trade unionism has a very important part to play in industrial democracy. The strength of a union depends on the number of its members. The stronger and the more mature a union, the greater is the likelihood of stable industrial relations between the employers and the employees. From table 4 and chart IV we see that the membership of trade unions was the highest in 1948 (twelve thousand). After that there was a considerable decrease in 1949, but it again increased in 1950 (eleven thousand). Subesequently, there were decreases in 1951 and 1952. As we have observed earlier, with the advent of independence and the impetus to all-round development, the workers became conscious of their rights and attempts at collection actions through unionization followed. Thus we witness the tremendous rise in trade union membership in 1948. The strength of unionism seems to be a bit abated in 1949, but it registered an increase in 1950 due to the industrial boom in 1950. The effect was temporary. The membership figures fell down in 1951 and 1952. The number of registered trade unions was the highest in 1948 (43 in number), it decreased up to 1950, but is increasing at present. The average size of trade unions was 284 in 1948, 888 in 1950, and is at present decreasing (181 in 1952).

Conclusion

Taking the period of study (1948-52) as a whole, we see that the days lost due to strikes, the average number of workers involved per strike and the duration of strikes are all decreasing. So far as the effects of industrial disputes on the national economy are concerned, these are a good sign, but there are two disturbing facts. While the decrease in the duration of strikes could be attributed to the attention focussed on the problem, consciousness of trade unionism has been at the same time on the decrease. Absenteeism again is increasing over the years in the "miscellaneous" industries.

Our conclusion then is : In recent years strikes in industries in West Bengal have ceased to impinge effectively on the national economy of West Bengal, but a certain amount of absence of healthy industrial relations is seen in the increase in absenteeism and the decrease in unionization.

The policy of industrial relations in West Bengal should then be oriented on these lines : Efforts have to be made to keep the days lost due to strikes at the low level, to decrease absenteeism in industries, and to spread consciousness of unionism. The high cost of living does not seem to be capable of a short-term solution, but our long-term policy should be to keep the cost of living at that level at which the real wages of the workers do not appreciably decrease in relation to the overall economic situation. The recent announcement of Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, on the fixation of minimum wages compatible with the minimum requirements of labourers is a step in the right direction.

KIBBUZIM

By KARL LOEWY

Although the attempt to transform the Zionist idea into a State of Israel is only in its beginning, it is already possible to recognise and even to analyse several phases of its process. Big things will depend on them, because they will, to a large extent, decide, whether the Jewish people will succeed in becoming an active force in the Eastern hemisphere, now assuming a new lease of life, or whether it will always be condemned to being a group of strangers in this part of the world.

In this connection, the struggle, going on for some time for the political power in the Kibbuzim, has attained significance. As it is not generally known, what a Kibbuz, plural Kibbuzim, really is, it is a necessary preliminary to define its ideological and material tasks. The aim of the Kibbuzim, at the beginning also called, Kvuza, was the realisation of the highest ideal of the Jewish Renaissance Movement of the 20th century, the creation of a Jewish peasantry on the Holy soil of Palestine, whose cultural level, hand in hand with tremendous achievements in farming, should be so high, that the Jews, who have turned towards Asia, should be able to keep in touch with the intellectual forces of the Western civilisation.

In the *American Review,* Zionist Quarterly, Elias E. Epstein, well-versed in the history and development of the Kibbuzim, defines their economic aims by the following seven points :

1. Control of the means of production
2. Extensive farming
3. Combination of farming and industry
4. Mixed farming
5. Intensifying of farming
6. High level of production
7. Non-stop cultivation.

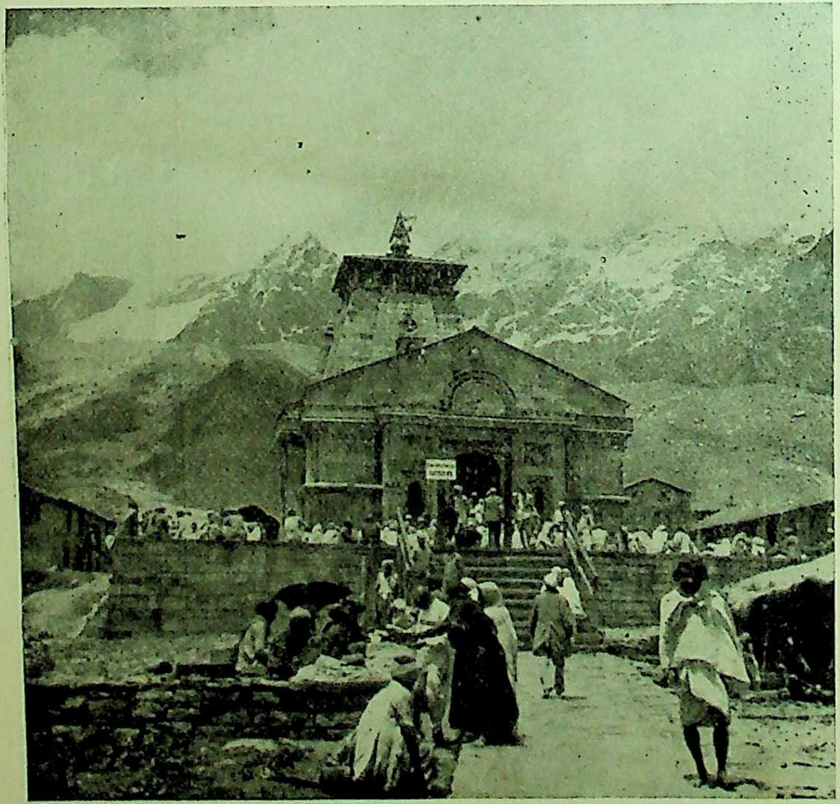
This description gives quite a clear picture of the economic characteristics of the Kibbuzim. However, to make a full understanding of the Kibbuzim Movement possible, it is essential to complete this picture by describing its ideological motives, because, at least in the beginning, it considered itself an avantgarde, which added to itself the name "Chaluzim," "Pioneers." Although the basic idea of the Kibbuz is collectivistic, it is in no way communistic in the sense of the Bolshevik Communism. Its ideas are a combination of an Eastern Jewish conception of Jewish Nationalism, the integral Christianity of Tolstoy, the Liberal Anarchism of Kropotkin, and Jean Jacques Rousseau's picture of society. Its thinking culminates in the liberation of the Jewish people from the slavery of the towns and their accessories, commerce and finance.

Its moral demands corresponded to their economic ethics. Their principle was the equality of everyone in his or her work, and this equality was transferred also into the relationship between man and woman. However, the idea of the equality of the sexes has never been put into practice in the life of the Kibbuzim. All those stories told about the promiscuity of the sexes in the Kibbuzim are entirely fictitious. With the exception of the combined upbringing of the children, there is hardly any more digression from the civil matrimonial rules in the Kibbuzim, than in any other human society.

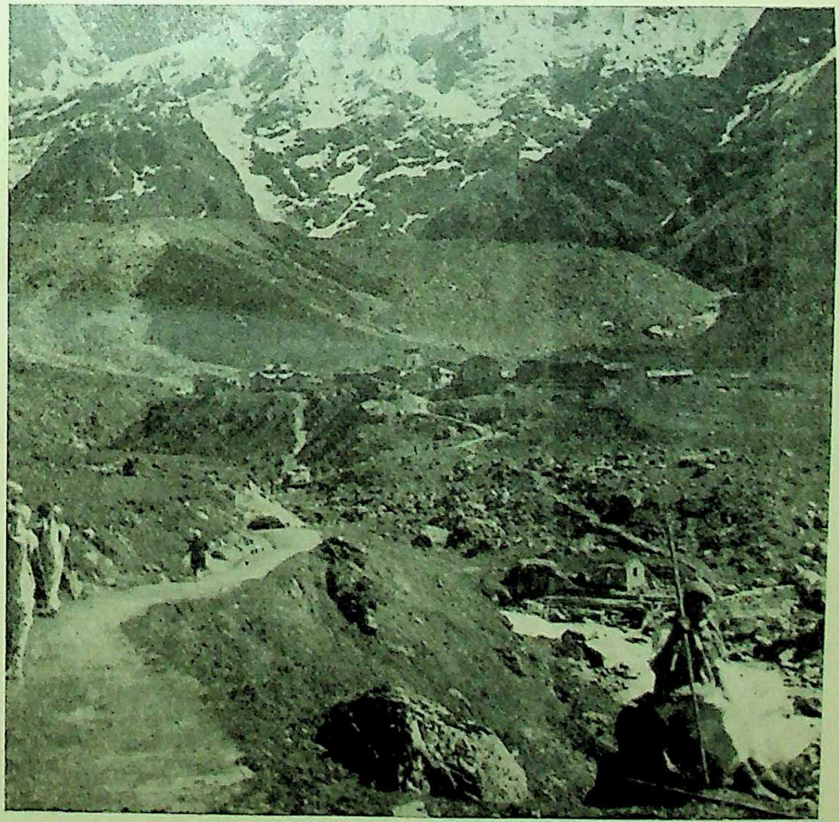
During the great time of the Kibbuzim, up to the 1914 World War, there were only two Kibbuzim : Dagania and Merchavia. Their great inspirer was Chaim Weizmann, who saw in them the means of a peaceful conquest of Palestine through Jewish labour. Weizmann succeeded in convincing the Capitalistic American Jews, that an experiment of collectivistic colonisation, which was completely new to their way of thinking, was necessary for the fulfilment of the Zionist idea. He also managed to raise the funds for this experiment. The preparation for the rural settlement in Palestine, which eventually followed the method of the Kibbuzim, was carried out outside Palestine, through the so-called Hechaluz Centres. In 1938 there were thirteen of these spread over the whole of Europe. Despite the difference of their views, which ranged from orthodox religious sects to radical atheist-socialist communities, they all, without exception, enjoyed the furthering of the Zionist World Organisation.

There was a constant stream from Central Europe into Palestine of young people, strongly influenced in their ideology by their various non-Jewish Youth Organisations. Out of the contact which they made with those who had lived in the country for some time, there developed a particular type of people, characteristic for Palestine,—the so-called Kibbuznik and his female pendant ; the man in blue shirt, peak cap and shorts, the clothes of the woman similarly unconventional and only slightly feminised. The women members of the Kibbuzim likewise wear shorts, which in time also became the fashion of the urban youth. The Arab view, that

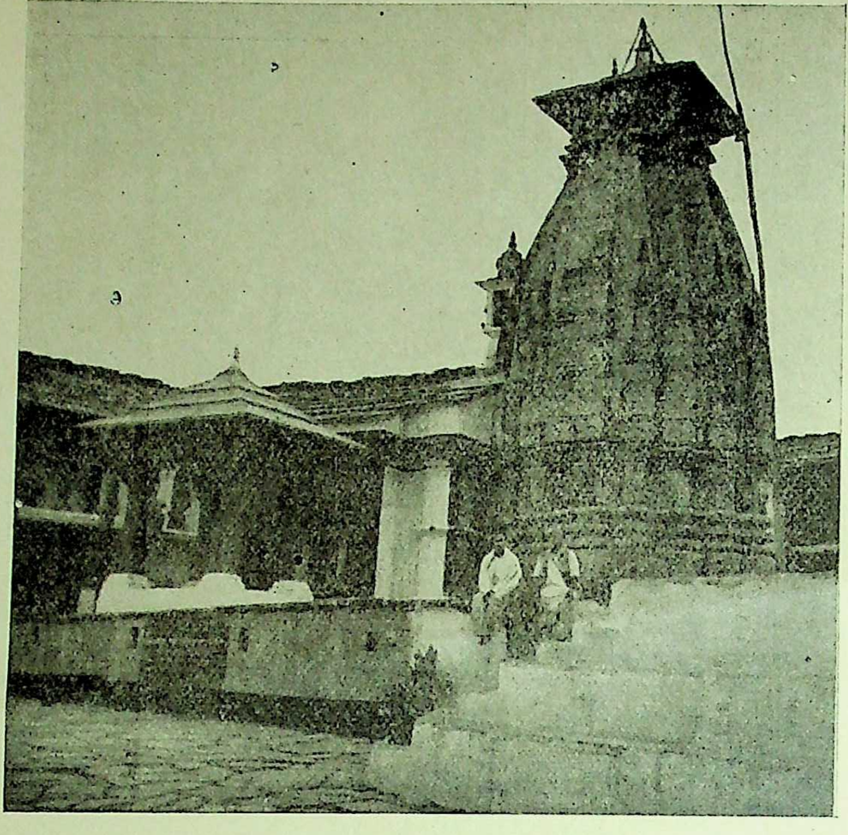
THE HOLY SHRINES OF THE HIMALAYAS



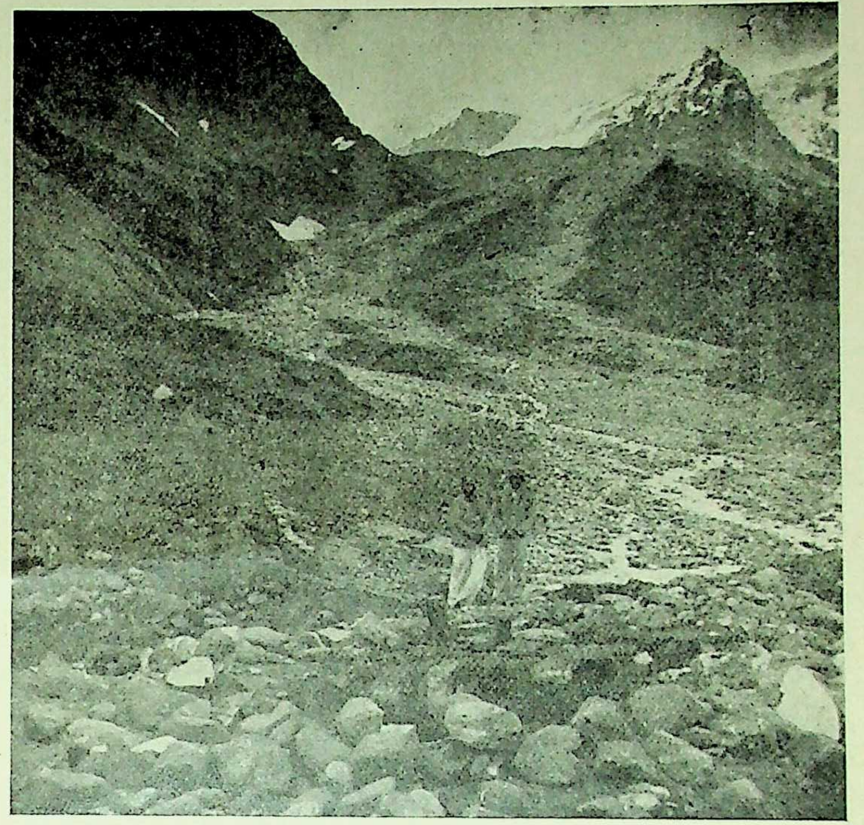
Temple, Kedarnath
(Morning)



Kedarnath in view



Okhimath
Winter residence of Kedarnath



Samadhi of Srimat Sankaracharya at Kedarnath for the sake of moral feeling, a woman's body should be concealed, has not been a minor contributing factor in the intensifying of the antagonism between Jews and Arabs.

In course of time, representative groups of the Kibbuzim have been formed, which have to-day become the exponents of the conflicting parties. Broadly speaking, there are three groups :

1. That of the small Kibbuzim, which has always stood in the right wing socialistic camp of the Mapai. They have always purposely kept their numbers low, in order better to nurse the spirit of comradeship.
2. The party from the Kibbuz Arzi, which has grown out of the socialistic Youth Movement of the Hashomer Hazair (Young Watchmen). In its outspoken anti-religious attitude, it is a party strongly inclined to the Left. They try to replace religion by art, and to give new meaning to the old Jewish festivals by bringing them into relationship with the daily life.
3. The Kibbuz Meuchad, a general Kibbuz, which used to be a purely utilitarian organisation. Its intellectual models are Ain Harod and Yagur. Ain Harod, the bulwark of the Kibbuzim, is today the object of fierce battles from left and right. Both are really villages of more than 1,000 inhabitants, and they govern communal organisations of a quality, such as even Central Europeans would not be ashamed of.

The many ups and downs, which practical Zionism had to suffer in the economic field until the creation of the State, had little adverse effect on the Kibbuzim. Although they endured hardship, they were never seriously threatened with the danger of a breakdown. They were safe in the protection of the Zionist Institution, which never let them perish, because they were at once the elite of the Jewish youth and the fundamental basis of the Zionist development.

The internal and external difficulties began with the creation of the State, for whose existence they have done so much, and for whose fundamental being they hoped to play the same role as they did for the Zionist Movement. The State still appreciates the Kibbuzim, and some of its Civil Servants come from their ranks, but the State has obviously other tasks on hand than that of being their sponsor, after more than generously endowing them with land, which had lost its owners through the war between Jews and Arabs, and was therefore war-booty.

The Kibbuz Movement, which can no longer rely on an influx of young people born in this country, the European sources of additional members having long since been exhausted, is faced with two alternatives : Unconditionally to surrender to a State with totalitarian tendencies, or to become perpetual rebels. At the end of both paths, however, stands the same alternative, the sliding into a dull everyday existence, against which at one time the Kibbuzim fought a mortal battle.

In the search for historical parallels for the events which have for some time been taking place in the Kibbuzim of Israel, the disagreements in the Cloisters of Byzanz after the Council of Nicaa, probably resemble the situation most closely. Although in Israel the subject under dispute is not that of godliness or similarity to the Deity. The differences, which have arisen in the Holy Land are not in the metaphysical sphere. However, the question of whether or not the judgment in the Prague Spy Trial was a just one, is debated with as much literary skill and physical glibness, as were once the problems of the celestial world.

One step is enough to pass from the sublime to the ridiculous. When people who founded Ain Harod, and in 32 years of hard work transformed the settlement from a marsh land to a flourishing village, still have their meals in a communal dining room, when these same people have separate catering arrangements according to their parties, and insist on there being a space of three feet, separating the rows of benches of the Mapai-members from those of the Mapam, then logic and common sense will no longer have much meaning in this discussion. Cruel self-irony has christened this line of division "Latitude 38." The overstepping of this line is no less daring a deed than the crossing of the frontiers between Israel and an Arab State.

Equally strange incidents have occurred in other places, such as for example, in the Kibbuz Jad Chema, which are characteristic of the general situation. Thirty inhabitants of the Kibbuz Jaron in Upper Galil had entered upon a hunger strike, because as members of a Leftist group between Mapam and the Communists, they had been ejected from the community. After being forcefully driven out of their Kibbuz, 27 of them found refuge in the Kibbuz Jad Chana near Chedera. Here it came to fierce clashes between the various groups, which were only with difficulty subdued by the Police, each Party emissary fetching help from outside.

There has never been a lack of conflicts in the Kibbuzim, but they have always been based on the general universal human problems, and not on party-politics. Life in a Kibbuz, as life in a Cloister, cannot be tolerated by everybody. The price paid for the elimination of the struggle for one's existence, is not small. Individual freedom of movement ceases, and the attraction of a communal life with people of similar views, has recently been considerably diminished through the completely indiscriminate acceptance into the Kibbuzim of new candidates.

For this reason, a large part of the German Jewish youth, who emigrated to Israel after having been forced out of their country by Hitler, have already turned their backs on the Kibbuzim. Their departure, however, was only a kind of natural selection, which endangered neither the spiritual nor the material structure. Above all, their departure was made good by a big economic boom, which for Palestinian conditions, was of long duration. It may sound strange, but the Kubbuzim were amongst the benefiters of the Second World War. They enjoyed more than a small portion of the monetary blessings, brought into Palestine, as indeed into the whole of the Middle East, by the presence of the Allied Armies. The rising prices of farm products, of goods produced by the Canning Factories of Givat Chaim and Givat Brenner, and the woodwork factory in Afikim and several other places, transformed the Kibbuzim, considering what they originally were, into big money-earners. Suddenly, their pockets, until then only barely filled by the help of Zionist Institutions, bulged with large sums of money. The takings of the Kibbuzim rose from £19,000 in 1939 to £58,000 in 1940, and to £89,000 in 1941, the Palestine pound at that time still having its full value. Under the influence of this boom, they did not succumb only to the mad desire of economic expansion ; the longing for a better and more extravagant way of life after their long-endured ascetic existence, became one of the doubtful consequences of this sudden uplift. The dining houses of the Kibbuzim became more luxurious, the food of the members was far better than that of town workers, the common rooms were furnished with arm-chairs, like English clubs, and small residential suburbs were built for the older members.

Despite the similarity in their basic organisation, the Kibbuzim differed greatly from each other in several important points. There are various causes for these differences—in one place it is the origin of their founders, in another the natural conditions, and not to a small extent the donations of members' parents and relations. Gan Schmuel was fortunate in being built on land with an old flourishing orange plantation, and right from the beginning, it had no great worries. Chefzibah, founded by Czech intellectuals, has, in the course of years, changed from a communal settlement into a collective residence of older grandseigneurs. The conditions of two camps, formed almost simultaneously, and approximately 10 km. from each other, prove what a great influence external forces can have on the development. The Kibbuz, Gesher ha Sib, consists largely of the sons and daughters of wealthy American parents, in Beth ha Emek most of the inhabitants come from England. The average age in both Camps is 25. Gesher ha Sib enjoys comfort, which surpasses even the standard of well-living Israeli townspeople. Beth ha Emek suffers from an acute lack of the most necessary essentials. It has to live by its own labours, and on the now very minute contributions from the Zionist funds, while the members of the former Camp were carefully equipped by their parents for their Israel adventure, and are constantly subsidised.

With the wealthy as with the poor, the politically still united as with those split up into parti one course of events is noticeable : The main co ception of the idea has disappeared, all have fall from the path envisaged by their founders, and fig a tedious battle for a continued existence, whi today has only a material purpose.

It was not poverty, which brought them to the present position, but a boom, which lasted almo fifteen years, and which has made them forget t purpose of their task.

The second misfortune was the extravagant wa in which the Kibbuzim were treated after t termination of the Jewish-Arab War, during t sharing of deserted Arab land. Idealists, fighting har for their existence became big landowners overnigh without having the experience or the knowledge big European landowners, of the management of large area of land without sufficient capital to kee it going. Although they have received most of t American contributions of technical equipment, t conditions in Israel are beginning to take such turn, that they are not capable of making enough o of their land to satisfy their greater needs for exis ence. Therefore, even the big Kibbuzim, considere during the boom, as prosperous concerns, are not i the position to meet even ridiculously small obliga tions in ready cash.

This condition, the end of which it is impossibl to foresee, has changed the former feeling of securit to one of fear for one's existence, which hopes to fin its salvation in politics. In the vain efforts to find a way out of this dilemma, lie the roots of the conflict in the Kibbuzim. The younger generation parti cularly, in as far as it is not trying to urbanise itsel is seeking its deliverance in Communism, in which i sees the saviour from the danger of perishing in th whirlpool of a free fight for one's life.

Neither the State nor the Zionist Institution conceal the significance of the conflict which presen conditions threaten. To remove this danger, the have as yet only tried half-hearted methods, th isolation of antagonistic elements by dividing thos Camps infected by party combats. Despite its hig costs, this method has proved itself ineffective. I has already reduced the State and Organisatio accounts by several million pounds.

The question arises, whether by a reform similar to that of the Cloister Reform of Cluny, the Kibbu zim could not be assigned new tasks, which by ope ing up new prospects, would create new spiritu impulses. Its success depends on whether the Sta of Israel will remain a Lilliput organism, or whethe it will be capable of fighting its way into being nucleus for far-reaching religious and social idea Until this question is decided, the Kibbuzim will hav to continue to vegetate between life and death.

Nahariya, Israel.

MASS SOCIETY AND CITY CULTURE

By RAM SWAROOP VYAS, D.S.S. (London)

MASS society is a modern phenomenon and thrives in a particular cultural set-up, called city culture. It has given rise to many modern problems of social psychology and social pathology. We have got used to the idea that we are progressing and that science and civilization are leading to an earthly paradise. But it may be, that our conception regarding 'progress' may be wrong. Progress is a value-judgement, a subjective evaluation and not an objective fact, and as such we may be projecting our ideas into nature. And it is more than likely, that instead of 'progressing' we may be rapidly heading towards downfall and decay in our city culture, which today symbolises for us the idea of 'progress.'

> "Mass society is characterised by rationality, impersonal relations, extreme specialisation of roles, loneliness of the individual in spite of concentration of sheer numbers, and loss of sense of intimacy and security. In such societies suggestion, persuasion, propaganda, demagoguery and other aspects of crowd behaviour are common. The irrational thus comes to stand in sharp contrast to the rationality of implied science, high skill and deliberate choice. The impress of mass society upon man and their culture constitute one of the most crucial problems of personality balance, sense of emotional security and moral use of power."*

Mass society is an outgrowth of modern industrial civilization and culture and denotes the fact that the psychological characteristics of individuals living under the conditions of urban life are not to be found in the older primary group life. In our big cities we have a mass of isolated individuals, interdependent in various external ways, lacking any close sense of personal intimacy and emotional security and often having no central unifying value or purpose. It must be pointed out here that this lack of any unifying value or purpose, lies at the root of so many of our maladjustments in our social and personal life. Our modern urban culture is in many ways a crowd-minded society, such as having transitory contacts, emotional reactions, irrationality and values different from those of more stable cultures.

Kimball Young has described in some detail some of the basic features of mass society and their implications for individual and group life as follows :

> "1. There is a stress on rationality, specialisation of roles or functions, impersonality or impermanence of contact and self-assertiveness ; these indicate a loss of warm intimacy and emotion of unity and solidarity that we find in the primary group and in the older secondary associations that drew their social support from the primary contacts of their members.
>
> "2. Such a condition fosters a sense of personal insecurity, loneliness and incompleteness, with the result that
>
> "3. There is a widespread democratisation of wants and a growing demand for their equalitarian satisfaction.
>
> "4. As a result of this and high division of labour the older dominant class, or elite has been challenged and class organisation is in a state of great flux.
>
> "5. There arises a strong desire for social-cultural conditions which will restore at least some of the needed emotional warmth, integration and sense of security. The old cultural order no longer fits the complex demands of life.
>
> "6. Despite the rationality implied in the machine process, in scientific ideology, in specialisation of function, in individual rewards (wages, profits and prestige) there is a marked increase of irrational and emotional thought and conduct. The manifestations of this are evident in the increased desire for crowd contacts, as at sport events, political rallies, prize fights and the motion-picture houses, and in less frequent but more violent mob actions.
>
> "7. In these situations, suggestion, persuasion, emotional appeals, vicarious adventure, and vicarious security are provided. A mixture of rational and irrational carries the individual away and give him the sense of intimacy, solidarity and completeness of response that he lacks in his rational and routine contacts.
>
> "8. But such mass society is temporary, it does not afford the permanence and continuity which human beings crave as the foundations for their life."†

It may be asserted that such a society is no better and no worse than any other previous social order, it is only different, and just as the primary group life of the primitive and the ancient people gave sense of security and stability, they lived in a more or less static society and the individual was made to fit the Procrustes bed of the social tradition. There was no such thing as an individual development, as we find it today in our competitive urban society, and it may be doubted, if on the whole those societies were better adjusted than our own. In the primary groups of Eastern people, where family is still a dominant feature of society, the good of the society is generally sacrificed to the advancement of the family. The conditions are different because of the difference in technology and transport, but it cannot be gainsaid, that all the features enumerated above exist in mass society and that the individual seeks a return of the old filial security and emotional warmth, and perhaps it is too high a price to be paid for the material advance which science and technology have offered us.

This digression is only to say that because we miss some of the earlier features of primary group life, we imbue them with a rosy colour. It may be that in course of time man may become well-adjusted to the modern urban society, as he was used to the trees in ages gone by. But one serious criticism against modern urban society is, that here we find the pace of change much greater and man cannot easily still retain his balance and sanity under these conditions.

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* Kimball Young : *A Handbook of Social Psychology.*

† *Op. Cit.*

But in spite of what has been said, the problem is real and man in modern mass society feels lost and lonely.

> "The many demands of individual choice in the midst of numberless contacts and means of satisfaction leave the individual distraught and dissatisfied. As a result he indulges in thoughts and actions that resemble in many ways those of the member of an action crowd. A transitory or irrational quality makes his attitudes and values different from the more stable and rational ones assumed in traditional social life. Old moral codes appear outworn, personal loyalties of the past mean little or nothing, he desires to get everything for himself, 'while the getting is good,' there is a certain disintegration of life organisation. This may reflect in the breakdown of society's moral order. Man in mass society is easily roused to a pitch of enthusiasm for this cause and that, but may be easily thrown into despair by reverses as easily as the man in the action crowd. He not only seeks a sense of solidarity and security by joining with his fellows in the crowds and audiences, but identifies himself with the vague and amorphous public that are addressed by the radio and the printed page."*

The mass society whose chief features and characteristics have just been mentioned, came into being as a result of what is termed Industrial Revolution and the social and technological changes that have resulted therefrom. The most important factor was the use of steam power, both for manufacture and transport. Later on, electric dynamos and petrol and oil engines partly supported and partly supplanted the steam power. W. S. Thompson has emphasised this fact. According to him,

> "Steam power was of very great significance in promoting mass urban growth in modern times. It not only made necessary the concentration of workers, but it also made it possible to transport food and raw materials from distant parts of the country and from foreign lands. Of all the many factors which made for the tremendous concentration of working populations in the urban regions, steam power should probably be assigned front rank. Machines and steam power created the first factories but there was a cumulative tendency at work here. Factories that were successful tended to grow even larger. Since steam power continued to be the main source of energy employed, additions to plant facilities were made right adjacent to the earlier buildings. The larger the plant the greater the number of people who had to live near it in order to work in it. Satellite industries also tended to collect round the major industries. And the problem of industrial administration also added to the congestion as offices were situated in the factories, and in addition to labouring classes, a lot of white collar people were employed and lived in the neighbourhood. The professional classes, such as doctors and lawyers and teachers serving both the industrialists and the labourers also flocked to the new urban centres."

But it would be misleading, if it is understood that the development of factory production was the chief factor in creating urban centres, and the congestion that led to mass society. Particularly in England, the enclosure of land for sheep, and the disorganisation of agricultural life also sent many young people into the city in order to find employment. Agriculture is also related to the development of city life, through the development of scientific agriculture, by means of improved tillage methods and better crops, initiated by Tull and Townshend. Robert Bakewell showed how to improve the breed of domestic animals. Thomas Coke and Arthur Young encouraged large-scale and more efficient farming. These innovations together with extensive enclosure of land, ousted peasants from the land and created an army of unemployed farm hands to seek new occupations either in rising towns or in foreign lands. While creating unemployment, it at the same time made it possible to produce a far greater amount of food than ever before, and thus helped to maintain a large working class population of non-agricultural group in urban areas. And as farming became more efficient less people were required to produce more food. The average American farmer feeds and clothes about twenty other persons from the produce of his farm. Sometimes this contribution of agriculture to urban growth is overlooked. It was the increasing efficiency of farming which made it possible for the cities to become larger and more numerous after the industrial conditions had supplied a stimulus to urban growth. It would not be inaccurate to say that machines and factories made the industrial town necessary, while improved agriculture, transportation and trade have made it possible for larger cities to exist with unparalleled frequency.

Just as the development of factory system and the improvement in agriculture made the huge agglomeration of people, called cities, possible, so the cities in essence create the mass-man whose problems we are studying. In this connection the historic development of cities and their evolution will give us a more complete picture of our theme. We are mainly indebted to Lewis Mumford† for the very full and significant analysis of the evolution of the cities. He correlates definite urban types or stages with the social and cultural conditions produced by these and in return fostered by them. His theory of urban evolution represents a valuable sociological contribution to our conception of the stages of urban growth.

The first type or stage of urban society recognised by Mumford is what he has designated as eopolis. This is the village community which arose in Neolithic times. It was based upon a pastoral and agricultural economy of a simple sort, but with a surplus production which provided security and continuity. Permanent dwellings were constructed and an elementary plan of village construction worked out. The village was based upon blood relation and community association. This agricultural village community was the germ or prototype of the true city which appeared later.

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* *Op. Cit.*

† Lewis Mumford : *The Culture of Cities.*

The second type or stage of urban development was the polis, represented by Oriental city-states and early Greek and medieval towns. This grew up from the merging, an association of several village communities. It had a common citadel favourable for defence, a common shrine or temple in which was worshipped a common deity, and a meeting place for the exchange of products and ideas. While the polis was founded primarily upon a rural economy, we find here the beginning of mechanisation in water mills, metal working, wheeled vehicles and paved roads. The social division of labour was further developed, giving the urban society free time and new energy for the development of philosophy and art. Special buildings, such as temples, stadiums, theatres, guild-halls were constructed to house these new cultural activities. But the traditions and social customs of a rural age still dominated the psychology of these urban dwellers.

Third in order came the metropolis. This type of large urban community arose when some one city, as a result of strategic location, better natural resources, superior trading facilities or all these attracted an unusually large number of inhabitants. This enabled it to assume a predominant position in the region or the county as a whole. Mechanisation of life was carried still further, the division of labour multiplied. Manufacture and trade finally edged out agriculture as the economic basis of urban life. In order to assure an adequate food supply, foreign trade was elaborately developed. These trading contacts together with the immigration of foreigners produced a cross-fertilisation of cultures. New habits and ideas were introduced. Greater wealth and treasure stimulated the development of thought, philosophy and art. It has been in these new and vigorous metropolitan centres, such as Platonic Athens, the Florence of Dante, the London of Shakespeare and Emersonian Boston that human culture attained its very finest expressions. But even as early as the metropolitan stage, we find symptoms of decay. The various cultural elements were not adequately integrated, a selfish individualism sprang up, war was professionalised, and a fatal gulf developed between the wealthy classes and the workers. The metropolis came to be dominated more and more by the rich and by the ideals entertained by that class.

The fourth stage of urban development is what Mumford describes as megalopolis. In this stage we come even more definitely upon evidences of social pathology and urban decline. The city is dominated by financial and business elements. Mere bigness and power become in themselves the ends most sought after in urban development and city life. The lust for power and wealth crowds out the finer human sentiment. Mechanisation is carried to a new level of development. Bureaucracy in government becomes characteristic. Standardisation dominates life, even in the field of culture and art. Scholarship descends to sterile compilation and statistical research. Education is devoted primarily to encyclopedic instruction and knowledge is divorced from the realities of life. The workers are thoroughly exploited by the wealthy classes and the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat becomes sharper and more comprehensive. Representative examples of this megalopolitan stage of urban development have been Alexandria in the third century B.C.; Rome in the second century A.D.; Constantinople in the tenth century; Paris in the eighteenth century and New York in our day.

Megalopolis degenerates into tyrannopolis, a stage into which certain contemporary cities are already entering. Here the whole urban economy becomes essentially parasitical. Both economics and politics are carried out for the purpose of exploitation. Politicians build up a coalition with organised criminals. Hence, the tyrannopolis is dominated by respectable people who behave like criminals and by criminals whose activities do not bar them from respectability. This is the age of organised racketeering and commercial crime. Political idealism is replaced by cynicism and loss of nerve. The predatory psychology spreads even beyond the boundaries of State and leads to war and excessive drain on great armaments programme. Dictators with all the characteristics of local gangsters writ large take over the control of entire States. All intellectual and artistic work is repressed and thorough-going censorship established. All original work in arts and science ceases.

Finally, we come to the last and sixth stage; that of urban collapse or the period of necropolis. In this terminal stage of urban evolution the cities are laid waste by war, famine and disease. The cities themselves become little more than empty shells, graveyard of ancient glories and contemporary degradations. The buildings fall into ruins, the stores are looted, economy collapses. Foreign invaders may come out to wipe out what remains or the process may be brought to an end by dry-rot from within. In the necropolitan era we find the city of the dead, flesh turned to ashes, life turned into a meaningless pillar of salt.

While Mumford does not contend that cities must inevitably pass through all these stages, he shows that we have had examples of each of these stages in the cities of the past including necropolis in the form of Babylon and Nineveh. Most of the large cities in Europe and America have reached the stage of megalopolis and in Fascist countries, they had attained the stage of tyrannopolis.

A survey of city culture thus displays greater maladjustment, as its size and population increases, and in proportion its value diminishes. The crime, insanity and suicide rates are much higher than for rural areas, and in large towns delinquency areas exist. There is greater life disorganisation, as has been pointed out earlier, and the loneliness of individual in spite of sheer number breeds pathological mental states. It, therefore, seems advisable that an upper limit should be placed on the increase of the cities, and that vast human agglomerations and conurbations producing unhealthy biological and mental conditions should not be allowed to develop unhindered.

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TOWARDS BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

An Indian Visitor's Impressions

By Dr. KRISHNA BAI NIMBKAR

Our visit to the United States, Canada and Japan has been made possible by the generosity of the Ford Foundation and the Planning Commission of the Government of India.* We were a team of five women invited to America and Canada to take advantage of the seventh triennial conference of the Associated Countrywomen of the World, which opened in Toronto on August 11.

The ACWW as the Association has come to be known, is the only international body representing countrywomen among 239 non-governmental organizations, having consultative status with the United Nations. It speaks with authority on behalf of some its member countries, on problems facing women in rural areas in these countries and does what it can, to assist them. It is the Association's view that if customs and habits of a people have to be changed towards a better living, it must be done through women.

In the five-member team, two of us, myself and Shreemati Kameswari Kuppuswamy of Mysore, were from India, nominated by the Planning Commission; two from Pakistan and one from Egypt.

After going through the endless and what appeared to me, interminable formalities of passports, visas, inoculations and medical examinations and taking our final instructions from the Planning Commission authorities and the Ford Foundation Representative for India in New Delhi, we two boarded the plane for Karachi at New Delhi. At Karachi, we changed over to a BOAC flight. We left its beautiful airport on a warm, Saturday afternoon, August 22, and reached London the following day.

Thrilling Experience

This was my first long-distance flight outside my own country. The varied lands and climates one flew over; the halts at stifling, suffocating airports of Basra and Beirut; the strict passport formalities there; the view of the oil fields from the air; the breakfast at Rome's international airport the next morning; the aerial view of that "eternal city"; the flight over the glistening, snow-capped, Alps mountains in broad daylight; the gorgeous lunch at Frankfurt, at its lovely and colourful airport, with a holiday crowd watching the landings and taking off of international planes; the crossing over to the English coast from Dunkirk over the English Channel; the vain attempts to spot out famous English landmarks, to which one had been so utterly familiar through history and literature; and the final thrill, of majestically landing at London's Northholt airport. All this constituted a very, personal and thrilling experience indeed.

The Trans-Atlantic Flight

The same night we changed over at London, to a BOAC Strato-Cruiser, on our trans-Atlantic flight to New York. It was a flight worthy of all the superlative descriptions contained in travel books and folders. We flew all through the night, losing sense of time and dates and space. We made a brief halt at the Rajyavik airport in Iceland, saw the famed, midnight sun, enormous icebergs floating lazily on the waters of the Atlantic, half submerged, terrible and fascinating in their austere, cold beauty, of their isolation and majesty. Thence, over Labrador, with its pine-covered forests and its jagged countryside, followed by a brief halt, at Goose Bay. Onward, then to New York, flying over Manhattan, to that great city's international airport. From there, to La Guardia Airport by taxicab, passing lines and lines of New York's skyscrapers, until one reached Washington.

In Washington

In Washington, we were welcomed warmly by the American women; the Ford Foundation people had specially appointed an "escort" for us, Miss

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* Dr. Mrs. Krishna Bai Nimbkar is a member of the Social Welfare Board, recently constituted by the Government of India, to co-ordinate the work of voluntary social service organisations in this country. She is now on a study tour and is visiting America, Canada and Japan.

Landrum, herself, a retired Extension Worker, who helped us to see places.

Our itinerary covered a period of about twelve weeks. The first week was devoted to what they in America, call an "Orientation" course, which is conducted with remarkable efficiency and American thoroughness, by the Washington International Centre. The second week was devoted to a programme of visits, talks and observation, at several State departments or Bureaus of the American Federal Government, like those of Labour, Agriculture, Education and Health and Social Welfare. Also included in this programme, were many luncheons and meetings with representatives of many voluntary and social service organizations in the country, which had their national headquarters at Washington, with regional and branch organizations in the States and Counties.

Between the two weeks, we had time to spend two week-ends with American friends and had opportunities to observe how they lived in their homes. We had also some experience of life in a metropolitan city during our stay at the Statler Hotel, one of America's chain of big luxury hotels. Our rooms in this hotel were equipped with every conceivable convenience, such as television sets, radios, telephones, air conditioners and everything that would delight a traveller. The meals provided were gorgeous but cooked and prepared from simple material, pleasant to taste and in endless variety.

We had opportunities too to stay overnights with some of our hostesses in their homes. We watched them discharge their daily chores with efficiency and quickly with the aid of their electrical and mechanical cooking ranges, cold storage arrangements, washing machines. We saw some of them do a week's washing in their homes in half an hour, without worrying about the *dhobi*. We saw them cleaning their backyards and mowing their lawns in a matter of minutes.

We saw too, the American farmer in his home setting. We watched him attend his cows, his fowls, his pigs, his grass farms. We noted the utterly hygienic standards achieved in the milking of his cows and in the preparation of his farm's milk products for the American markets. We ate great, luscious apples, straight from the trees in his orchards, drank milk from his coolers. We visited the local board hospital, completely equipped for all kinds of medical relief to the local community. We saw too the ivy and honeysuckle, the pines and the oaks, the silver spruce and the maple, which we had only read about in our school text-books at the Egmore Presidency Training School in Madras. We drove to Maryland with the young Mrs. Wilson, aged 65, driving us in her automobile, to see a village farm at Harper's Ferry, passing week-end holidaying crowds in their automobiles, across the Shannon Rock river, crossing areas filled with hotels, trailer caravans, wayside markets and drug stores. It was a memorable week-end indeed for one, who travelled third class in India on principle and who had promised Gandhiji, when she was a girl, not to wear anything but *khadi*. I wore my usual *khadi* wherever I went. Its dignity and simplicity attracted attention. There were friendly comments in the newspapers about the *khadi saris* I wore and a genuine appreciation for things one stood for.

Dr. Krishna Bai Nimbkar

SOME SALIENT FEATURES

Such was America, as it appeared to me during the first fortnight of my stay there, in that new world they are trying to build. Through all the things I was privileged to see, I noticed and thought of some of its salient features. The utter unconventionalism, the smile of welcome, the civility and politeness they give to one another, the hospitality with its spontaneity, the awareness of increasing internationalism that seems to govern the expanding life of the ordinary American citizen of today, his deep assimilation of the spirit of modern democracy, his intense desire to keep up to standards of righteousness laid down by his people, the growing pride in his institutions and new traditions and the desire to take his nation from greatness to greatness, bore evidence to the magnificent struggle of a new type of humanity. All this made an abiding impression on me. I felt deeply moved indeed. Their courage and faith in themselves was something of an eye-opener to me.

The American human energy is something very terrific. Their vitality and struggle to keep themselves perpetually active which results in every man, woman and child to engage themselves, in some form of work or other, is astonishing. At the same time, they seem to find a lot of leisure to do things they would like to do. This is probably because of their highly mechanised existence. In short, their material existence has reached a standard of perfection and regimentation, which is unthinkable to a person from the East.

CREATED NEW PROBLEMS

I may be right—I may be wrong in my assessment of American values, but it does seem to me that all this mechanical perfection towards a better material existence, is likely to dull the edge of creative effort in the long run. A day might come when the American people may not know what to do without the perfect means at their disposal. For example, the manner in which household vermin has been exterminated by their moth balls, vacuum cleaners and insecticide sprays is also leading the American people, equally to discover means to exterminate the human being, considered undesirable by them, by their research into the use of the A and H bombs!

These imbalances agitate one's mind, especially, if one were accustomed to the idea of a Gandhian peace. It is also agitating the minds of many in America itself—of world federalists, humanists and pacifists who are all trying to work out a new formula for human endeavour, towards directing the era of perfected ways of living to enrich the underprivileged world. Is it this motivation then, that is at the bottom of the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 Programme, the TCA and the International Educational Exchanges? Or is it the attempt to counter the expanding political philosophies of a totalitarian communism, which, according to them, has done the world no good? Or again, is it the psychology of an emergent, new race of men and women, trying to assert itself and to establish itself in its new position, replacing a decadent world power and race groups of Britain and France, to which two countries themselves, the Americans still claim ancestry? All these questions impinge themselves on any visitor from t East, who sees America and the Americans for t first time.

The Indian View

The Indian visitor to America reacts to it a according to his or her roots, which they have h in India. Personally, I cannot help upholdin honestly and truthfully, the philosophy of Gand and Radhakrishnan and Vivekananda. The inte nationalism of Nehru and the vision of our o attempts at the revival of our ancient villag economy based on self-sufficiency and self-hel leading to a fulfilment of both the spiritual a material needs of man, enabling him to live i harmony with Nature, with his neighbours, with tre and flowers and even bees and insects in the setting and with God in His manifold manifestatio seems better. It seems to me too, that in a system o practical philosophy such as this, our Five-Year Pla is a good beginning. It may not be perfect. But i has the seeds of big endeavour on a national scale to solve some of our problems, without forgetting th basic things we in India are made of, rightly o wrongly.

Yet, I still believe we have a lot to learn from America. We have a lot to teach them too. There is not a more receptive nation today to our philosophies of life and living. This we shall be able to do, only by these mutual exchange programmes for which we have to thank the far-sighted policies of both the Governments of India and the United States of the present day.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir"

Papers giving descriptive accounts of religious rites and practices of different parts of this vast country are always welcome. They help the people in knowing each other. Nay, they tend to create a feeling of unity and solidarity among the people by way of bringing into prominent relief the underlying unity pervading through the apparent diversities that binds together the Hindus of different corners speaking different languages, wearing different dresses and observing apparently different religious practices. Hence, the need for compiling these accounts with care and presenting them in a clear and unambiguous form requires no emphasis. But unfortunately this does not in general appear to be fully recognised. So the papers sometimes arouse our curiosity but do not satisfy it.

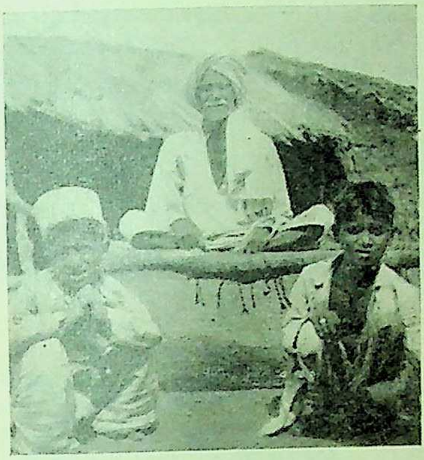
Rajali's paper on "Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir" published in the August issue of *The Modern Review* seeks to show that Shakti worship became popular in Kashmir from olden times and refers to the deities worshipped and the feasts and festivities observed to this day. All this is very good and interesting. But only a mention of the names, presumably in their popular and sometimes corrupt forms, without giving any details serves very little useful purpose. Even a reference to the Sanskrit forms would have in some cases at least been of partial help. Occasionally, but not always, the Sanskrit forms may easily be guessed. *Gauri Trateya* seems to be *Gauri Tritiya*, *Jetha Astami* and *Poh Astami* may be *Jyaistha Ashtami* and *Paus Ashtami* respectively. But what is *Khriv Chodah*? Is *Navarah* a variation of *Navaratra*? And we want to have some information about the time and nature of these festivals. We want to have some details about deities like Sarika and Rajni. We cannot remain satisfied with the statement that the *Sivaratri*, a festival of wide popularity, is observed in Kashmir on the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Phalguna and not on the 14th as in other parts of India. Some light needs be thrown on the reason for this difference. Is there any Shastric authority for this Kashmirian practice or even a reference to it in any popular or mythological story?

Chintaharan Chakravarti

THE CHILDREN OF HARI

By T. B. NAIK

SAINT Augustine used to say that man wonders at the rolling sea and the boundless sky but does not look at the most wonderful thing : man, himself. It was perhaps Hamlet who wondered at man, noble in reason, infinite in capacity, like an angel in action and like a god in apprehension. An anthropologist is another person who wonders at man and his affairs, but he is different. He does not give up man as a quintessence of dust like the Prince of Denmark. His wonder is replaced by sobriety, he studies man and his work most dispassionately and objectively and gives us the report of his observation.



A Balahi patriarch on his seat of honour

I am introducing to you* such an anthropologist's study of a small man in our state. The study is called the *Children of Hari* and is written by Reverend Stephen Fuchs. Now over 45, father Fuchs was associated with the Society of the Divine World at Khandwa where he spent about ten years. He is now working for the famous Anthropos Institute of Vienna in its Indian Branch at Bandra, Bombay, and he also lectures at the St. Xaviers' College, Bombay. Father Fuchs has written over fifty superior papers in the *Anthropos*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay*, the *New Review*, etc., and has also worked on behalf of the Census 1931 among the Bhils of Central India, taking their anthropometric measurements. This book, *The Children of Hari*, describing the culture and social life of the Balahis has about 463 pages, 22 plates, a good introduction by Christoph Von Haimendorff, is priced Rs. 25 and is published by Harold Verlog, Vienna, in 1950, and available at the Indian Branch of the Anthropos Institute, Bandra, Bombay 20.

II

POPULATION AND RACE

The Balahis are untouchables belonging to the Nimad District of our state. Their total all-India population is about 5 lakhs 84 thousand and they are distributed in Ajmer-Merwara, U.P., Gwalior and M.P., where they number 56,782. They appear to be of the same stock as the Chamars of U.P. and seem to have migrated here from that state and settled near Khandwa and Hoshangabad. They have been studied in and nearby Khandwa.

Racially the Balahis are not a caste approaching to anything like uniformity of features or purity of race. The mean stature of males is 159.6 cm, the mean cephalic index of males is 77.3 and the mean male nasal index is 80.5. Their skin colour varies from a light brown to black and the hair colour is a very dark brown or black. They seem to have received a number of accretions from Aryan and non-Aryan races of India; for even in the distribution of blood groups they differ from the Indian average ; they have all the groups, A. B and O in the same proportion.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The wearing apparel of the Balahis consists mainly of loom-made articles untouched by needle and scissors. The traditional dress of a male Balahi consists of a loin-cloth, *keiti* or *dhoti*, a coat, *angarkha* or *angarsa*, or a shirt *camiz*, and a head-cover, *pagri* or *topi*. Shoes, *juta*, they wear only in the summer when the hot soil burns even the thick soles of their feet to blisters or on a journey and during field work.

A Balahi Sadhu

The usual attire of the Balahi female consists of only two pieces of cloth : the *lugra*, a large sheet which covers the lower portion of the body, the back and the head ; and the *choli* or *angia*, a bodice which covers and supports the breasts. The *lugra* is about 16 *haths* in length and about four to five feet in breadth and is donned in the usual Marathi style. Women and girls never wear shoes except in the hot season, when at field work or on a journey; but they take off the shoes when they enter the village. A woman should not wear shoes when she meets a men, especially if he is her husband.

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* Introduction of the book to the Jamalpur Book Club on December 7, 1951. The photographs have been very kindly given by Dr. S. Fuchs, the author of the book.

The Balahi men have various methods of dressing their hair. Often the whole skull is shaved with the exception of the *chutti*. This fashion, very popular with them, is known as *gota*. Others have the hair of their head cut except for the portion over the ears. This is called *kalam*. Some keep very long hair and cut it off at neck-length; it is called *singora*. Women allow their hair to grow and coil it in a simple twist at the back of the head; and they are rather untidy in arranging their hair.

Devotees of Kati Mata

Balahi men generally wear few ornaments. They have ear-rings *murkhi* and *bhauri*, silver-rings on the wrists, finger rings and waist chains *kurudlu*. But the Balahi women have a greater number of ornaments of gold, silver, nickel or glass; but never of brass. In the ears they wear the *dodi* and *jhumka*, in the hair the *bindia*, *bija*, and *bora*; and round their necks the *takli*, a massive silver ring and silver chains, and *pot* strings of glass pearls worn by married women. Then there are finger-rings, wristlets (the *dal*, the *erya* and the *gol*), anklets (the *kara* and the *payera*), and toe-rings (the *bela*, the *tichhia* and *bichhia*). Unlike the aboriginals they wear few tatoo marks.

FOOD AND DRINK

They eat *joari* bread, boiled rice and *dal*. Wheat and vegetables are also eaten when they can afford to buy them. There are two specialities of Balahi diet for which they are looked down upon by other castes; they eat carrion and *jutha*, the leavings of food of higher castes. They drink liquor, use pan and at times a few take opium also.

III

LIFE HISTORY OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Birth: Children are most welcome for the Balahi. When a child is born there is much rejoicing and feasting. Now-a-days it is customary for the father himself to assign a name to his child. He never ventures give the child his own name or that of its mother the belief is that the parent would die if a child is gi the name of its father or mother. Frequently a boy a girl gets a second name by which they will be call The real name is not even known in public. B usually receive as their names an epithet of Krish Rama or any other Hindu god. Children are also nam after days, *e.g.*, Manglya (Tuesday) or Budhya (W nesday).

On the sixth day after birth the goddess *Chatti* worshipped. This goddess is supposed to write child's fate on his forehead on the coming night. the eleventh day after birth *Jalwai* puja is done. T ceremony resembles a certain rite in the wedding rit and shows that a marriage is not complete if not bless with children. The mother moves out of her seclus on the twenty-first day. The mother nurses her ch for about three years or until the next child arrives. S suckles the child whenever it begins to cry. There no regular time of feeding. They just grow up bei attended to by older siblings and there is no botherat about their training and education. There is no crue towards children and no infanticide. They learn imitation and observation and soon reach the marria age.

A Khadi

MARRIAGE

From the Balahi point of view the first purpose marriage is procreation, the perpetuation of the fami the clan, the caste. A Balahi marriage, as any oth Hindu marriage, comprises three groups of ceremoni which are performed to celebrate, (i) the betrothal, (i the actual marriage contract and (iii) the beginning conjugal life.

They of course see that a man marries outside t clan of his father and of his mother. Blood relationsh up to the fifth degree and affinity to tho third deg inclusive make a marriage unlawful. A widow can marry a member of her former husband's clan.

Engagements are generally arranged when a Bala boy is about six to eight years of age and the gir usually slightly younger. The betrothal is entirely a parental affair ; if both the parties agree they decide on the *chhoti mangni* in which the boy's father with a few men of his village goes to the girl's home; there they drink liquor saying : "Let us now drink the liquor of the betrothal."

An old Balahi woman

When the last bottle is empty, the boy's father pours a few drops of liquor in a glass and offers it to the girl's father saying, "I am giving you my son. Let there be no quarrel." The girl's father drinks it, pours some drops in it and offers it to the boy's father saying, "I give you my daughter. She will work for you. Treat her with indulgence." This ceremony is called *larka larki ka adla badla*. After two or three months the boy's father goes to the girl's father's house with presents, which includes some clothes and sweets for the girl. One year after the betrothal the bride-price has also to be paid up. It amounts to Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 and is demanded by the girl's father because he loses a worker in the house and also because he brought her up. It also guarantees for the stability of the marriage.

In the marriage proper the main ceremonies are : the bride and the bridegroom are anointed with *haldi* in their respective homes ; at the bridegroom's house a marriage booth, *mandap* is erected ; the bridegroom's party, *barat*, goes to the bride's village in carts and stay for a while in a special house, *janwasa.* Then the bride and the bridegroom meet under the *mandap*; their hands are joined and the hems of their garments are also tied; and after a banquet there are a few other minor rites performed. The next day the bridegroom's party with the bride goes to their own village. The girl goes to her father's house after a few days during which she is not allowed to sleep with her husband and lives there until her first menstruation.

After her first menstruation word is sent to her father-in-law that she is now ready to enter married life and that he may come to fetch her. The man soon arrives with some companions and is served with liquor and a good feast. They go to their own village with the girl early next morning. The arrival of the girl at her husband's house is called *ana*.

IRREGULAR FORMS OF MARRIAGE

Over and above the regular marriages described above there are elopements and enforced marriages also. A woman can enter the house of a man and inform him of her intention to stay with him and he keeps her. Polygamy is allowed but not largely practised. Widows are also allowed to marry. Divorces are allowed and are frequent. Usually, it is the woman's relations who seek a divorce because of ill-treatment, dissatisfaction of the women or the prospect of a good bride price in case of a remarriage.

DEATH AND FUNERAL

Then comes death as sure as anything ; and the Balahis do not believe in deceiving a patient with soothing words about his chances of recovery. They are frank and express doubts as to his recovery. They, even the dying men, have little fear of death, do not think about it and live entirely for the present.

A young Balahi woman

The dying person is placed on the ground, a bier is prepared, the dead body is washed and clad in a new cloth. The mourners put some silver coins and grain-balls in the hands of the corpse and spread new clothes over the bier and then tie the dead man on the bier. The widow of the dead man dresses in her best clothes and ornaments, weeps with heart-rending sobs, anoints the dead man with *haldi* (signifying the return of the marriage *haldi*) and then takes off her jewels and ornaments.

Four men carry the bier to the burial ground led by a near relative carrying a smouldering dung-cake in his right hand. All the way the mourners should incessantly say : *Ram bolo bhai Ram* ! The body is buried; the mourners take a bath in a river or *nala* and return home.

Ten days they mourn, the women singing pitiful dirges in the early morning every day. On the tenth day they offer *puja* to Ganapati and then there is a funeral banquet

IV

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

THE CLASS

The Balahis as a caste have several endogamous subdivisions—the Kori, the Gannoria and the Katia. They have a number of exogamous class, which they call *got* or *kul*, the members of one *kul* being considered brothers and sisters cannot marry each other.

THE FAMILY

It is the most important unit in their social organisation. It generally consists not only of husband and wife and their children but also of the wives of children of the grown-up sons. It is more often than not a family group, a so-called joint-family. In a well-ordered joint-family all its members contribute their share to the support of the whole family. The father is the seat of authority; and the owner of the entire property. When the brothers separate they get equal share of family property, sisters do not get anything.

Balahi dancers

THE PANCHAYAT

The public affairs of a Balahi village community are managed by a communal body called *panch* or *panchayat*, which has a membership of four or five elders elected by the adult male population of a village. The *panch* has wide jurisdiction powers. It discusses and decides, for example, the sinking of a well, the building of a *mandir*, or the acquisition of common caste-property. It can enforce the observance of the caste-rules and can punish the transgresses. Slander, petty thefts, disputes, even bride-price and divorces, all fall under its jurisdiction. The *panch* has authority to impose punishment extending from a small fine to expulsion from the caste, which is really a very hard punishment. There is a bigger though rarer caste-council consisting of members of twenty or more villages, which meet to decide more important caste questions.

CASTE OFFICIALS

The Balahis have a number of important caste officials. The first is the headman of the caste called *jat patel* or *mehtar*. His office is for life-time and his task is to preside over caste meetings. No purification ceremony is performed without him. The second is the *bhat*, the caste-registrar, who visits Balahi villages fallen to his share and records important events of each Balahi family in his district. The third one is their spiritual *guru* who is himeslf a Balahi. He goes from village to village where his followers live; he is often called to attend a wedding but certainly his presence is required for the funeral services on the tenth day after death. The fourth official is the barber, *nai* who is also a Balahi. To each *nai* a certain number of villages is assigned and it is his task to cut the hair and shave the head of the Balahis living in these villages. Then at certain feasts, weddings and funeral feasts, he is called to act as the official master of ceremonies. And last but not the least important is the Balahi Brahman who administer to the spiritual needs of the Balahis. He is also called to cast the horoscope of a new-born child and to give it an auspicious name.

SOME CASTE RULES

Here are a few of the many caste rules: (i) A Balahi is expelled from his caste for killing a man, or a cow or a bullock, a dog, cat, jackal, squirrel, horse or mongoose; for committing incest; for being beaten by a sweeper, Mang or Dhobi. (ii) The Balahis regard as unclean—the dead body of a dog, a cat, a mongoose, a donkey, a horse and a squirrel. They never touch even a live donkey and usually avoid touching a live cat or dog. (iii) New accretions from other castes are always welcome to them. The only condition for admission to their community is that the applicant comes from a higher caste.

RELATIONS TO OTHER CASTES

The Balahis are not commonly treated with contempt by members of higher castes but rather as a people with whom one should not be in close contact. A high caste man feels polluted and must take a bath if he is touched by a Balahi. It is said that in times not long passed a Balahi was not even allowed to spit on the ground for fear of polluting a high caste man who might tread on his spittle. He had to carry a spittle on a string round his neck.

With equal, if not greater, severity the Balahis treat members of castes a shade lower than their own. They keep distance from a Mehtar (lower than themselves) more carefully than any member of a higher caste. In fact a Balahi would lose his caste if he sits with a Mehtar on the same bed or bullock-cart.

RELIGION

The Balahis believe in most of the Hindu gods like Rama, Krishna, Mahadeo, Hanuman and Ganesh. They worship the snake god, the god of cattle and of buffaloes and also Kabir. Their belief in the Hindu gods shows that they are largely Hinduised.

They have their own clan-gods and goddesses whom they pay the highest respect. They have the mother-cults also in the form of the worship of the Dhaj Mata and Katimata. There is a lot of superstitious boliefs in witches, ghosts and demons. They have sorcerers also who can drive out witches if they have possessed any one.

ECONOMIC LIFE

About 2.6% of all Balahi earners are cotton weavers; 73.0% are employed as field labourers, wood-cutters, etc., only 12.2 per cent are cultivatos of any kind, 2.0 per cent are raisers of livestock and the rest have various other occupations. On the whole they are very poor and generally indebted.

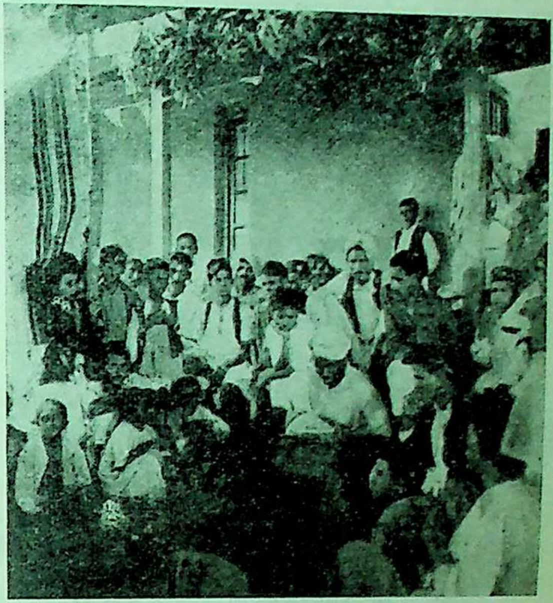
V

THOUGHTS AFTER READING THE BOOK

We have travelled very far in being acquainted with the culture of the Balahis. We must stop now and see what the book has given us. In the first place it shows that anthropology and sociology are very useful not only in gaining a detailed knowledge of the working of a society but also in laying bare the ills of the people. If we want to know a remedy we must have the diagnosis of the disease first. These are the sciences which can do that for societies. If we want to know the trials and tribulations of the Harijans and help them, Harijan sociology must precede all other efforts.

Secondly, the book is a challenge to all of us who call ourselves free citizens of India. Here is a problem the book says as real as the yonder beggar on the road which is a blot on our country. If we are to be a really democratic people, untouchability must go. It is an anachronism to-day in the face of industrialisation, democracy and rational thinking on social subjects. The longer we connive at it, the more dangerous the future of democracy becomes.

Lastly, the book brings to light, though not directly, a very important characteristic of all "culture" that culture is not only a historic continuity but also a geographic continuity. The Balahis have so many customs similar to the people of Gujarat and their language has so many Gujarati words that if we want to really understand them, we must know a lot about Gujarat culture and vice versa. Those talking about water-tight provincial cultures should take a note from this.



A Balahi Bhat

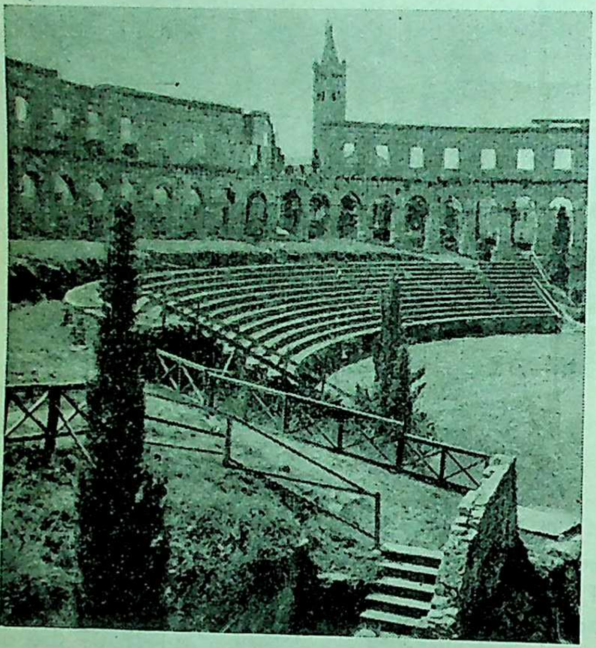
IN THE END

The book is one of the most objective and scientific records of a culture I have ever read. There is very little of emotion in it and nothing of romance which some of the "tribal" anthropologists are prone to have. It is a patient study of over ten years and shows that in anthropology tip and run writers producing a monograph every year, cannot succeed in the "scientific" sense. The printing and binding are excellent. I recommend the book to all the members of the Jabalpur Book Club and also add that it is better to read one such book than to read ten novels or a hundred short stories.

MEDIAEVAL MONUMENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

BY R. P. SINGH

OF all the Slav tribes, the South Slavs were those who came nearest to the cultural centres of the late Roman Empire during the great migration of the Nations. The works of their early art shows how best their sense for formative art was ennobled by the ancient beauty of the Roman palaces and squares. Elements of the Great Roman art always infiltrated into South Slavs' art in accordance with the traditional conceptions. Slav buildings dating from the conversion of Christianity are still preserved in the Balkans and resemble in principle the Byzantine, Eastern and South Italian architecture of that time.

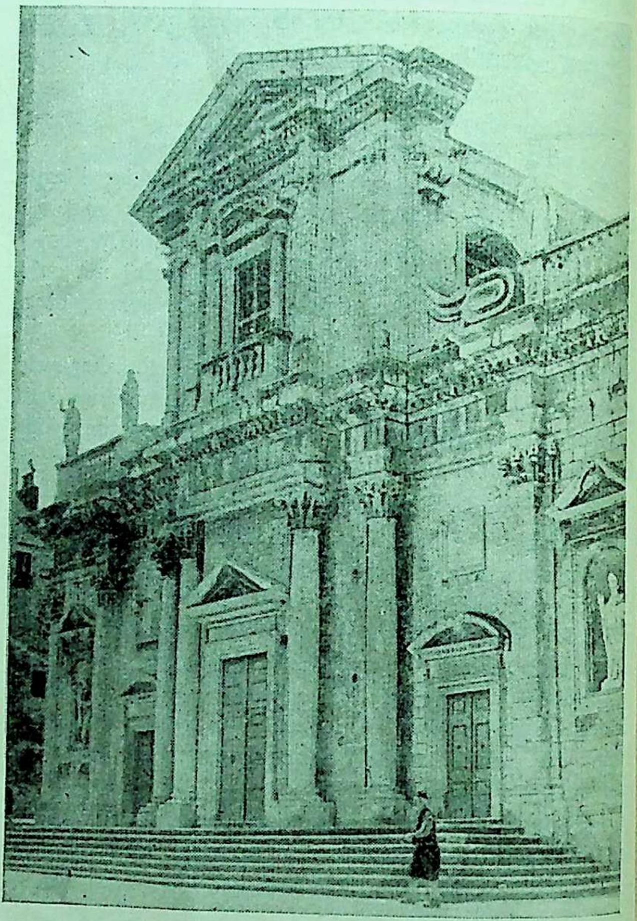


Amphitheatre in Pula. A magnificent example of Roman architecture built from the 1st to the 2nd century. The ellipsoid arena held 25,000 spectators

Among the monuments scattered all over Yugoslavia, the Dalmatian monuments are more interesting and appear in greatest variety. The monuments in Macedonia are clearly marked with Byzantine influence, while those in Serbia and Bosnia present an original synthesis of Roman and Eastern art.

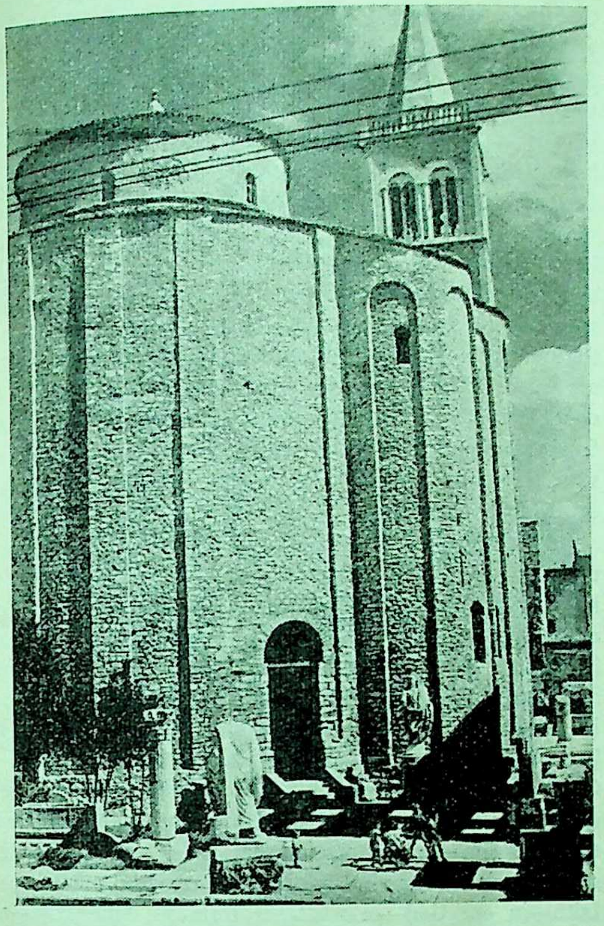
Condition for the particular development of this architecture are to be found in the age-old tradition of stone chiselling, which is abundant and excellent in this region. These imposing monuments are scattered throughout the beautiful regions of the old Serbian Empire. The members of the Nomanja Dynasty cultivated a particular type of church—a single chamber with a vaulted roof of vast diameter—and of cylindrical construction. Records relating to these buildings show the engagement of architects from the Littoral for inlaying the facades of these churches with marble and for decorating them with splendidly sculptered porticos and trifores was directly dependent on their affinity with the contemporary art of the eastern and south-eastern Adriatic Coast.

At the beginning of the 14th century the greatest architects of the northern regions of the Byzantine Empire crossed the frontiers of the Serbian state. They succeeded in imposing on a whole school of architecture principles habitual in those regions. The monuments of this group have a ground plan usually a quadrangle with an inserted cross having a cupola above the intersection of its limbs. Roofs crowned with one or more tall cupolas express an upward surge, but the interior appears somewhat confused because of the intricacy of its supporting system. The facades also lack plastic stone decoration.



Palace of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (3rd century) at Split on the Adriatic Coast

The third group consists of the buildings of another school at the mouth of the Morava river. Their ground plan is trefoil, whose apses support the beautifully proportioned cupolas. The facades, embellished with decorations carved in stone, have a Gothic tendency—a tendency which becomes apparent in the last buildings of the middle 15th century.

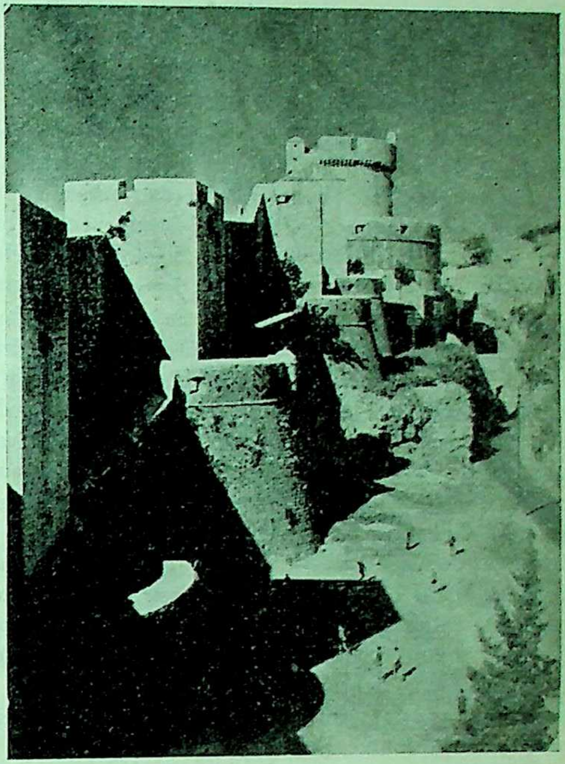


The Church in Zadar, built at the beginning of the 9th century by Bishop Donat, unites the Byzantine conception of space with the Roman style of building

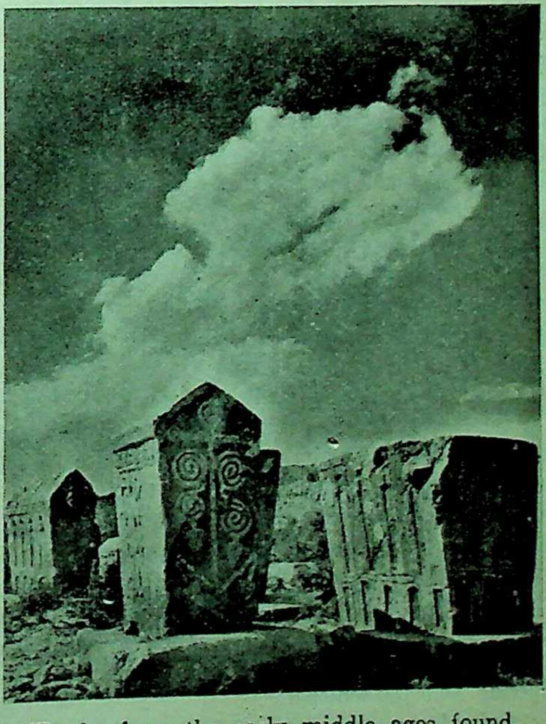
The architecture and sculpture in the interior regions, especially in Macedonia and Serbia, chiefly form a frame for the art of painting. The characteristics of its expression and form are directly related and tightly interlaced with Byzantine school.

Paintings and frescoes of Yugoslav mediaeval art, which embellish these monuments are distinguished by certain features of their own. Humanistic conception is more evident. The grand composition of mural paintings in particular and the architectural proportion of buildings in general are determined by the proportions of man. Every design is penetrated with the thought of man, so that his relation towards the edifice is perfectly harmonius. This art, with vivid emoluments of humanism and realism, forms a sort of introduction to the European Renaissance, not only because of its expression in form but also because it is the most complete manifestation of an epoch which prepared the modern ara. And for the people who created this art it is the best document of their past which is according to the poet's words:

"Like the stars which though expired
Still send their light to man,
And man sees the light, form and colour,
Of stars which exist no more."



Medieval City Wall of Dubrovnik, commercial Republic on the Adriatic. The ships of Dubrovnik used to call on the Indian ports in the 16th and 17th centuries



Tombs from the early middle ages found in Stobi

INDIA'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

BY. T. S. R. RAO

IN an age of passing values, with the accent deeply and well set upon materialism and earthly accomplishments, when the richer and rarer sublime values of life have been sadly forgotten, India has indeed struck a happy note of harmony by continuing to serve as a store-house of inspiration and spiritual wealth to those who aspire to rise above mundane pleasures and attachments and breathe of the heavenly air of lasting happiness and peace.

Immeasurable has been India's contribution in the past to the cause of peace and goodwill among mankind torn amid constant wars and man-made catastrophes. While Greece and Rome of Archaeological fame were in their infancy building the beginnings of their mighty culture and civilisation, while the continents of Europe and Africa were all wilderness with primitive people inhabiting them, not far removed from their simian ancestors, India provided the stirring contrast by shining forth as a dynamo of art, culture and religion that blazed a deathless trail through the East, enlightening the masses, giving nations and peoples a God to worship and a lamp of faith to shine in their hearts. While barbarism in its stark and crude form ruled the hearts of millions in the West, where man had only just discovered fire, India thrived and blossomed forth like a full-bloom lotus, shedding a rare spiritual fragrance around, providing thereby vital nourishment to the country, and the people, not only of this land but also in other lands in the East.

Only India could bring forth time and again, as the hour needed them, great souls who were not unlike their Creator in their spiritual effulgence, to disseminate knowledge divine so that man may forget his wars, and his ambitions, his wealth and his family attachments and turn his face for once in his life towards the Divine Source from where he came and to which he would return ere long. India was—and still is—like a cradle whereby every hour of day and night were born in various parts of the country enlightened souls to lead a blind struggling mankind along the thorny meshy path towards a lasting peace.

The most surprising and unique feature of India's religious beliefs has been that it has succeeded in attracting, through all these centuries, countless aspirants and adherents not by the power of sword or gold but by the simple magnet-like force of sacrifice and suffering. Gandhiji was a symbol of these twin-ideals of India's faith and religion, and it was no wonder therefore that he demolished the might of the world's largest empire and gave back to the people of India a liberty they had long lost all touch of. All men and powers bowed before him, for he carried in his hands a force that power-blind men could not understand, a force that could turn the most destructive bombs and weapons into damp squibs, that could sheath the unsheathed swords of fanatics, wipe the tears of the oppressed and make the faces of men flush with smiles at the very thought of suffering and jail-sentences.

Amazed by the accomplishments of science and invention in the Western countries, we are prone to nurture secret desires that India too should have skyscrapers, hundred thousand theatres, jet-fighters and atom bom that India too should wax bold with the prop supplied armamental power, with an unimagineable capacity destruction, so that she also can command allegiance fr the smaller nations of the world as do the Big Powe Let us at this juncture remember that arms and po have with them, as essential corollaries, only misery a destruction. In this connection, it may be wise to rec the noble role played by India's Custodian force in Kor in cementing the deep cracks in the lives of seve thousand Koreans. Even though, on the face of it, foreign may think it to be a fantastic claim, I would humbly a that in these hard months of trial and suspense, in a air filled with mutual suspicion and distrust, India h done more than the belligerents on either side to give fresh hope and a new inspiration to the prisoners of w who, in a way, reflect in them the various aspirations the Korean people.

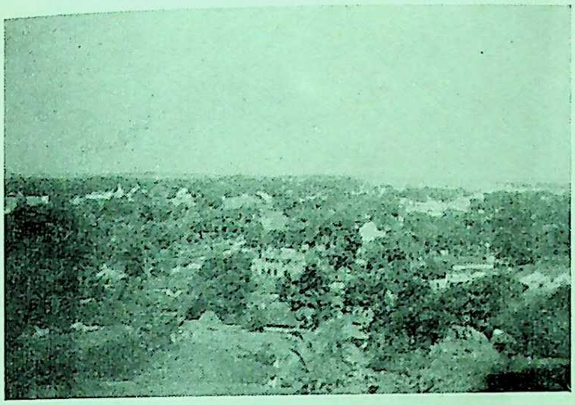
Let us not foreget that just as naval strength the backbone of British prestige and power, as art is th backbone of life in France, *so also religion is the bedroc of India's future prosperity and happiness.* Unknowingly it plays a signal role in our lives in bringing the thre hundred sixty-two million people of India, with numerou barriers of sects and castes in them, together under on banner. Whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Jains o Christians, whether we live in palatial mansions wit servants to wait upon us or in dingy dirty hovels sustaining ourselves on barely a single meal a day, we are all in a sense receiving our vital sustenance from the pulse-beat o faith—in our God—in whatever form we take Him—an our spiritual wealth. We may have dispensed with rituals even with religion itself in the case of some of the ultra modern Indians who live in a fantastic world of limousine clubs, ball-room dances, etc., we may consider ourselve to be rationals with no belief in the existence of a Go who is (supposedly, though) not responsible for million starving and naked, we may even challenge those wh continue to have a small faith in His mercy, to prove th He exists and thus vindicate their faith—we may do al these things and much more if only to show we are no unlike our European and American cousins, that we to are "highly civilised" and ultra-modern in "culture" an manners; but let us not delude ourselves, in our hour o need, when we succumb to fits of depression and misery, when life seems to be all darkness and death a welcom relief, it is that imperceptible pulse-beat of religion an faith which is in our veins that rushes to our rescue an helps us, with or without our knowledge, to regain our faith in ourselves and to have a new faith in God's merc and kindness.

It is only then that we will, perhaps, realise why only India can give to the world a Gandhi and a Budha an Aurobindo and a Ramdas, and why no other country in the world can do likewise. India's greatest an most precious wealth today is her spiritual heritage.

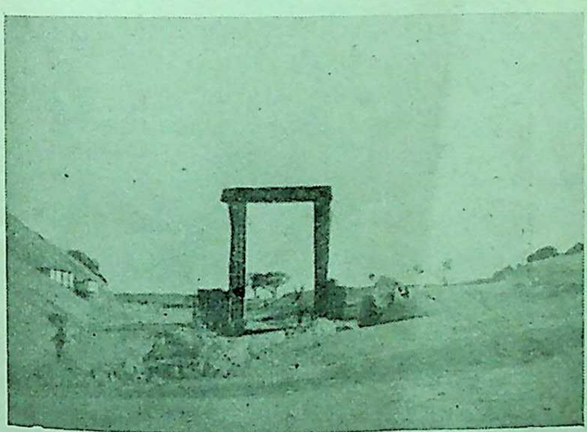
WARANGAL : THE HOME OF TEMPLES

BY G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

VERY few cities in India are so unique and enriched with such glorious tradition and history as Warangal in the State of Hyderabad. This city, which consists of Hanamkonda and Matwada, came into prominence as early as in the 11th century when for over two hundred years it was the metropolis of the Kakatiya kings under whose reign it enjoyed unprecedented prosperity and a great name. Even today Warangal has something novel to offer to an occasional visitor, to a scholar of history and to everyone who is a lover of Nature's majesty and pastoral charms.



A view of Hanamkonda from the top of a nearby hill

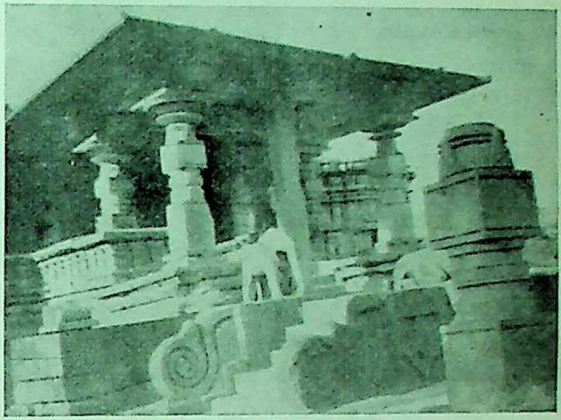


The unfinished Gateway at Hanamkonda

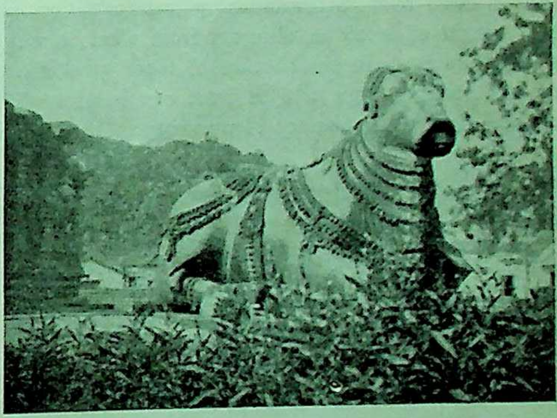
The history of Warangal has a fascinating record of spectacular achievements in the field of art and architecture. The Kakatiya monarchs, who ruled during the 12th and 13th centuries, were noted for their able administration and took a keen interest in the promotion of structural art. Among their more important contributions are probably the Warangal Fort, the Thousand-Pillared Temple at Hanamkonda and the Ramappa Temple at Palampet. With the rise and fall of kingdoms, the lapse of time and due to some mischievous destructive elements, these monuments have now lost a portion of their grandeur; but still today they are a source of inspiration and delight, and we have a right to feel proud of our heritage.

At the Fort area, amidst ruined monuments, we can see the four richly carved gateways which have a very close resemblance with those at Sanchi.

The Thousand-pillared Temple, erected in the year 1162 by these Andhra kings, has today no longer all its 1000 pillars but the remaining few are of great beauty and show a very high degree of art and workmanship. This temple with its spontaneously carved pillars has been hailed as one of the finest specimens of Dravidian Art. It is no exaggeration to say that even today after 800 years we can still find these pillars as smooth as the panes of glass and can even see our reflection in them. Between the two shrines of the temples is the life-size image of Nandi, comparable to those in Mysore and Tanjore, which has been the subject of great praise.



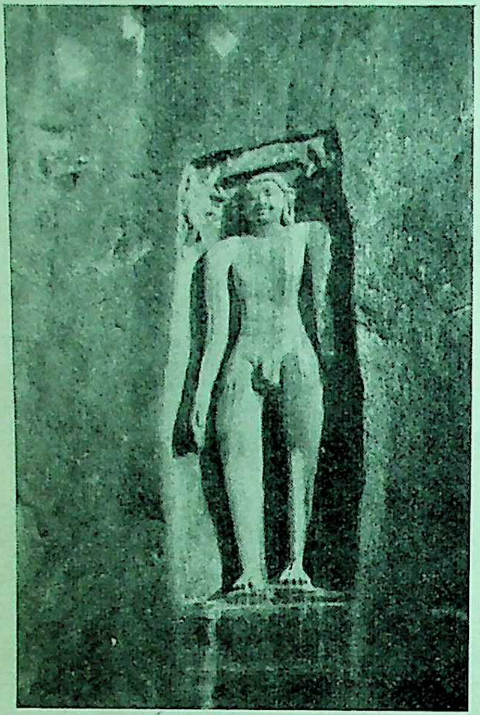
The Thousand-pillared Temple, Hanamkonda



The Nandi at the Thousand-pillared Temple

There are several other works of art and sculpture of that age scattered everywhere and particularly at

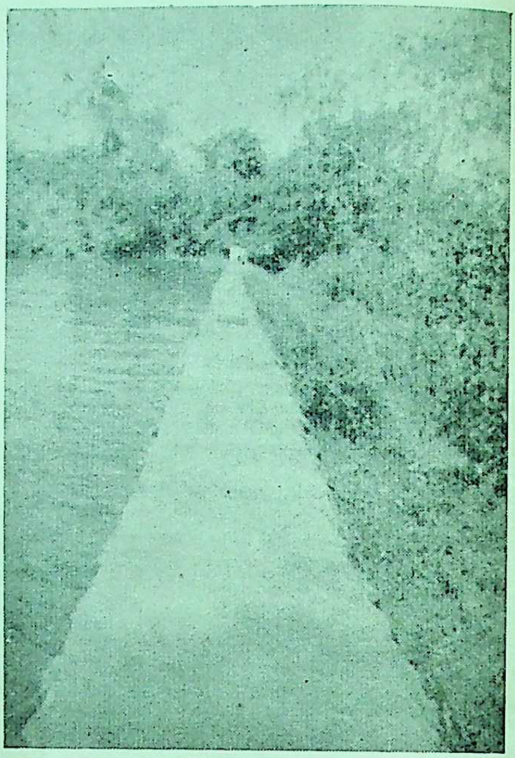
Hanamkonda. The Padmakshi Temple, perched on the high peak of a hill, besides presenting a placid and serene atmosphere, is reputed for its "pride of position" and is visited by devotees throughout the year and particularly in the month of Shrawan. The huge 15-feet tall smiling figure of a Jaina Thirthankara on a massive rock, is yet another monumental work of the 12th century.

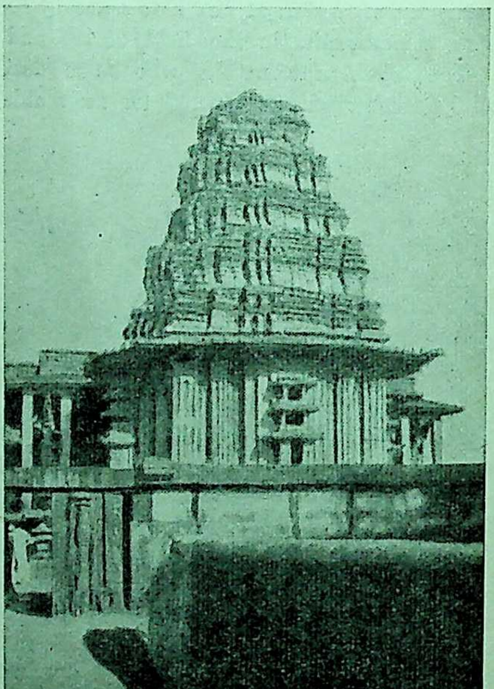

Jain Tirthankara

With the passing of time and changing civilisations, there has come about a revolutionary transformation, and the Warangal of today is different from what it was a few centuries ago. In the absence of those great artists, there exist today people who at least can boast of their past, and even in the absence of worshippers, the temples remain. It is a sad commentary on the character of the inhabitants but is an account nearer to reality.

The Town Hall at Public Gardens

Taking the district as a whole, Warangal is lavished with Nature's bounty and is the abode of novelty and grace. The Pakhal lake is famous for its construction and the serene atmosphere it presents. This lake lies enclosed by mountain-ranges and thick woods which


Palampet Lake, Warangal


The Ramappa Temple, Palampet

are the most sought-after spots of big game-hunting. Similarly at Palampet, close to that charming temple, is another lake, which is the home of crocodiles. Wild beasts can be seen moving about sometimes even during sunny hours, and a lover of sport will always be well-rewarded in these wild solitudes. Human habitation is rare if not absolutely unknown. A holiday tour of this area, however, will be a source of adventure, fun and exhilaration.

Rather unfortunately, Nature has been unkind in presenting extreme climates to Warangal with the result that there has always been a set-back in agriculture. However, in spite of growing competition and rivalry, cottage industries like spinning and making of swords and daggers have survived. The carpets of Warangal were acclaimed as the finest in the world in the international exhibition held in London in 1935.

The real charm of the city probably lies in the fact that with all its modern equipments it has not lost its rural character and is the home of Nature's grace. This rare combination and the "wedding" of city and village atmosphere has made the lives of the people here worth living. It is a feast for eyes to go towards the Bhadri Tank, where climbing over the hillocks, he will be amazed to behold the awe-inspiring sights of Nature. There, lying on the edge of the tank, the Kali Temple invites him for adoration and worship. Far away lie the textile and oil mills puffing all the while, while under his very feet are the square-cut paddy fields promising a rich harvest. Walking nonchalantly through the zigzag path, the visitor will reach the foot of the Padmakshi Temple in the vast expanse of the cremation ground.

The people of Warangal seem to be well aware of the charms of these solitudes, for it is to such spots they come to celebrate their two important festivals. Early in the month of October, on the final day of the "Festival of Flowers," the women, dressed in their best, gather to sing and play and then float their flowers in the nearby tanks. It is a great fun to see these women carrying their decorated plates of flowers with a spirit of competition and move on nonchalantly through the paddy fields. There will always be a crowd of young boys around them to help them float their flowers going deep into water and countless admiring men all the while. Similarly, the people gather here in a solmen style to indulge in folk-dances and sing to celebrate Dasara Festival. They finally visit the temple and offer their homage and prayers as their forefathers have done through the ages.

Even though Warangal may not have anything special today, it is still an important city of the State. The undying and marvellous remains of the past, the peculiar customs of the people and the eternal beauty of natural scenes will always be a source of pleasure to its chain of visitors.

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NEW IMPETUS TO RURAL HOUSING

Progress of Community Projects in Hyderabad

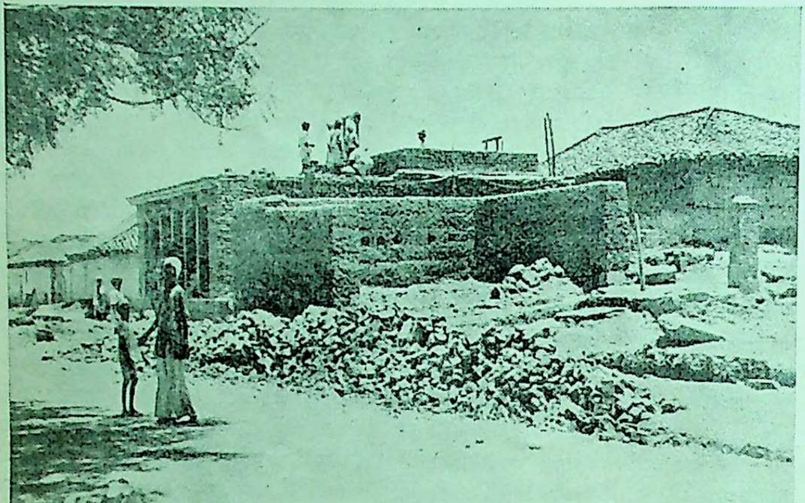
RURAL housing has acquired a new impetus in some of the community project areas of Hyderabad where the authorities and the people have embarked on comprehensive construction programmes to make the living conditions in the villages healthy, comfortable and beautiful. In the Munirabad project area, where nearly 37 villages will be submerged this year by the water-spread of the Tungabhadra Dam, feverish activity is going on to rehabilitate the villagers in new locations. In that area the Government, the pople and the military have joined hands in what looks like a race against time—before the onrush of Tungrabhadra water submerges the existing villages.

In another project area, namely, Nizam Sagar, a small village, named Durki, stands out as a monument of self-help, showing what people themselves can do, if they so wish, to make their own living conditions healtheir and happier. Early in February this year the community project authorities led by the Development Commissioner of Hyderabad State, Shri Zakir Ahmed visited this village and seeing the poor conditions of the houses and the surroundings started, by way of setting an example, the work of plastering the houses themselves. The villagers looked on in amazement but the spirit soon caught and subsequently they took up the work themselves. By now the village has assumed a new look; nearly 70 houses have been renovated. The old constructions have been pulled down, and well-ventilated, bright-looking tenements with red-tiled roofs have sprung up proving once for all; if such a proof were necessary, that the Indian villager is neither indolent nor unreceptive to new ideas.

With nurturing care consistently bestowed on the village by the young Project Executive Officer of the area, Shri D. P. R. Vital and his staff, the spirit has now permeated the entire population. All the villagers have taken up the work, the only exception being the village potter who is at present having a brisk trade. It is his privilege to supply the tiles for these new houses and his entire family is on the job turning out tons of tiles each day. The potter has no time to build his own house now because that means loss of business but he is very definite that once when the large spate of orders ceases, he will have a house as good as any of the other villagers.

Problem of Submerged Villages

In the Tungabhadra area, the rural housing work that is on hand is of a very urgent nature as the dam is almost nearing completion. Thirty-seven villages are going to be submerged this year. It has not been an easy job for the Project authorities to convince the villagers about the need for shifting even though they are going to a much better area and the houses they would get would be decidedly better and healthier. The simple villagers, first of all, would not believe that the dam water would submerge the area. They had their astrologers to tell them differently! Secondly, even though the villager understands, more than anybody else, the value of water for agriculture, he cannot be quite happy over the prospect of seeing this water ruin his hearth and home. Why alone his village should be submerged, while others escape? That was a question.



A view showing demolished houses at Durki village, Nizam Sagar Project area, on the foundations of which new, bright-looking tenements will spring up. In the background, some of the new tenements are seen

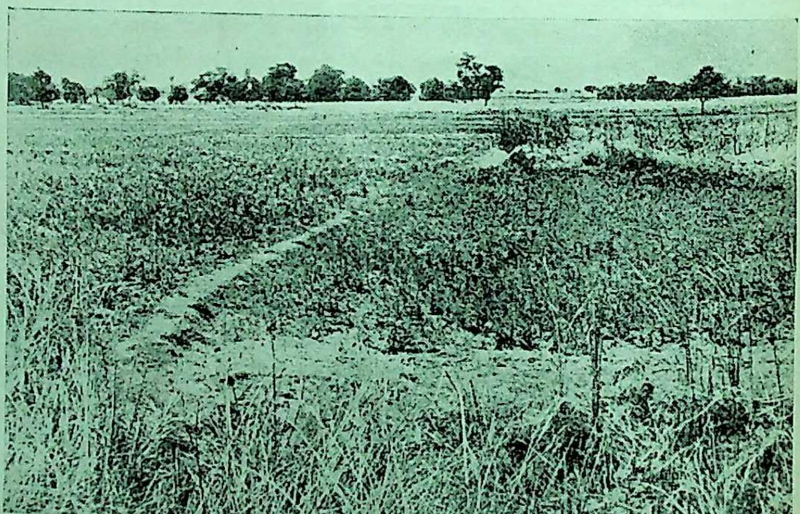
The inital resistance, however, was tactfully broken by the sympathetic and kindly approach of the Government and now a scheme is on hand whereby the population of these 37 villages would be rehabilitated in 19 model villages and 5 work centres, in higher levels at the Anicut area of the Tungabhadra. Building work has started in all the villages and in order to expedite construction and transportation of goods and the people the military has lent a helping hand. In one of the villages of the area, the military authorities have, since May 5, 1953, constructed 37 houses. Many more houses will be built. The village will be colonised by the Harijans.

Most of the displaced villagers are agriculturists, but in one of the villages, namely, Katarki, there is a community of weavers who are being specially rehabilitated in a village near Kopbal. Already some of the looms have been fixed in the new site and the weavers are busy constructing their own homes.

People of all these villages are generally co-operatting with the authorities by helping in the removal of their goods and in construction programme, but in one of the new villages, namely, Hyati, the spirit of self-help has assumed a new glamour. Here, almost the entire construction work is being done by the people and the programme is being conducted by a village council. The Project authorities are assisting by providing some material and essential equipment. During the last four months, the villagers have completed about 45 houses. The activity that is going on here is worth emulating all over India.

Village Council

In addition to rural housing the other aspects of community programme on hand include agricultural extension work, construction of roads, health and sanitation measures, animal husbandry services, etc. In the Nizam Sagar area, construction of roads has been taken up in several villages. A number of new wells have been built and old wells repaired. Nearly 20 village councils have been started in the first Project block consisting of 60 villages on which work began in October last



An extensive area in the Nizam Sagar Project Block, where green manuring has been introduced for purposes of demonstration year. In other areas village councils are under active formation.

PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

Public co-operation is noticeably present in the Nizam Sagar area where all classes of people are contributing in manual labour as well as by donations of land. The Harijans of the village Birkur appear to be a particularly enthusiastic lot. The entire population here is working on the construction of a well, a few furlongs away from the main village. Their enthusiasm is so great that when recently the project authorities suggested to them the need for building an approach road to the well their spokesman said : "This is our work. If you permit, we will do it today." These simple people have not yet got rid of the old habit of taking orders ! So, the order was given and about a hundred Harijans—men, women and children—spread themselves out and began construction of the approach road.

Even the village poet whose predecessors in the past had sung the praises of kings and potentates, of damsels in distress, of the blue sky and the meandering rivulet, has found in the community projects an avenue of expression and a field where imagination can have a play. Recently, a party of Government officials visited the village Pocharum in the Nizam Sagar area where a seven-furlong village approach road was being constructed entirely by the people. The officials were greeted ceremoniusly—reminiscent of old traditions—and the village poet read out his own composition on the progress of community programme in the village. He said :

Taluqa Banswara kai sare mauzaun par
Mauza Pocharum lai gaya hai apna fakhar
Aj is chhotte se mauza ko dekhkar
Sharam aana chhahai mauza waloonko deegar
Community Project ka kam nikla hai kia behtar
Sare Hind main yan aachha aiyaga nazar
Riyaya apni mehnat se kare har kam ko
Woh pahunchaingai apne achai anjam ko.

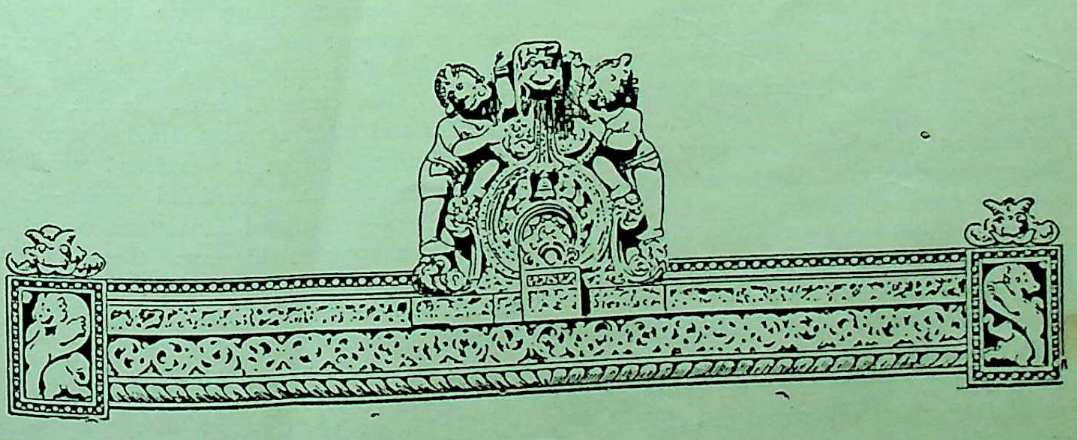
The village of Pocharum has won a proud distinction
among all the villages of Taluqa of Banswara.
The achievement of this small village should put to shame
the people of all other villages.
How fine has been this work of Community Projects !
This is sure to win approbation throughout India.
(If) the people put in hard labour to do their duty, they
will certainly achieve commendable results.

TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

Simultaneously, with carrying on the work, arrangements for having more trained personnel are on hand. The Village Level Worker (V.L.W. in short) is the key man in community project work. He is a multipurpose man and his interest should comprehend almost anything that affects rural life. He ought to know a good bit of agriculture and animal husbandry; he must have the rudiments of engineering skill and knowledge in road construction ; he should have a working knowledge of health and sanitation measures; and finally, must act as the friend and guide to the villagers in their daily life. He is the Government's man on the spot and the extent to which he is helpful, the people will consider Government helpful. To find one with so many qualifications is not easy. Proper training is therefore necessary.

In Hyderabad, a few miles from the city, at Himayat Sagar, there is a Village Level Workers' Training centre which has so far trained 67 V.L.Ws who are now working in the Project Areas in the State. Training of more is on hand, as V.L.Ws in hundreds will be required when the comprehensive National Extension Service comes into operation.

Within the premises of this Centre a Training Centre for Social Education Organisers sponsored by the Central Community Projects Administration is functioning. Social Education Organisers who would be looking after the cultural, and educative aspects of work in community programme will go out to the project areas after their initial training is over. The present trainees include five girls who appeared to be quite comfortable in their new surroundings and have taken up the work of training in right earnest.—*PIB.*



CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA

By Dr. ABINASH CHANDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D. (Dublin),
Principal, *S. N. College, Khandwa, M.P.*

SINCE the Home Minister to the Government of India, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, made a statement in the Indian Parliament about the foreign Christian missionaries in India, a prolonged controversy has followed in which Indian Christians and Christian missionaries have taken part either in their own behalf or in behalf of the foreign missionaries. Statistics point to a fairly large number of foreign missionaries working in India and the statement does not appear to have affected their work in any way. Still the volume of the controversy is significant and the subject deserves a dispassionate study.

Unfortunately there has been some confusion of issues. The Home Minister spoke of foreign missionaries, but many apologists have spoken of mission work as a whole. It is necessary to go to the bottom of the whole question. Some of the correspondents to the Press have made out that the fault, if any, in the method of missionary work, is individual and the work itself is above criticism. This view also needs very careful consideration.

The past Christian proselytization work in India belongs to three different ages, widely divided by time. The earliest period falls in the first century A.D. when St. Thomas preached in Kerala ; the second period in the sixteenth century and later when the Portuguese invaders of India converted people in Goa and other territories occupied by them ; and the third period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when under the British regime, foreign missionary bodies established themselves in India and carried on their work. Probably the missionary work in the first period was of the ordinary religious type. In the second period, however, the Portuguese power applied its usual inquisitorial methods with violence as the chief means of operation. In the British period the means adopted by the various Christian churches included the following activities :

(a) Publishing books, pamphlets and journals and engaging public speakers to prove the superiority of the Christian religion to that of Hindus and others and to persuade the latter to renounce their creeds;

(b) conducting schools and colleges to impart modern western education and, side by side, compulsory instruction in the Christian religion ;

(c) running hospitals and asylums to provide the benefits of western medicine and surgery and organising religious propaganda side by side ;

(iv) running orphanages to give shelter to destitute children and converting them;

(v) working among Hindu scheduled castes, offering them economic aid, besides educational and medical help and converting them, and

(vi) working among the scheduled tribes—t aborigines, by helping their economic and social orga zation, and giving them the benefit of hospitals, scho and orphanages, and converting them at the same time.

While carrying on their work the missionari received support from the British Government. In fact t Church of England was the Established Church of Ind Vast amounts of money, some of it received from t Government (as land grant, educational aid, railw concession, grant to orphanages, etc.), some raised fro the public (for orphanages, students' associations, etc.) a the rest brought from the home countries, were spent the application of each of these methods, each aimi finally at conversion.

But the combined result of all the attempts at co version made through a long period, from 200 years t about 2000, is far from creditable : the Christians of a denominations among all sections of the people today i India number just a little more than 2 per cent of the tot population (and this after excluding the portion of ol India, now called Pakistan, which has very little Chri tian population). If we exclude the minor converts an their descendents as well as the infantile section of th population, the aborigines, then the percentage of Chri tians in India will be much nearer zero than the uni This is a strange phenomenon in the history of Christi proselytization in the world. To those who admire th fast spread of Christianity in Europe, the failure o Christianity in India appears a miracle !

A careful study of the facts ought to throw som light on the matter. Let us have a glimpse of Proselyti zation, in India through the ages. It appears St. Thom converted a fair number of Brahmins who still have pre served the superiority of their social group. Among th Potuguese converts there were the courtiers of th Zamorin who were invited by Vasco de Gama to his shi and treacherously carried away to Portugal and member of their class converted later. In the British perio Brahmins and other advanced Hindus were converted i the beginning but soon it was found more profitable t concentrate on the scheduled castes—the so-calle untouchables—and a good harvest was reaped in Madra But it soon appeared that even these did not respon satisfactorily, so, at a later stage, the usual entrants t the Christain churches were small children, rendere destitute through famine, flood or poverty. Even thi process, however, did not bring the desired numbers; s the missions turned from the plains to the hills and bega to work among the aboriginal tribes, who, presumably b a form of tacit courtesy, had been left alone to live the picturesque tribal lives by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims. As anthropologists say, these aborigines are no better than children in their psychological make-up, and converting them is like converting children. This retreat from advanced to backward Hindus and from backward Hindus to destitute children and to primitive races tells its own tale. This proves conclusively that Christian missionaries failed to attract attention to their religion and having given up all hope of success in a purely religious propaganda offered western secular knowledge and secular science as a substitute for the spirit of religion which Jesus had placed above bread and physical and material prosperity. This was in effect a surrender of Christianity as preached by Christ. As Dr. Radhakrishnan said about Jesus in one of his Oxford lectures :

> "He founded no organization but enjoined only private prayer. He was utterly indifferent to labels and creeds . . . . He did not profess to preach a new religion but only deepened spiritual life." (Vide *East and West in Religion*, p. 58)

One who failed to influence spiritual life but worked quantitatively on a material basis may not be recognized by a critical observer as a religious teacher at all. Herein would appear to lie the real source of the weakness of Christian Missions. Thinking Europeans, unconnected with missionary work, expressed themselves frankly on this subject. For example, J. Taboys Wheeler in his *History of India from the Earliest Ages*, which was published in the last century, says in relation to what he calls "the vexed problem of why Christianity has failed to achieve that conquest over that national faith which it has effected elsewhere" :

> "Hitherto the nonacceptance of the Christian religion by the people of India has been referred to inscrutable causes, such as the mysterious dispensation of Providence, or the exceptional depravity of the heart of the Hindu. But it will appear hereafter that it should be rather ascribed to the current of religious ideas, which has flowed in channels unknown and unappreciated by the western world, and which has rendered Christianity less acceptable to the civilized Hindus of the plains than to the barbarous aborigines who inhabit the hills." (Selection from the book in *India, Vedic and Post-Vedic*, p. 124).

No pains were spared by the Christian missionaries to induce the world to believe that the heart of the Hindu was exceptionally depraved and a vast amount of vituperative literature and oral propaganda was let loose year after year to the great mortification of Hindu society. But Hindus, either on account of their traditional mildness, or through the traditional attitude of allowing truth to stand the severest criticism and of facing argument with argument, made no attempt to ban this propaganda and even today, when some, of this offensive stuff is still in circulation, nobody thinks of invoking the power of the state to suppress it.

As to "the aborigines who inhabit the hills," there are some places, like the Naga Hills, to which only Christian missionaries were permitted to go and Hindus were denied access. (*Vide* the Home Minister's statement in the Indian Council of States on September 15, 1953).

A study of the social life of the Indian Christians reveals a very unhappy fact. With all the proselytizing zeal in him the white missionary could not establish any sort of equality or harmony between the European and native Christians. The colour bar presented a formidable difficulty. Unlike Muslim converts of the Mahomedan period, the Chistian converts found no special favour with the Christian rulers. They became as painfully conscious of foreign domination as the other Indians, and more painfully conscious of the line of demarcation drawn between Indian and European Christians. This sentiment has found clear expression in the correspondence to the Press in connection with the foreign missions controversy. Indian Christians, therefore, showed the patriotic desire not only to have political independence but also to have their free national church. A cultural reaction was also in evidence, many Christians going back to Sanskrit names, Indian costumes and Indian etiquette, from the westernised ways of the first era of Christianization. The white Christians not only had rare marriage contracts with the native, but what was worse still, entered into extra-marital relations to a certain extent and brought into being a social group that was accepted neither by the whites nor by the natives as their own. These people, though Christian in religion, did not find a place in their fathers' church, for in most places there was one church for the whites and another for the natives, and even one cemetery for the white and another for the coloured people. Hence Christianity in its concrete manifestation in India through its social life was far from being such as to create unusual enthusiasm among the people of the land. This presents a strong contrast to what had happened in Europe when Christianity was first propagated there. A learned French scholar, Jerome Carcopino, in his *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, says about the Roman converts in the second century A.D. :

> "No doubt the Christians of Rome still formed a small minority of the population; a minority always exposed to the prejudice of the masses and the hostility of the authorities . . . . (But) the Christians were brothers and called each other so. . . Many observers in those days were constrained to say of the Christians : 'How simple and pure is their religion ! What confidence they have in their God and His promise ! How they love one another and how happy they are together'." (P. 138, Eng. edn.)

The Indian story was quite different. The race of the missionary and that of his converts were worlds apart. The high-sounding language of the Christian scripture appeared ironical before the actual facts. There is also a strange irony in the situation that the spirit of the New Testament was admired, preached and demonstrated in practice by eminent Hindu leaders of religion and morality. Ramakrishna Paramahansa practised the Christian mode of worship and arrived at a spiritual realization of the Christian approach to the divine ; Swami Vivekananda preached about "Christ the Messenger" and members of the Ramakrishna Mission (described as missionaries by some) are engaged in interpreting, without any machinery for conversion, the highest truths of the Christian religion; preachers like Keshav Chunder Sen and philosophers like Dr. Radhakrishnan have shown the same regard for the finest things of Christianity as they have done for those of Hinduism; and we do not know of any Christian political leader of the world whose life approximated to the ideal set up by Jesus as the life of Mahatma Gandhi did. If in India there is a very reverent attitude towards Jesus it is not because of the strange dogmas and pseudo-historical facts circulated by missionaries in a strange spirit of intolerance, but because of the life and teachings of eminent Hindus who loved their religion the more because of their loving what is fine in others' religion too.

In the eyes of Indians who have been taught through the ages to look for the spirit of religion and not to substitute it by mere form or belief, there is something unnatural in the hard Christian dogma, that says that only Christians can go to heaven and all others are doomed to eternal hell. This strikes the Indian not only as a lack of "spiritual good manners," but as an affront to human personality. The attitude of the average Indian towards the missionary who brings him the message of salvation from the otherwise sure doom is one of bitter resentment. He will say : "I am ignorant and shall thank you if you give me knowledge," or "I am sick and shall be obliged to you for your medical help," or even, "I am destitute and shall be grateful for your financial help," but he will resist with life his having to say, "I am doomed to hell and shall thank you for bringing me salvation." It has been claimed by missionaries that they conduct humanitarian work and convert only those who, fascinated by their religion, implore them to admit them to the Christian fold. This claim is not tenable. For one thing, how can small children picked up from villages or given shelter during famine, flood and earthquake decide for themselves ? In a conference held in Delhi during Mahatma Gandhi's fast in the house of Maulana Mahammad Ali, it was unanimously decided by the representatives of different religions, including important Christian divines, that minors should not be converted. But that undertaking has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance by Christian missionaries.

To-day Christianity with its old-world dogma and medieval intolerance strikes a note of disharmony not only for a secular democracy but also for the ideal, one world which all leading thinkers of the world are cherishing. How can one cultivate the spirit of equality and fraternity for a fellow citizen whom' one believes to be doomed to hell ? Secondly, the one world is to be the world of men as men in which fraternity will be based on common humanity without reference to religion or its old-world claims of superiority or inferiority. Christian missionaries, if they have to come up to the modern standard of world citizenship, must renounce the dogma that divides existing men into those who will be saved and those who will be damned. The world has had enough of religious arrogance, or for that matter racial arrogance. The verdict of history is against such an attitude. Arnold J. Toynbee, in his *Civilization on Trial*, says :"

> "Our own descendents are not going to be just Western like ourselves. They are going to be heirs of Confucius and Lao-Tse as well as Socrates, Plato and Plotinus ; heirs of Gautama Buddha as well as Deutero-Isaiah and Jesus Christ ; heirs of Zarathrustra and Muhammad as well as Elijah and Elisha and Peter and Paul ; heirs of Shankara and Ramanuja as well as Clement and Origen . . . . and heirs of Lenin and Gandhi and Sun Yat-Sen as well as Cromwell and George Washington and Mazzini."

Toynbee is not an atheist. He says that we must "relegate economic and political history to a subordinate place and give religious history the primacy. For religion, after all, is the serious business of the human race."

But if religion is a serious business and the missionary has real faith in it, then whether he is liberal-minded or not, he must be sincerely business-like to the extent of putting up his wares openly before the view of the public. Religion should not be camouflaged under politics or economics or secular knowledge or modern science (which have often developed by defying its checks) nor should it be a camouflage for politics or some other secular interest. And, further, it must carry its appeal to majors who are also free from compelling obligations and not to minors or distressed people lying at the mercy of the evangelist (*e.g.*, a leper in an asylum). Just as, under law, votes cast by minors, or under constraint, are held to be invalid, similarly options exercised by such people or in a similar way should be held invalid and such conversions should be declared null and void. Christian missionaries who denounce unfair methods of conversion may demonstrate their sincerity by publicly releasing all such converts from their religious fold.

Let religion as religion be given a chance. It is only a cynical or defeatist attitude that holds that religion like pure gold should have an alloy in order to pass current in the world. India has believed otherwise. She has held fast to the faith that 'Truth alone conquers.'

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Five

THE LION BREAKS OUT OF HIS GILDED CAGE

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

XV*

A Cornish schoolmaster whom I knew slightly walked over to the car in which I was seated. With his back turned towards the large public building alongside which it was standing at the moment, he respectfully motioned with his hand to let me understand that he did not wish me to be formal and get out of the car.

"Glad to see you after a long, long time," he said almost effusively for the shy man I knew him to be. Perhaps the atmosphere of the place had got hold of him. This was an Uttar Pradesh city with its roots deep down in our cultural past.

As we talked it came out that he was returning to his post with Father Himalia beetling above it. With a few of his "hand-picked" students he had hurried towards the land fringing the Bay of Bengal. For reasons known only to the Lord over involution, cataclysmic forces had lambasted Midnapur. With humanity welling in his heart, his young fellows and he engaged in such relief as puny man in such a dire circumstance can render.

I did not, I hope, appear to him to be inattentive to the details he, in his matter-of-fact way, was giving me. As I recall it a dozen years later, it was something to this effect. He was proud of his boys. They had served the afflicted men, women and children faithfully. Not the least caste scruple had been displayed by them.

XVI

My thoughts flitted towards Syama Prasad Mookerjee, his chief, the redoubtable Moulvi Fazlul Haq, ex-Civil Servant, lawyer and rebel against Jinnahism, their colleagues and their masterful Colonel-Satrap. This was, to be sure, not the first I had heard of the catastrophe. It, however, raised before my eyes a picture of the poignant hardships, in this instance not of man's making, that the people must have been suffering; the immensity and urgency of the problems with which they must be confronted. And they were anything but a "happy family," if a family at all.

Not so very long before I had visited that part of the country. It happened in this wise:

I had gone to Khargpur. The saloon lent me by the kindly agent of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway† was drawn up on a siding that made it convenient for me to visit the workshops. Finding the Superintendent friendly, I asked him if he would run me in his car over to Midnapur.

"You happen to be interested in that trouble-spot?" he asked quizically. His reference was, of course, to the political problems that the authorities—he himself was a Scot—were trying to solve with their "star-chamber" methods.

"Rather," I replied. "I have been reading about it since 1907, when Khudiram Bose hit the front-page headlines. I then was living in Chicago and can remember the flurry it caused even in the far-off 'Windy City'."

After giving me a sumptuous luncheon he put me into his car and headed straight for the "trouble-spot." Suddenly our progress was halted. When he applied the brakes the car stopped upon the brink of an unbridged channel. I wondered if my friend had mistaken the road. He should, I thought, have driven to some other point where there was a bridge. It turned out, however, that he was quite familiar with the countryside thereabouts and every now and again went from Khargpur to Midnapur.

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* The section numbers are continuous with those in articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the September, October, November and December, 1953 issues of *The Modern Review.*—Editor.

† See St. Nihal Singh's books, *The Changing Scene in India,* and *Along an Indian Railway,* both relating to the territory served by that railway, now incorporated in the Eastern Railway.—Editor.

He told me that there was a scheme for bridging the river : but probably it was tucked away in some pigeon-hole in the Bengal Secretariat. Some day, he hoped, it would be put through. This ferrying business wasted time—and tried temper.

By then a boat had drawn up. I admired the speed and skill with which it was made fast to the bank. My acquaintance dexterously drove the car on to it. In no time at all we were on the other side of the water, upon the further bank and driving into the heart of the city.

Now I saw sights that made me feel that I was in a highly militarized place not far from the front line. Had the driver and his car not been known to the keepers of the peace—such peace as there was—we surely would have been taken to the police station for interrogation. On either side of the avenue through which we proceeded there were small, squat buildings at stated intervals. "Bells of Arms," proclaimed the engineer, who, I seem to recall, was a high-up in the Volunteers.

He had promised to take me to the Hijli Camp, where, without charge or trial, suspects were kept in detention by the imperialists. He did not do so, however. Judging from the excuse he made, he may have thought better of it, or perhaps some one, possibly in authority, had applied the damper.

During that and one or two subsequent visits I saw enough of the countryside to enable me to visualise what a game of hide and seek could be played there by patriots of whom the police had fallen foul. Watercourses, large and small, and the Canal, still navigable almost up to Calcutta, intersected it. The tract reminded me, in fact, of the English fen lands.

The war had already started, I seem to remember, when I visited the district. The man-hunt that had been going on more or less continuously since the Khudiram Bose days had been intensified —brutalised.

• XVII

And now, in face of the havoc wrought by a tidal wave, unbelievably high winds and flood, what was to be the attitude of the powers-that-be ? That question had jumped into my mind the moment I read the news of the calamity.

Would the vendetta against the population that was suspect in official eyes be relaxed in the face of the catastrophe ? Would humanitarian considerations overlay at least the imperialist moods and tenses ?

From the distance that separated my headquarters at Dehra Dun from Midnapur the prospects seemed promising. His Excellency had ordered out a plane and was making an aerial survey of the situation. Immediately upon returning to Calcutta he used the "mike" to give a concrete idea of the disaster to the public in general. He had seen a village without any sign of life, completely isolated by the floods. There were "many square miles destitute of cattle and crops." Almost every tree had been uprooted, huts had been rendered uninhabitable. Roofs had been lifted off the "pucca houses." He had found "even a solid 12-foot brick-wall blown flat by the gale."

The "bunds" had been washed away. Not only were the crops standing in the fields destroyed but, he feared, "the fertility of the soil" had been adversely affected "throughout a strip along the sea-coast several miles in width."

His picture of the wastage of life was harrowing. "Live-stock have perished wholesale," he related. Ruin stared thousands of persons in the face. Their homes had been wiped out. Their possessions had vanished. They were without food—without clothes. Worse still, their "means of livelihood" had disappeared.

While making an earnest appeal for relief he indicated the steps Government were taking to deal with the situation. "Engineers had surveyed the damage," he said, "and repairs would be made." His estimates were being framed. He promised that "compensation would be assessed, seed would have to be provided, cattle to be obtained."

This was humane and commendable.

The Governor's broadcast contained, however, a note that sounded ominous. He stressed the fact that "deplorable disorders . . . persisted in parts of the province and in particular in the very areas where the cyclone had wrought most havoc." He made "it clear that Government consider it their duty . . . to suppress all violence and disorder of this kind." They had both the ability and the intention to do this. "Is it not tragic," he asked, that the authorities should have to "divert their energies to suppress violence instead of concentrating them upon" the task of "helping the distressed ?"

XVIII

There were complaints—serious complaints. Action was tardy, to begin with. A cyclone of an intensity the like of which had never before been known had struck Midnapur and adjoining areas on the 16th October, 1942. Over the area into which the Bay of Bengal penetrated there had been a tidal wave, as also a cloudburst. News of so grave a disaster was not communicated to Calcutta for three days, though the wireless was available. Another three days were lost before relief operations were started. As the canal by which rice was to be despatched had not become blocked, fault was found for the delay. The quantity was sadly deficient : for the sufferers were not far short of 15 lakh persons.

There was complaint also against secrecy. A complete blackout had been ordered from Calcutta. Not for 18 days was the public given any news.

The Revenue Minister took the Legislature into his confidence on the 12th November and made a supplementary statement the following day. The Governor made the aerial tour four days later (November 17th) and made the appeal that I have summarised above.

According to statements from unofficial sources, about 40,000 persons died. Some 90,000 per cent of the live-stock in the area perished and seven lakhs of huts were destroyed.

Grievous was the blow struck by Nature. Man's cruelty to man made it gruesome. Syama, accompanied by fellow-Ministers, had gone to Midnapur about a fortnight subsequent to the dread visitation. He was gravely disturbed by what he had seen and heard there. Of this he gave vigorous expression in the letter he had sent to the Governor on November 6th.

In Midnapur repression "had" been carried on "in the pre-cataclysmic period," he declared,

> "in a manner which resembles the activities of the Germans in occupied territories as advertised by British agencies. Hundreds of houses have been burnt down by the police and armed forces. Reports of outrages on women have reached us. Moslems have been instigated to loot and plunder Hindu houses ; or the protectors of law and order have themselves carried on similar operations. Orders were issued from Calcutta that it was not the policy of Government that houses should be burnt by persons in charge of law and order. I have ample evidence to show this order was not carried into effect. . . ."

Then he went on to point out that even after the terrible visitation,

> "the burning of houses and looting were continued in some parts of the district. Apart from the manner in which people were fired at and killed, these acts of outrage committed by Government agencies are abominable in character. Let us condemn by all means acts of lawlessness perpetrated by volunteers. To my knowledge they did not take the life of any Government servant. In any case the wrongs perpetrated by breakers of law and order are no justification whatsoever for the upholders of law and order to terrorise innocent people and to oppress one and all in a ruthless manner.
>
> "The reports which I have received about the callousness and indifference of some of the officers even after the cyclone perhaps find no parallel in the annals of civilized administration."

He proceeded to charge the Government with "the suppression of news of the havoc and even of appeals for help, for more than a fortnight." This he characterised as "criminal."

The Governor was told by him that even "in the presence of the District Magistrates complaints were received" by him and his colleagues,

> "that boats were not made available on the fateful evening or even later to save the lives of the people who were perilously resting for a brief while on the roofs of their houses that ultimately collapsed. One gentleman gave a harrowing description of the manner in which he and others begged the officers to allow a boat found by them to ply for a couple of hours in order to rescue some men, women and children lying near the area concerned. This request was summarily rejected and the men who had used the boat were threatened with dire consequences. Later on, all the people whom this party wanted to rescue were washed away, never to be found again."

And he added :

> "Our intervention in this respect proved fruitless. Transport facilities and movements were extremely restricted even when we visited the district a fortnight later."

Sensitive to the care and conservation of the cattle wealth of the people, good Hindu that he was, he wrote to the Governor :

> ". . . Cows were requisitioned under the Defence of India Rules. The total destruction of cattle owing to flood and storm would be anywhere between 75 and 85 per cent. Of the cows that remained, although they were giving milk and some were with calf, a good many were snatched away from private houses by the police and the military for the purpose of feeding the troops. Such inhuman callousness is indeed unparalleled."

He disclosed that an officer had reported in writing recommending "that relief, whether organized by Government or any private agency, should be withheld for a month and thereby people taught a permanent lesson." To his horror he had found that "even *bona fide* private relief workers from Calcutta, though they produced their credentials, found themselves in jail under the Defence of India Rules."

Of his and his colleagues' utter helplessness in righting these wrongs he wrote white frankly :

> "There is no chance of any enquiry being held, although other provincial governments have held enquiries, under far less serious circumstances, for then again prestige will suffer. The only chance that people of this province apparently have is to suffer patiently at the hands of the upholders of law and order and wait for the day when Nemesis is bound to come."

He admitted that there might "have been sporadic outbursts, but from his personal knowledge" he could "definitely assert that the bulk of the people, including supporters of the (Indian National) Congress, genuinely want peace to be restored immediately." He had had talks with many politicals, "both inside and outside the Midnapur Jail." From these he was

> "satisfied that if officers dealt with the situation with tact and sympathy, subversive activities would completely stop and the whole of Midnapur would rise to a man to work whole-heartedly with Government for giving relief. It is disgusting how valuable time has been wasted for one month because of the apathetic and dilatory attitude of some of the local officers on the one hand, and the strange obstructiveness of some of the representatives of law and order in Calcutta on the other. Meanwhile, thousands are suffering for want of food, shelter, medicine, clothing and drinking water."

He also pointed out to His Excellency how Hindus were prejudicially affected by collective fines. To quote him :

> ". . . The scheme of imposition of collective fines on Hindus alone, irrespective of their guilt, has been an all-India feature and is a British revival of the ancient policy of Jijia for which Aurengzeb made himself famous. In Bengal, the Chief Minister had been averse to the imposition of such fines and tried again and again to lay down certain principles which were unimpeachable from the point of view of elementary justice. You have interfered with the Chief Minister's decision and have prevented him from giving effect to these directions. Amounts have been imposed in many cases without any regard to the total damage caused or the part played by the inhabitants concerned. In at least one case I know the collector was not even consulted ; in some others local officers were invited by Government itself to propose the imposition of fines. I have carefully examined the papers with regard to a number of these cases and the monostrosity of the imposition has staggered me. I challenge you to place the materials on which decisions have been taken before any impartial judge and I have not the least doubt that in most cases the verdict will be that the fines are not at all leviable in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance, or that the discrimination made is completely unjustifiable or the amounts fixed are entirely disproportionate in character. Fines have been imposed in many cases without the Chief Minister knowing what was being done. Only recently it was suggested by the Chief Minister that the realization might be delayed by a fortnight and the entire policy considered at a Cabinet meeting. Your answer to this request, which was made on behalf of us all, was in full conformity with the traditions which you had already established. You had no objections to Cabinet meeting being held. But you indicated beforehand with sufficient clearness, but with unbecoming impropriety and discourtesy to ministers, that you would in any case pass orders in exercise of your individual judgment for the immediate collections of the fines."

He complained that "military matters" were kept a "dead secret from the Ministers" and warned :

> "If the worst happens, you and others, who now feel overpowered by special responsibilities will, like your friends similarly situated in Burma, desert the province, we remaining here, unarmed, unprepared and emasculated, to face your parting bullets and the yet unknown operations of the denial policy on the one hand ; and the oppression of the invading enemy on the other. And yet with good-will and statesmanship on your side to which the great bulk of Indians would have warmly responded, what a bulwark a Free India and the Allied Nations would jointly have been against the combined forces of the Axis Powers."

I hardly need to add that the Cabinet had become to Syama a cage, albeit a cage with golden bars. At a single bound he jumped out of it on November 16, 1947.

XIX

With his resignation Syama had sent to the Chief Minister a copy of the letter to the Governor from which I have given a few brief excerpts. These bear upon the Midnapur situation. So terrible was it that I have devoted to it this article almost in its entirety.

There were other matters of the highest importance to which he referred, in his frank, bold, caustic style. The Governor was, in fact, flayed alive for his policy, especially, in certain matters, his lack of policy. Since most of these points were dealt with in the preceding article, I do not propose to say anything further about them here.

Being a shrewd lawyer-administrator, he knew that the men at the semi-automatic loom of destiny in Calcutta and the master-loom at New Delhi were not likely to rush into print his condemnation of their attitude and conduct. He, therefore, took care to publish, within three days of resigning, a statement in which **he took into his confidence the electors and** the people in general. As I remember it almost a dozen years later, in doing this he virtually summarised the charges of racialism, sectarianism, unconstitutionalism and callous slowness in dealing with matters of life and death that he had levelled at the British agent and the coterie of (non-Indian) bureaucrats who were, in effect, his bear-leaders.

In view of what has gone before I shall content myself with the remark that his statement was informed with candour and vigour characteristic of him and seldom exceeded by any parting kick administered by a retiring minister in India in Imperialist leading strings.

The public showed its esteem for him and evinced its gratitude to him for his lion-hearted espousal of their cause, by voting him, four days later (November 27), into the chair of the committee appointed at a monster meeting held in Calcutta. That body was to secure the implementation of a series of resolutions that had been passed. To show the popular temper at this stage I make space for these :

> ". . . this public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta demands in the name of suffering humanity :
>
> (*a*) That full facilities should be afforded to all workers engaged in relief operations and that a liberal and co-ordinated relief policy be adopted alloting as many centres as possible to non-official organizations working in collaboration with the authorities.
>
> (*b*) That general amnesty to all political prisoners in the district of Midnapur be granted.
>
> (*c*) That all restrictive and administrative orders which hamper the movement of the relief workers and accentuate the spirit of distrust on the part of the people be abrogated forthwith.
>
> That the Curfew Orders and other restrictive orders, including permit system be immediately withdrawn. That all difficulties in the way of relief work, such as lack of transport, boats, motor-lorries, cycles, and the hopeless insufficiency of stock of rice and other provisions in affected areas and the deplorable lack of arrangement for supply of drinking water be removed without delay.
>
> (*d*) That raids by the police and the military which have been and are being carried on in certain areas be immediately stopped.
>
> (*e*) That Collective fines be cancelled and Chowkidari Tax and realisation of other taxes and impositions be withheld.
>
> (*f*) That cottage industries be organized in the areas, specially in respect of salt and together with proper organization for marketing of the same. Immediate steps be also taken for utilising local labour for the reconstruction of embankments and roads and re-excavation of tanks.
>
> (*g*) That this meeting also appeals to all leaders and workers in the affected area to stop all political agitation and to concentrate all their attention and energies for the purpose of organizing relief work and reconstructing the economic life of the people in the affected areas."

Thus ended an episode in Syama's life. Or, shall I say this began another chapter in his public career ?

[Article No. 6 of this series will deal with the use Syama Prasad Mookerjee made of his freedom. It will appear in an early issue of *The Modern Review*. —EDITOR]

———:O:———

LEO TOLSTOY—THE LAST PHASE

By PROF. J. MINATTUR, M.A. (English), M.A. (Pol. Sc), L.D.B., J.D.

RECENTLY when June Haver, the Hollywood filmstar left the screen for the cloister there was quite a flutter in the film world. Everyone will remember the surprise and the shock with which the world received the news of King Edward VIII's abdication because he wanted to marry the woman he loved. Sacrifice of any sort appeals to the imagination and evokes wonder and admiration. But most sacrifices are from personal motives and most renunciations dictated by necessity. The jilted lover or the ruined profligate may decide to tread the spiritual path. It is a some overwhelming passion or experience that spells the change in these men and women. There are others who renounce the world not in reaction against environments but in obedience to a nobler urge. To this group belong Gautama the Buddha, Asoka the Emperor and Gandhiji the Mahatma. A humbler example of this kind is Count Leo Tolstoy, the Russian nobleman and writer.

The East is the home of religions and the teeming womb of thinkers. Light in a metaphorical as well as physical sense comes out of the East and advances westward. The West we associate with materialism : especially so modern Russia. When out of the all-pervading gloom and mists of materialism, the light of a Tolstoy bursts through, it is nothing short of a miracle.

The miracle is all the greater when we come to think about the early life of Tolstoy. He was born in a very rich, ancient and aristocratic Russian family with noble traditions and a record of distinguished service to the country. He was active by nature and abounding in physical energy and high spirits. He led a loud and boisterous life. He was adventurous and passionate. He served in the Crimean war. He was by no means introspective in the beginning. In early life when the girl to whom he made love refused to have him he pushed her out of the window and years later married her daughter and had a large and happy family. As a novelist there is probably nobody to compare with him. Few will disagree with Matthew Arnold's opinion that *Anna Karenina* is the greatest novel ever written. According to the world's way of thinking, here indeed was a happy man who had been treated splendidly well by life. This happy and prosperous man living in a materialistic country in a materialistic age gradually looks into his soul, turns to the East for wisdom and finds that all is not right with his way of life. This is the journey of the Magi in the reverse direction. The original Magi came out of the East and marched west in quest of wisdom. But Tolstoy the wise man of Russia turns to the East and the teachings of the Buddha for the right way of life. Simplicity and non-violence appealed to him powerfully. He was moved by the example of Jesus Christ also. Like a bold man he put into practice what he believed.

Under the great urge he renounced all riches. He stopped writing novels. He ceased to take any interest in his family to whom he was once so attached. Before the change, he was passionately devoted to his wife. The story of his proposing marriage to her by writing the words on the table at a party reads like an incident from some high romance. His wife could not naturally understand the great change that came over him. Nor could the world. He gave away all his costly clothes and went about the countryside clad as an ordinary Russian peasant. He looked so much the poor peasant that when he went into a Russian monastery to meet a monk, he was mistaken for a beggar by the good brother at the gate and was asked to come another day for alms. But when he told the brother that he had not come for charity but to discuss some knotty theological matter with the head of the monastery and that his name was Tolstoy, the brother was completely taken aback at the great mistake he had made.

The complete man of the world shook himself free of the bonds of the world. He no longer went to any parties or met his old friends. He found fault with the very organisation of society. He preached that governments were not necessary and patriotism was idiotism. He disbelieved in the necessity for marriage and held sex to be a ridiculous obsession (And when he was vehemently denouncing sex, he got a child after he was sixty ; his enemies had a chance to attack him and that they did not lose). Money he believed was the root of all evil and refused to have anything to do with it. When he had to travel by train, the railway would not carry him unless he paid for his tickets. The man who believed that money was evil would not touch money. So his faithful friends had to pay for his ticket to the immense merriment of his enemies. Private property was of course not recognised. No one should possess anything. Tolstoy was as fierce as St. Francis of Assisi on this point. But when a shirt belonging to one of Tolstoy's followers was stolen by a boy who stayed with him, he lost his temper and wanted to bring him to book. If property was so bad, was not the boy doing a good service in stealing the shirt, asked the enemies of Tolstoy. Tolstoy lost all interest in the ordinary affairs of the world and in his later life he never read a newspaper for years.

His wife was a narrow-minded woman who could not understand all this philosophy. She told her husband repeatedly that he was doing a most foolish thing, that he had a responsibility to his family and that if he did not want any money from the sale of his books, he should permit her to receive the money. Of course, Tolstoy was impatient with all this remonstrance. He came to dislike his wife. He wanted to escape from her : once he did escape in his old age. He was brought back. When he was past eighty and very sick he again escaped from home to avoid his wife and her nagging. Early one morning unknown to everybody in the house he arranged with his coachman to take him in the coach away from the house. On the way he became very ill and was taken into a roadside house where he died—a refugee from the conventions of society.

It is by comparison with Tolstoy's wife that one comes to appreciate the greatness of Kasturba Gandhi. She was also placed in identical circumstances. But as she was more understanding and had a more generous heart, she herself took to the altered ways of her great husband.

Tolstoy, it will be realised, thus aimed at the simple and noble way of life for the individual and anarchy for the world in general. He created great enthusiasm among a few and for a time there were Tolstoyans living in colonies in many parts of the world. Greatest among the admirers of Tolstoy was Gandhiji himself.

But Tolstoy's was an impracticable creed. The few incidents given above will show how difficult it was to live up to the ideals of Tolstoy and how the great master himself fell short of perfection. Within a generation of his death, his followers lost all enthusiasm for the new faith. Tolstoy's conversion therefore did not benefit the world greatly ; it did good only to his own mind. This has to be contrasted with the instances of the Buddha, Asoka or Gandhiji. The reformation in these great men produced immense public good besides benefiting themselves. Measured by results, Tolstoy's conversion is therefore a great loss to the world as he would have written many more great novels had he not changed his ways. To put it a little differently, it is the altered Buddha or Asoka or Gandhiji that the world admires, it is the early, the unreformed Tolstoy that commands the respect of the world. Probably his wife in her narrow-minded way was after all right in her judgement.

BEGINNING OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN PRE-CONGRESS DAYS

By. NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

In tracing the history of the beginnings of the Indian national movement in Pre-Congress days we have to refer to the progressive political thoughts, hopes and aspirations of the educated, politically-awakened Bengalis, their political activities and to the gradual change of the older relations between the governing class and the governed. In those early days of the second half of the nineteenth century Bengal was the leader of progressive thought in all matters, of the rest of India, and the Bengali Press was the model for the Press in the rest of India. Political parties had not yet grown up and the leaders of the educated people were the talented editors of Bengali papers of the time. The principal features of the growth of the national sentiment at the time may be better illustrated by means of some selected extracts from contemporary newspapers.

The present article deals with five years from 1865 to 1870.

POLITICAL IDEAS, HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS

The appearance of *Som Parkash* early in the second half of the nineteenth century is held to have opened a new era in Bengali journalism. The start may be made with this paper.

In reply to *Hurkaru* which charged the paper with dissaffection and suggested the propriety of circumscribing the liberty of the Vernacular Press for some criticism of the Government in regard to the Bhutan expedition, *Som Prakash* (1865) wrote: "Every tax-payer has a right to express his opinion on the expenditure of the public money. The troops in Bhutan have become dissatisfied. Are we to be counted enemies to Government because we brought this fact to the notice of Government for redress? The editor of *Hurkaru* supplies an illustration of the current saying that Englishmen leave their English feelings behind at the Cape. The native editors are not enemies to the English nation as such, but they are hostile to the worthless and illiberal Englishmen, who blinded by their selfishness, work out for the evil of this country and endeavour to keep the natives on a level with slaves." Referring to the question of control on expenditure, *Dacca Prakash* (1865) wrote that it was necessary to form an Advisory Committee and consult public opinion before any expenditure is made.

Discussing the question of the political rights of the people *Som Prakash* wrote in 1865, "We have no political rights, we have no career open to our high expectations. Does not the civilisation of India surpass that of the age when King John signed the Magna Carta or of the time when King Henry III instituted the Parliament? If it does, why should the rights which England was permitted to enjoy in the twelfth century be thought too great for India in the second half of the nineteenth century?" Again, "Will it not be proper to grant as a favour now those rights which will have to be granted of necessity as a due in the end? It is rediculous like an old wives' tale to say 'First become fit and then you will get it.' The English certainly possess extraordinary energy and power, but that power has its limits. Let Government commence to introduce gradually an independent constitution in this country, otherwise it will not possess the loyalty of the people of this country." Two years later it wrote: "We are constantly told that Government are obliged to support 80000 European troops for fear of another revolt. In order to remove all fear of rebellion Government should allow the public to have a voice in the imposition of taxes and State expenditure. We emphatically declare that the time for giving the people some degree of control over the revenues of the country has arrived." About the political hopes and aspirations of the people it wrote in the same year: "The benefits which were sufficient in 1857 do not satisfy the people in 1867. By what rules are Canada and Australia governed? Thoughtful Indians compare their situation with that of the inhabitants of these places. Education is rapidly spreading and the people are able to understand the state of the country and what their natural rights are." Discussing the question whether the monarchical or republican form of government is suitable to India the same paper wrote in 1869, "A system of government that ignores public opinion cannot be popular." In 1870, that is, fifteen years before the birth of the Congress, we find that same paper demanding a representative form of government with control over finance and internal administration of the State.

DISCONTENT AND DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT

Referring to the change of the attitude of the people towards the Government *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1870) wrote: "Government have lost the confidence of the people. They suspect the true motives of measures adopted by Government." There was strong agitation in the country in 1870 over two measures and discontent increased. These two measures were Government's move to reduce expenditure on high English education and amendment of the sedition clause to curb the freedom of the Press. *Bhaskar* (1870) wrote: "If you really think that by giving Bengalis an English education British rule will be destroyed why not do away with

English education altogether? If you wish to turn the favoured peasants into pundits by teaching them Bengali we do not object. But we would ask, was it to help the peasants that Lord Mayo came?" *Som Prakash* wrote in 1868 that people thought the English had come to believe that if high education were given to the natives they would subvert British rule. *Dacca Prakash* (1870) wrote: "If we look carefully into all the measures of the British Government from the first to the last the gratitude that exists has scarcely a desire to continue." *Som Prakash* (1870) wrote: "Popular opinion is opposed to Government to an extent which has never been known throughout the whole period of British rule in India." In 1868 the same paper wrote: "Although it is generally allowed that England's mission is to raise India in the scale of civilisation and fit her for self-government, yet when the time comes for India to claim independence it will be denied."

ANTI-BENGAL FEELING

In 1867 *Som Prakash* wrote: "Whatever of religion, policy, the arts and sciences have sprung in the North-western Provinces the Bengalis have fostered and nurtured. The Bengali newspapers are taken as examples in every Presidency. We admit that the inhabitants of the North-west are more warlike than ourselves, but none have more of that courage that is necessary under the policy of the British than the Bengalis..... All India is affected by public opinion in Bengal, the Civilians know this and yet try to ignore it." *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1870) wrote: "Government believe that the Bengalis hate the English and cherish hatred against Government, their professions of loyalty are only words." *Education Gazette* (1870) referred to instances of British Civilians preaching anti-Bengali feeling in the North-western Provinces.

SEED OF BENGALI REVOLUTIONARISM

Though educated Bengalis were suspected and though they criticised Government severely yet *Som Prakash* wrote in 1870 expressing generally the attitude of contemporary politicians, "The educated community do not desire that the British rule should come to an end, what they want is that the faults of Government should be corrected." Outside this school of progressive, liberal politicians there was a small conservative group which took its stand on the Hindu Scriptures and preached the doctrine of divinity of the king. One unexpectedly comes across a new school of thought.

In 1870 a poem was published in *Education Gazette*. To meet with parallel matter we have to step over 38 years and come to the days of the Bengal revolutionary movement. The Mitra mela, the Ganapati and Sivaji festivals of Maharastra arose 25 years later. As an illustration of the revolutionary twist in the Bengali mind the poem in question is a remarkable piece of literature. The intell tuals of the Renascence movement in Bengal who prop gated all-India unity and nationalism and recalled pa national glories discovered Rajputana and Maharastr The invocation of Sivaji as the symbol of Hindu revival a time when the depredations of Mahratta horsemen we frequently referred to in the papers, and the appeal to al the provinces of India to unite and dye the soil of Indi red with the blood of hated aliens are a remarkable pe formance in 1870. Only twelve years after the Sepo Mutiny one finds the seed of revolutionarism germinatin in the soil of Bengal.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

The British Indian Association (established in 1851 was the principal political organisation of the time. Som papers complained that it was an organisation of the uppe classes and did not speak of the wants and grievances of th middle and poorer classes. In 1866 we hear of an India League being established. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1870 wrote on the need for forming a Representative Associatio for checking the autocracy of Governmeent. It recommended that the field of work of the British Indian Association should be extended to cover the whole of India so as to make it an all-India organisation and branch associations should be organised in every district. With the idea of organising an all-India cultural front the Chaitra mela or Hindu mela was started in 1867 by the Bengali leaders of thought and society. It was held at the Belgachia gardens of Ashutosh Deb. *Education Gazette* spoke of it in the next year as a 'national gathering.' The need for creating some agency to speak on behalf of the Bengalis and India to the British public and Parliament was felt as early as 1865, when an Indian Club was established in London.

MUSLIM MOVEMENT

A report is published in papers of the annual sessio of the Muslim Literary Society held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, in 1865. The L. G. of Bengal who was its patron, attended the session. This Society was established in 1862. References to the Wahabi movement and the Farazi movement in East Bengal appear in the papers of 1870. The Wahabi trial at Maldah was going on at the time. In 1870 there is a clear indication of the reorientation of the Indian Muslim view on English education, and from the same year also the Indian Muslim policy of demanding special treatment from the rulers began to be followed openly. When Government proposed to restrict the spread of English education in the country by increasing its cost the educated community started a strong agitation against it. *Urdu Guide* (1870) wrote: "Whatever Government may do in regard to the Hindus they should not increase expenses for the Mussalmans."

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI: *By Dhirendra Mohan Datta. The University of Wisconsin Press, 811 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin. 1953. Pp. 155. Price $ 2·50.*

Professor D. M. Datta, formerly Head of the Department of Philosophy, Patna University, was invited to lecture on Indian philosophy by the University of Wisconsin in the United States. In course of his stay there, he was also asked to deliver a series of public lectures on the subject. Two of these lectures were on the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. These were broadcast several times, and were widely appreciated. The Kemper K. Knaff Committee which sponsored these lectures, later on decided that the speeches should be put in print in order to make them available to a larger circle of readers. The present book is a result of that decision.

Professor Datta first of all introduces the reader to a brief outline of the characteristics of India's civilization; and then proceeds to give us an outline of Gandhiji's life, while describing the forces from either the East or the West which helped in moulding his character. He then brings together Gandhiji's ideas on the nature of God, the World and Man. As we all know, Gandhiji wrote abundantly; but this was always done as an aid to action, and not for the systematization of his own thoughts for presentation to the public. Professor Datta has indeed done a very valuable piece of work by not only systematizing the thoughts but also by drawing comparisons between them and several schools of Indian religious philosophy. Sometimes, he has been led to draw comparisons with modern thinkers like Whitehead.

He then proceeds to describe Gandhiji's special contribution to the field of social and political action. According to the author, the greatest contribution of Mahatma Gandhi lay in trying to live most earnestly in the light of what he held to be true and good for the entire human family. His second major contribution lay in the introduction of a simple and universal ethical code into the field of human politics, where morals are looked upon as an anachronism.

In the last section of the book, entitled "Moral Leadership of the World," Prof. Datta traces the present-day ills of the world to a widespread neglect of those moral principles which alone have helped to distinguish humanity from the brute creation through the ages. He pleads for a restoration of those simple moral truths into their proper place in life. He never loses hope, does not yield to cynicism or despair in spite of enough reasons to the contrary, but holds up the hope that the very presence of men like Gandhi in the modern world, or of small acts in the lives of common men and women where love takes the place of selfishness, should give us strength to rise above our present condition and once more restore humanity to the dignity which is its due.

The book is replete with quotations from Gandhiji's writings, and will thus also serve as a carefully selected summary of his main thoughts and beliefs. We only wish that a popular Indian edition will make it available to a large circle of readers in India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ASPIRATIONS FROM A FRESH WORLD: *By Shakuntala Rao Shastri. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Bhavan's Book University), Bombay. 1952. Pp. 198. Price Re. 1-12.*

In this well-written monograph the authoress has attempted to trace the gradual development of religious and philosophical ideas in the Vedic literature from the earliest times to those of the Upanishads—a literature constituting "the rich heritage of India, the culture of which has given to India a permanent place in the civilised world (Preface p. ix). Of the twenty chapters of this work, the first three deal with the *Rigveda* and the next three (iv-vii) with the three other *Samhitas* apiece, while the twelve following chapters (Chs. viii-xix) are devoted to a detailed analysis of ten principal Upanishads and a general estimate of their thought. The concluding chapter gives in the briefest outline an account of the six systems of philosophy. From a general consideration of this work, it must be pronounced to be a distinct success within its limits, there being in this case, naturally enough, no question of originality. The authoress's reading is deep and extensive, her judgment is judicious, her style is admirably lucid and eloquent, her quotations are well selected. Particular praise is due to her presentation of the ideas of the Upanishads both individually and collectively. One may well endorse her proud claim in the concluding words on this point: "It is to be regretted that the Upanishads have not been more widely known among the nations of the world. When properly understood, the Upanishads are sure to be cherished as the most precious legacy of humanity."

We propose to make a few remarks. From the chronological standpoint it is a little confusing to be told that the seers of the Vedas and the Upanishads composed their verses "thousands of years ago," (Preface p. viii). From the point of view of space, it is equally confusing to learn (p. 13) that "the Vedic hymns were composed in the plains of the Punjab near the Hindu Kush at the foot of the Himalayan range." The statement (p. 14) that the non-Aryans in Rigvedic times fought the Aryans "with horses and chariots" is not founded on fact. The account of government in the Age of the Rigveda (p. 23) is too sketchy to be of much use. The description of the development of the caste system from the *Rigveda* to the *Yajurveda* (pp. 26, 61-63) is inaccurate in some points, as when we read that "there were no caste distinctions among the Aryans" in Rigvedic times, that the word Brahmana for the priestly caste is rare in the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, and that the ancient term (*Brahma*) for the presiding priest at the sacrifice was applied in the *Yajur-veda* to all engaged in the sacrificial work and later on "transformed into Brahman, and finally made Brahmana which is still the usual name of the priestly caste." The title of Chapter IV ("*Yajur-veda*") is misleading, as the reference throughout is only to one and the most imperfect recension of this Veda, *viz.*, the *Vajasaneyi-Samhita*. The description (p. 87) of the Vedic *Samhitas* as "mainly and essentially poetical compositions," while applying largely though not exclusively to the *Rigveda Samhita*, has little application, as the authoress's own judgments (pp. 59, 81) testify, to the *Atharva Veda* and the *Yajurveda*. As regards the *Brahmanas*, while it may be correct to characterise them (p. 90) as "utterly devoid of poetic and artistic merit," the further statement that they contain "hardly a new idea" is unwarranted by facts. In the field of religious ideas, as the authoress herself remarks (pp. 99-100) "many of the conceptions and practices of later Hinduism are found in their germs in the *Brahmanas*" which form "the connecting link between the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*." In the domain of political ideas and institutions it has been shown elsewhere (*Hindu Political Theories*, 2nd Ed., pp. 21-34; *Hindu Public Life*, Part I, pp. 50-160) by the present reviewer what important strides were taken by the authors of the *Brahmanas* under the guise of dogmatic interpretation of the sacrificial ritual.

The book is remarkably free from misprints, but *Sambasa* (p. 14) requires correction.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMEN IN THE VEDIC AGE : *By Shakuntala Rao Shastri. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Price Re. 1-12.*

SOMNATH : THE SHRINE ETERNAL : *By K. M. Munshi. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Price Re. 1-12.*

We have here two interesting books published in the Bhavana's Book university organised by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay with the laudable object of producing 'books in a uniform get-up and at cheap price covering the best literature in the world and in particular the literature which stands for India and the fundamentals for which Indian culture stands.' In the first of the two books, the author seeks to draw the attention of the readers to the position of women as revealed in different branches of Vedic literature, *e.g.*, the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, the Srauta Sutras and the Grihya Sutras. The learned author makes an analytical study of the literature, especially the portions referring to the life and culture of women, branch by branch. In the absence of an index or even of topical headings under the different chapters dealing with different aspects of Vedic literature it is difficult to look up the information available in a particular branch on a particular topic. In this respect the arrangement followed in an earlier work on a partially identical topic, *e.g.*, B. S. Upadhya's *Women in Rigveda*, is good and helpful. Unfortunately this latter is not even found to have been referred to in the book under review. The second work is a popular and cheaper edition of a bigger, attractive and more costly publication issued on the occasion of the installation of *Somnath* in May, 1951. It describes in a fascinat manner the chequered history of the shrine wh was destroyed and restored from time to time by number of Muhammudan and Hindu rulers in succ sion through several centuries till the reconstructi of the temple and the installation of the deity in calm atmosphere on the attainment of Independen by India and the accession of the Junagadh Sta which contained the Shrine, to the Indian Union.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A LIFE-SKETCH OF SRIMANT PRATA SETH : *By G. R. Malkani, M.A. Published by th Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, East Kha desh, Bombay. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The Indian Institute of Philosophy at Amaln was founded in the summar of 1916 by Srimant Prata seth, a Marwari philanthropist still alive. Passi through various vicissitudes during its long life nearly four decades it is now well-established a widely known. Its useful activities in the cause indigenous philosophy have attracted the attention the elite of our country. We may very well be pro of its silent and unostentatious work for the la thirty-six years.

The book, under review, contains a short life the Founder of the Institute and a brief account the Adwaitic system of Thought. The *Life-Sketc* covers only 55 pages and the rest of the book devoted to the study of Advaitism. Prof. Malkani account of the life of Srimant Pratapseth centre mainly round his contacts with the Institute and i worth reading. Prof. Malkani treats Advaitism in very interesting and impressive way. Although th book was written in 1945, it does not require now t be modified in any important respect. Prof. Malkan is a Master of Arts in Philosophy of an Indian University and further equipped with a degree of an Englis University. Being well-versed both in Indian an Western philosophy he is capable enough of treatin the most important system of Indian Thought wi authority. The book contains a good picture Srimant Pratapseth and is nicely printed. A pictu of the Indian Institute at Amalner should have bee added in the book.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRAGMENTS OF A PRISONER'S DIARY Vol. II: *By M. N. Roy. Published by Renaissanc Publishers Ltd., 15 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Ca cutta 12.*

Under the sub-title, "India's Message," th writer, well-known in the world of controversy as a acute thinker of varied experience, as an interpret of Marxism though challenging the Lenin-Stalin thes very often, has given us a book which is one sustaine attack on Gandhism, and indirectly on Sanata Hinduism. The sub-title is a misnomer, therefor For, M. N. Roy with all his knowledge of Wester lore, of India as interpreted by Western scholars, wil not be accepted by any Indian as an authentic witnes to their people's history. His criticism of Manu an other social legislators are out of date. Quoting Fras and other Western scholars that religion becomes psychological 'fixation' is a sorry attempt to explai a phenomenon that has played such a great part i the evolution of humanity." Mr. Roy says that "th purpose of the book is not controversial." A reade will, however, find therein nothing but controvers He revels in it. And, therefore, stirs others to engag in it, thus doing a necessary work of education an enlightenment. This is the utility of books like these

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

OUR INDIA--1953 : *By Minoo Masani. Illustrated by C. H. G. Moorhouse. Published by Oxford University Press, Mercantile Buildings, Lal Bazar, Calcutta-1. Price Rs. 5.*

The author is a famous man. Minoo Massani has had a varied and distinguished career as Mayor, ambassador and a member, successively, of the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the Constituent Assembly and the Parliament of India. The artist Moorhouse has drawn the pictures and charts to illustrate the book, which is full of so many excellent pictures and designs that it is a veritable feast for the young readers for whom the book is intended. The book was first published in 1940 and over 500,000 copies have been sold since then. The author re-edited and revised the book and published it in 1953. But as the publishers say, the same thing can be told about India in 1953 as it was in the beginning of the Second World War and after the Partition of India into two States, India and Pakistan, in 1947. The book attempts to draw a glorious picture of India and has helped the Planning Commission not a little in forming the Five-Year Plan of India. The author stresses and points out how the vast resources of the lands and forests, rivers and mines of India can be so utilised that our present poverty-stricken India can be turned into a prosperous, happy and smiling land, full of plenty and power. The happy and telling way of Masani, impressing upon the minds of the young reader, the prospects and possibilities of India with the help of beautiful illustrations by Moorhouse, is simply delightful. The book is so admirably written that not only students but teachers also will enjoy it as a store-house of information and instruction. The cover, get-up, paper and printing are excellent and bespeak well of the well-known publishers.

B. K. SEAL

BE STRONGER LIVE LONGER : *By V. W. Goyle. Careers Institute, New Delhi. 1953. Pp. 186 Price Rs. 5-8.*

The publishers' blurb on this book's dust cover describes it as "a golden key that ensures health, home and happiness . . ." As a matter of fact, this is a very scrappy and unnecessarily inflated work which attempts to lay down certain general principles about health, diet, physical exercises, food, etc. Much the most of the book goes on the lines of "You must learn to avoid the life-shortening foods and to eat more of the life-lengthening foods" (p. 51), "Eat a well-balanced bulky diet leaving plenty of residue to stimulate action" (p. 127), or, "Take in a health magazine like *Health and Strength* and you will soon have a healthy mind" (p. 133). All this certainly does not add up to what the publishers, in their inimitable way, claim, *viz*., that "This is a you-must-not miss-me book, a true Forget-me-not, that will adorn your heart and health . . . a memorable monument that will echo in your mind and muscles for years to come and go"!

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA—KARNA-PARVAN : *Edited by P. L. Vaidya. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1950.*

Under the general editorship of the eminent Sanskritist, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (who took charge in 1943), the Bhandarkar Institute has tackled in course of the last ten years many important *parvans* of the great Epic, including the Bana-Parvan and the Shanti-Parvan, the longest canto.

We are very glad to read the first part of the Karna-Parvan, ably edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya. After collating some 56 manuscripts, he selected 32 important ones, on which he based his edition. But it took nearly five years to prepare the critical apparatus of the constituted text, and now the first part is published, which will be followed by the concluding cantos, with Dr. Vaidya's editorial notes. It is significant that one manuscript of the Karna-Parvan coming from the Bombay Government collection is dated as early as Samvat 1514, equal to 1458 A.D. So the manuscript is five centuries old. Along with such North Indian manuscripts, Dr. Vaidya consulted the Telugu Grantha and Malayalam versions.

SHANTI-PARVAN (Fascicule 23) : *Edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.*

This is the second fascicule of the Moksha Dharma, which would be completed, we hope, in another fascicule. Dr. Belvalkar has shown his mastery in textual criticism by his previous editions of the Bhisma-Parvan, and the Bhagabad Gita, followed by the Raja-Dharma and the Apad-Dharma sections of the Shanti-Parvan. We congratulate him and the Bhandarkar Institute on their monumental research publications, and we appeal to all orientalists to come forward to secure for the Institute substantial financial aids expediting the complete publication of the Great Epic of India.

KALIDAS NAG

BENGALI

BANKIM RACHANABALI (Part I): *Complete Novels of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay—with a brief Introduction to the life and works of the author. Published by the Sahitya Samsad, 32-A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 10.*

The international recognition of Bengali as an important language is due to the literary creations of two master minds—Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath. It was Bankim who largely inspired our national revival and gave us our national song. That represents only one side of his genius. As a teacher and leader of thought he was no doubt one of the foremost. But his works are not mere instruments of message ; they are vital and fresh ; they glow and glisten with the smiles and tears of life. As an artist he is of the supreme calibre. The fastidious critic, who complains of his lapses or occasional deviations from aesthetic principles, would do well to remember that the greatest creative artists—Hugo, Shakespeare, Tolstoy—are not free from them. The elation of the spirit that we experience on the first reading of his principal novels and the lasting impression they leave are unmistakable signs of their greatness. His romances still breathe the fragrance of bygone days ; we almost visualise the gallant heroes of old : the dead past awakens at his touch. And, in his tales of the present, while he faithfully represents the light and shade of the passing moments, he never fails to point to the eternal verities of life.

Not merely on his novels does his claim to immortality rest. In his works of literary criticism and on economics, sociology, philosophy and other subjects, he shows amazing versatility, depth and intellectual brilliance.

The absence of a low-priced durable edition of his works has long been regretted by Bengali readers. They will now feel grateful to the publishers, who have spared no pains to make this volume attractive in every way. Neatly printed, decently bound and nicely got-up, it is sure to allure the prospective buyer. It comprises all the novels of Bankim Chandra, arranged chronologically, and contains a valuable introduction—biographical and critical—by Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, whose untiring research-work and keenness for historical accuracy have won appreciation from all scholars. We eagerly await the publication of the second volume, which will consist of all his essays and belles lettres.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

NAYA MASIHA (The New Messiah): *By Shyam Sundar 'Ashant': Shanti Sandesh Karyalaya, Khagoria, Monghyr. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.*

Bhoodan Yajna is throwing up writers and poets as every great movement does. The writer appears to be a product of the movement. To be more useful the writer should exercise a little restraint and make the vehicle of his thought such as appeals straight to heart.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

GUJARATI

GANDHI SAHITYA SUCHI: *By P. G. Deshpande. Published by the Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 238. Price Rs. 3-4.*

This is Gandhiana, in its true sense. Every subject touched by Gandhiji. and to be found in different languages, like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, English. etc., is referred to here and the place where it could be found noted in this compilation. The strenuous labour bestowed on compiling this list is well-rewarded as till now this book remains as the only one of its kind.

NOTE: Besides those already noticed we h received small and medium sized books in vari subjects, published by The Society for the Encoura ment of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bomb They are cheap and meant to reach almost eve household:

(A) Biography: (1) *Bhakta Ambarish* (2 *Bhakta Jataram,* (3) *Yaksha ane Yudhishtir,* (*Dattatraya.* (5) *Yogishwar Yajnya Valkya.*

(B) Domestic Hygiene and Remedies: (1) *Fo During Illness,* (2) *Poison in Food,* (3) *Causes Illness,* (4) *Household Doctor,* (5) *Churn Aushod* (Powders as Drugs).

(C) Agriculture: (1) *Elements of Agricultu* Parts 3 and 4, Cattle and Foodgrains.

(D) Story: (1) *Kanku and Kanya.*

(E) Devotional: (1) *Sakhis of Tulsidas,* (*Haripatha* by Jnandev, (3) *Atma Ramayan,* (4) *Dr Drashya Vivek* by Sankaracharya.

(F) Miscellaneous: (1) *Jivan Charya,* (*Grahajivanni Kata,* (3) *Prem Pantha,* Part I, (*One Hundred Signs of a Fool.*

JIVANMANTHI JADELI (2nd Edition): *B Mrs. Lilavati K. Munshi. Published by the Gurj Granth-Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thic card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 376. Price Rs. 5.*

Found in Life is a book containing seventee attractive stories of Indian life. Its first editio appeared in 1932, when Shrimati Lilavati was in th Belgaum Jail. The state of society when she firs began to exercise her pen in story-writing in 1925, has changed much, but these stories have still retained their popularity.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Maurice Maeterlinck
A Modern Mystic

William Nightingale Brown discusses in an article in *The Aryan Path* the mystical elemtnt which was so strong in the famous Belgian writer and Nobel laureate, the late Count Maurice Meaterlinck :

Count Maurice Maeterlinck, who died a few years aggo in the South of France after a long period of exile in America, was personally known to me. His name, of course, is well known; but his teaching as a philosopher and a mystic has not received, in recent years, the attention which it deserves.

Maeterlinck has often been compared with Shakespeare, Carlyle, Ibsen and even Bernard Shaw. He was certainly an artist-philosopher, but he comes nearest to Emerson, I think, by reason of his firm grasp of the heart of things, though he surpasses Emerson in depth of vision. Maeterlinck's ideas are more than transformative; for they stand on the borderline of the creative. His language exhales the charm of poetry. It is inspired and communicates itself in quietness and with a smoothness that almost defies analysis. His great message stamps him for ever as a philosopher of mysticism and an aesthetician.

Maeterlinck realized above all things the dead do not die.

They are not to be found in our cemeteries, but in the hearts and habits of us all. This is, to him, the happiest of all mystical thoughts. Thus mysticism, ignored by the practical world, is in the end our sole recourse and its truth claims a strange privilege.

While life demands that we should get things done, Maeterlinck implores us not to lose sight of that state of Being which brings us into touch and in tune with the Infinite. The realm of Silence attracts him beyond measure. In it he sees a more communicable element than is to be found in articulate speech.

Silence and Secrecy co-ordinate themselves in Maeterlinck's view. The humble bee, of which he knew so much, cannot labour except in darkness; thought cannot work except in silence; while virtue must court secrecy in order to find its power.

It seems that only when life within is sluggish do we rise to speak. No sooner do we speak than some invisible force warns us that the Divine Gates are closing against us.

To Maeterlinck there is a silence of music and a silence of love.

The silence of love is more to be desired than the words of love, for a glance of deepest devotion speaks more loudly than words. And Maeterlinck strikes a Carlylian note when he affirms that the great, silent men are scattered here and there, meditating each in his own department of thought and activity—silently working, silently thinking. Their names are not always to be found in the newspapers, and, if by chance they do appear, no loud glaring headlines introduce them, as if they must appear in humbleness and apparent secrecy.

When we delve deeper into the great mystic's mind and analyze his thoughts, we become more optimistic about the future of man's spiritual nature. He gives us hope when he avers that there are recorded periods when the soul, in obedience and response to unknown laws, won an ascendancy in men—rose to the surface of humunity—and gave the clearest evidence of its existence and its wondrous power.

When we delve deeper into the great mystic's mind Maeterlinck, since its eternal nature reveals itself in many diverse and unforeseen ways. When humanity, for instance, is struggling from beneath the crushing onslaught of evil, a spiritual and secret influence is abroad, operating through laws unknown to us, to soothe, to comfort and to uplift, and at last to save. The sternest known laws of Nature, together with inscrutable circumstance, must eventually yield before the omnipotence of the mysterious ALL.

Maeterlinck sees untold wonders in the soul, and he leads us into bygone days to prove that, while the soul may at times have been forced into obscurity by the unwisdom of man, it could only slumber for a time and afterwards was bound to re-awaken in silence and in certainty.

Maeterlinck's morality, like everything else that came within the scrutiny of his inspired pen, was mystical and transcendent.

No ordinary, everyday morality for him, for he knew no less than some of us know that what passes for morality is often an inverted form of greed and selfishness. How many times did he witness good acts done for mere gain ! He had, therefore, to search more widely and more deeply into the real meaning of this glibly used term; and he found morality to be an essential part of the divine purpose of the universe

Maeterlinck discovered during his habitual meditations that our moral conceptions seemed mutable,

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liable to change, and advanced with what he called "timid steps" towards loftier regions that at first appeared somewhat obscure. Yet the signs of growth were there, and he had been forced to approach the moral realm in that way.

He wonders what might happen if the soul were suddendly to take visible and naked shape, still laden with her most secret thoughts and feelings and dragging behind her the mysterious, inexplicable deeds of her past life. Would she be ashamed of anything? Would she, a bashful maiden, endeavour to hide her numberless sins of the flesh? He avers that the visible and naked soul would know nothing of them because those sins had never touched her. They were committed countless leagues from her spotless throne; she was living her life where the Light fell on her; and it was that life and not the present visible life that she could recall.

Such a revelation concerning the soul and the deed is profound and inspiring. Very few writers, if any, have approached morality from that angle, but the more we learn of it from Maeterlinck, the more we realize the spiritual background of the concept.

His remarks concerning the Deeper Life tend to create a feeling of stability. Despite the grim realities of existence we have, he thinks, an aptitude for a higher life.

Men, he suggests, are to be distinguished from one another by the communication each has with the Infinite; and it lies within the power of all sentient beings to increase these communications. He belives there is a day in the life of every man when the heavens open of their own accord. It is at this moment that his true spiritual personality begins. Our real birth, in fact, is not our physical birth, but dated from the time of our first realizing that there is something grave and unexpected in life. The moment we become aware of the Sublime and its surrounding influence we realize that it transcends all other realms. This Sublime knows no rules, no artifice, on device. This, thinks Maeterlinck, is amply proved by the immortal works of the artists, the poets and the musicians, the highest of whom become seers.

In the Deeper Life no one, of course, is ever alone, because such a life is a wonderful vibration of friendly influences that come from Truth, Beauty and Goodness. He proves that it gives to mankind real strength, increased only in those who acquire the state of resting on the great Altitudes where life absorbs the soul. It also gives us the power to approach men and things with the *inner* eye, the *inner* ear and their particular and exclusive understanding—in short, with the only discernment that counts in the long run—the inner vision.

Maeterlinck's revelation of the Inner Beauty corresponds with the nature of the Inner Life. The Beautiful, to his vision, is a condition or realm that depends for its efficacy not on its spectacular quality but on the soul. Maeterlinck sees beauty as the unique aliment of the soul: it is the soul's chief nourishment and, of course, wholly spiritual.

Swedenborg called the soul "the Unique Angel;" and Maeterlinck, in accepting the definition, said that "Each day will reveal to us a new beauty in that mysterious angel; and we shall walk together in a goodness that shall ever become more and more living, loftier and loftier. Any other beauty is lifeless and made up of the past alone."

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Preparing for Journalism

Prof. Floyd Baskette writes in the *National Christian Council Review* :

When I arrived in India four months ago to take over the Hislop College department of journalism, established a year ago by Professor Roland Wolseley, I had several misgivings about the whole project.

I knew there would be critics who look upon professional training in journalism at the university level with doubts and suspicions. I remembered that even in America, where journalism courses of one type or another are offered at about 500 colleges and universities, it took several years to convince editors and publishers that training in journalism could benefit the profession.

I realized, too, that the students we would get would never have had a preliminary course in journalism as undergraduates, nor would they likely have had any experience on college publications. I hoped, however, the students who applied for journalism training would have a broad educational background, a fluency with the English language, and an aptitude for writing and editing.

It would be dishonest to assert that everything has gone smoothly or that the programme's second year is off to a splendid start with promise of a flowing success. But it can be said that we have had encouraging support from the Hislop College principal, Dr. David Moses, that the publishers and radio station managers we have contacted have been most co-operative, that we have added materially to our equipment and library facilities, and that the students, for the most part, are showing progress. A few are exceptionally capable. We now have 196 journalism books in the library and we are subscribing to three foreign periodicals and twenty-six Indian newspapers and magazines. We have added six typewriters and a radio set to our laboratory equipment.

Probably the most encouraging prospect, however, is the definite challenge for our journalism programme here. That challenge comes by way of providing a sound, basic training in journalism, and an opportunity for service in related areas.

A sound journalism programme should include more than skills in writing and editing. It should challenge the student to utilize his general educational background so that what he writes has accuracy depth. It is one thing to train a person in the mechanics of writing or editing, and it is quite another thing to teach him to become a responsible writer or editor, to impress upon him the fact that accuracy and impartiality are more important than style, that background is often more necessary than overt facts, that the word-user has a heavy burden to be fair with the reader.

Facility in journalism comes with practice. I have no quarrel with a practising journalist who insists he got his training 'the hard way.' Here we try to combine practice with theory. We require all our students to undergo twelve weeks of a supervised internship in a newspaper, magazine, or radio establishment.

Our courses give students some knowledge of world journalism, of the history of journalism, of law and ethics as they apply to journalism, and of the opportunities in the field of journalism.

We also try to help the student know something about the consumer of news and information. In both our introductory course and in our research seminar we try to find out what and how a reader reads, how he reacts to words, pictures, and typographical devices, and how he can distinguish between facts and propaganda.

Journalism involves more than training for newspaper workers.

We believe there is a place in journalism for service training. Therefore, we ask all our students to take work in fundamentals of good writing and in social education materials writing so that they can help supply reading materials for the new literates. We offer magazine article writing for those who may want to perform as free-lance writers or who may be intersted in magazine editing. We encourage students to apply journalistic techniques to their own fields of interest, such as religious journalism, trade journalism, or for information work for the national extension serive or community development projects.

We hope that groups such as the National Christian Council will maintain an interest in the journalism programme at Hislop College. The programme is flexible enough to help train young persons specially for work in church literature. Our courses in fundamentals of good writing, reporting, editing, magazine article writing, social educational materials writing, and graphic arts can be applied directly to religious journalism. The classes are small enough to give attention to individual problems and needs. Furthermore, the schedule is flexible enough to permit special seminars or short courses devoted exclusively to helping staff members of religious publications improve their work. The two-day workship conducted for the staff members of Youth Fellowship Magazine in Jabalpur last September proved its worth and indicated that similar workshops should be attempted.

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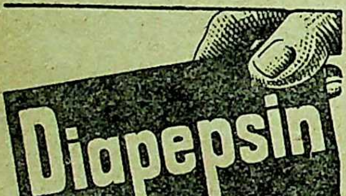
The future of the journalism programme at Hislop College will depend upon the type of student we can attract and the type of leadership we can maintain for the department itself. Groups such as the N.C.C. can aid materially in both needs. They can encourage capable students or magazine staff members to undergo this thaining for service to the church. They can help us find promising young Christian Indians who can work in the department of journalism as staff members.

Last year the department had the services of Professors Roland Wolseley and Harold Ehrensperger. This year, I am assisted by Everton Conger, a former faculty member at the University of New Mexico, who will remain on the staff for next year. Efforts are now being made to obtain a replacement for me. Eventually, the department must be staffed entirely by Indians who are well-trained academically and professionally. If a promising candidate can be found by next year we might be able to obtain for him a grant for a year's training abroad. Vital help has already come to us from the foundation administering Fulbright grants and from World Literacy, Inc.

These are some of the opportunities and needs of the department of journalism at Hislop College in Nagpur.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The United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The United Nations, as the very name implies, stands for the ideal of one world and in the present context particularly for world peace. 'One world' and 'world peace' have now ceased to be mere academic abstractions or convenient shibboleths for mass-mesmerism ; they are the most vital problems of our time. Security, progress and other similar needs of the individual or community life are now deeply related to these international issues of the day. Naturally, therefore, a wider perspective is necessary for the proper understanding of these problems and their solution.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS AND THE IDEAL OF ONE WORLD

The change of physical conditions towards the removal of geographical barriers with the aid of scientific inventions and discoveries has created an atmosphere of interdependence. Advanced means of communication and transport have further intensified the mutual contact and rendered desirable the habit of international thinking. These are some of the advantages which should have facilitated the realization of the most cherished ideal of our age, though, alas, the failure of scientific skill to usher in the happy world of men has been one of the grimmest paradoxes of our time.

So the solution is to be sought elsewhere. Human efforts towards internationalism are perhaps as old as the beginning of human civilization, though, in different ages they took different directions and were actuated by different motives. But in most cases initative had been taken by a few humanitarians and impelled by circumstances people in general gave to these efforts only a passive support. Sometimes even that was not forthcoming and such activities were disposed of as utopian. That perhaps accounts for the failures of earlier attempts.

But the fact is that no community scheme can really succeed without the active participation of the indiviluals and also without a sense of responsibility for and attachment to the organisation. It presupposes too a feeling of confidence in one's own self— a belief in his own ability to do something constructive and substantial towards a collective endeavour. And these sentiments are fostered in a man when he works for a particular common ideal. Only active participation or interest can give significance to or generate inspiration for a noble cause. But all this is possible only through the decentralization of powers and duties so that the non-governmental organizations can serve as the units through which people can effectively strive for the ideal of the United Nations.

HOW THE IDEALS OF U. N. CAN BE ACHIEVED

The idea of the United Nations is first born in the individual mind or it lies dormant waiting to be roused by a clarion call. The purpose of these organizations, therefore, is to give the fullest possible scope to the growth and development of international mind by making people conscious of their surroundings and also of the necessity of a wider outlook not only for a vague ideal but even for self preservation. And this can be done on a more democratic basis through small organizations spread over the world. Governmental or semi-governmental organizations in their representative capacity have the sanction of law and authority—they can impose views, dictate terms and people usually look upon them as external superstructures, or with indifference, sometimes even with suspicion. But for the implementation of the principles of the U. N. elements of coercion should be eschewed as far as possible. If these principles fail to become article of faith no amount of official propaganda can deliver the goods and conversely if the urge comes from within no dissension among political intriguers can check their onward march.

Among the non-governmental organisations those set up for cultural activities have a special contribution to make. They should be able. if they are worth the name, to establish cultural relations among diverse nationalities for art and literature, emphasize the common heritage of men and their common destiny. Also they should engender a feeling for man's spiritual dignity and his essential goodness. So a great stride is made towards the new world order when this consciousness of common ties and common fate is created in men. Since art and literature appeal to our deeper and finer instincts they can more effectively bring about the required change of hearts, for what is really needed is a new attitude towards life. Change of circumstances may make us feel happier, give us more economic security, may even arouse a new spirit of nationalism ; but these are not enough. The only answer to the thousands of our baffling problems is co-operation on a world basis—internationalism. Such organisations have another advantage over huge and gigantic state machinery : they keep alive a healthy sense of values and because they treat men as individuals and not merely as a collective political entity, their approach is more fundamental and as such their effect more enduring. The same purpose may be served by religious institutions if they steer clear of rigid dogmas and preach the basic unity of all religions.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND IDEALS OF U. N.

Social organisations also can do a great deal in that direction. Man is not born free as he is supposed to be and real living is a constant effort towards expansion—a progress from self centred living to a grand identification with humanity. Since his very birth the life of a man is moulded by customs and conventions of his family, society and country. He, therefore, naturally falls into the narrow grooves of thought and fails to see beyond his nose. Even when he lives in a world of easy communications and involved interests he shows no concern over the mighty consequential events of his time or even when he knows that his very living is vitally affected by such occurrences, the basic pattern of his remains the same as fashioned by his circumstances. Social organisations can set his mind free from the harmful influences of his narrow surroundings. They can by laying a special emphasis on the normal relations between men and men, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, educate an international mind. They can also teach tolerance through contacts and discussion—a virtue that should be most scrupulously cultivated in this age.'

Internationalism, like democracy, is not merely a political system or an untranslatable theory—it is a way of life. So it should be practised in our attitude towards men and things, in our daily behaviour and conduct if it should ever be a part of our existence. The ability to transcend regional limitations and tolerance cannot be acquired except through social contacts. And a lonely man in society is perhaps a menace to the ideal of one world. Social organisations, if they work properly for the purpose they stand for, are bound to widen the mental horizon of men and cure them of much of their orthodoxy of thought and addiction to artificial social habits. They may also, through co-ordination, eventually help in forging a powerful public opinion against such subversive elements as communalism, racial discrimination and even the use of dangerous weapons like atom bomb etc. In fact the vision of the new world set before these organizations will gradually generate a feeling of brothehood and a habit of thinking in terms of a happier world to the making of which the contribution of the individual, however small, will be considered indispensable.

On a wider scale the same aim may be achieved through other organizations and activities such as, organizations instituted for mutual economic aid in times of distress or national calamities and sports and games. These are usually designed with a lofty motive and conceived in international terms. In the present context their utility cannot be over-emphasised.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND U. N. IDEALS

The importance of educational institutions in this regard does not warrant any special mention because it is self-evident. In respect of capacity and responsibility these radiating centres of learning stand as a class by themselves. If they do not ignore the drift of current events—as no educational institution can afford to—a more humane and purposeful ideal will be integrated in the form and content of education and large numbers of men and women thus educated will naturally begin from the right end.

But the basic need, I think, is to make people believe that the United Nations is a partial fulfilment of their cherished dream and that the power lies in their hands to give it a full-fledged shape or kill it in embryo where it still struggles for its *raison d'etre*. The fact that a few took the initiative in the formation of the United Nations does not in any sense make it an oligarchy. But if people are to be disabused of this misconception—for there are moments when we might feel inclined to draw hasty conclusions—the responsibility of disseminating the ideals of the U. N. should be taken up by many more non-governmental organisations and all possible mediums will have to be exploited for this very urgent and important purpose. This does not mean that the governmental organisations are redundant ; it only means that few such organisations with the disadvantage of bureaucratic status can indeed do very little towards the implementation of the principles of the United Nations or that though they keep the machine working they cannot by themselves hope to achieve the results stipulated in the original plan. The spirit of co-operation emerges from a strong sense of duty and mutual trust and if the individuals do not participate in the implementation of an ideal, it remains, so far as they are concerned, either a lofty abstraction or a political catchword and to that extent amorphous and unreal. In the ultimate analysis the United Nations is a people's organisation—its success, therefore, entirely depends on the active co-operation of the people.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Ralph Waldo Emerson—American Philosopher, Essayist and Poet

"Nothing can bring you peace but yourself."

"The purpose of life seems to be to acquaint men with himself."

"We need not fear that we can lose anything by the progress of the soul."

The above quotations illustrate the philosophy of individualism propounded by Ralph Waldo Emerson, the celebrated American philosopher, essayist and poet.

Every constituent part of Emerson's philosophy could be traced to European or Oriental sources, where he found his inspiration. Compensation (the balancing of good and evil in nature and fate), self-reliance, and the "oversoul" (akin to the modern subconscious)—each had its advocates elsewhere. But it was Emerson's function to synthesise these scattered concepts and to weave them into a fabric stout enough to serve as a sail against the winds of opposing doctrine. This fabric, although derided and opposed by many of his contemporaries, has since gained an honoured place in the American heritage.

Emerson was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 25, 1803, in a family of clergymen for generations. His father died when he was only eight, and as his mother found it hard to support her six small childern, his aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, assumed responsibility for his upbringing.

Emerson attended the Boston Latin School and entered Harvard in 1817, earning his way as a messenger and waiter. On his aunt's advice he turned to the ministry, the seventh of his family in line to adopt that profession. His studies at the Harvard Divinity School were interrupted by incipient tuberculosis, which sent him to Florida and Georgia in search of a warmer climate. He was, however, "approbated to preach" in 1828, and in 1829 became pastor of the Second Church (Unitarian) in Boston.

His attitude toward the Church was intellectual and unimpassioned. He regarded Christianity as a racial experience. But in 1832, he gave up the clergy and sailed for Europe. There he met the three men whose work and ideas meant most to him—Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth. He returned to the United States with his life attitude and life work clearly set before him.

In 1834, Emerson settled in Concord, Massachusetts, the home of some of his ancestors, in a house which was his home until 1872, when it burned and was exactly replaced by a fund raised by his friends. In 1835 he married Lydia Jackson. They had two sons and two daughters, but the oldest and best loved, Waldo, died in 1841.

Around Emerson in Concord gathered the group which came to be known as "the Concord School"—Bronson Alcott, Henry David Thoreau (who lived with the Emersons for long periods as a sort of housekeeper), Nathaniel Hawthorne (always a bit aloof) and Margaret Fuller. These were the Transcendentalists, the idealists who would reform the world from within out, who relied on intuition and the perfectibility of mankind. Emerson disclaimed their label, but he was their inspiration and the core of their association.

Meanwhile, Emerson had to live and to support his family; and his only way to do this was by lecturing. Every year he made a lecturer tour, extending annually farther and farther west; and these lectures were the source of most of his essays. When he was not on tour, he lived very quietly, studying and reading, drinking in new inspiration from the few of his like-minded friends. As the years passed, however, he tended to lose most of his early radicalism.

The first publication of his philosophical thought was in *Nature* (1836). In 1837 Emerson gave the Phi Beta Kappa (scholastic society) address at Harvard, in which he called for independence from European cultural leadership.

Emerson's first volume of *Essays* appeared in 1841, and the second in 1844. In 1840 the Transcendentalists started *The Dial,* in which reform ideas were given expression. In the first two years, Margaret Fuller was editor and Emerson a contributor. In its next and last two years Emerson was editor and sought to replace the concrete programmes with more philosophical expressions.

In the latter part of 1846, his first collection of *Poems* appeared. In 1847, Emerson made his second trip to England and France, visited the Carlyles and met the literary notables of the day. On his return he gave lectures, later published as *English Traits.* In the 1850's Emerson became absorbed in the anti-slavery issue and national events. His attitude toward the Civil War was one of rejoicing for the national spirit called forth.

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As a poet Emerson was most uneven, capable of bare, bad verse and a kind of archaic obscurity. Yet his dozen great poems possess, as Van Wyck Brooks remarked, "a nervous, intellectual style, swift, clear and cold as a mountain stream." His essays are full of phrases which from epigrams have become household words. His prose style was gnomic, cumulative, fresh thought piled on thought. He is one of the most quotable and with Shakespeare and Pope among the most quoted of authors, the fragments of his wisdom frequently outshining the works in which they are embedded.

After 60 he wrote and thought nothing new. His last years, however, were brightened by the honours heaped upon him. Harvard conferred on him an honorary LL. D. degree and made him a trustee; the great of the world flocked to his Concord doorstep; he travelled like a king to California and then again to Europe and to Egypt. He was nearly 80 when he died, quickly and quietly, of pneumonia, on April 27, 1882.

Among his famous works are *Addresses and Lectures* (1849), *Representative Men* (1850), *The Conduct of Life* (1860), *Society and Solitude* (1870), and *Letters and Social Aims* (1876).

Emerson entered Harvard as a messenger and as a messenger he left—and remains in—the world.—*USIS.*

Which America ?

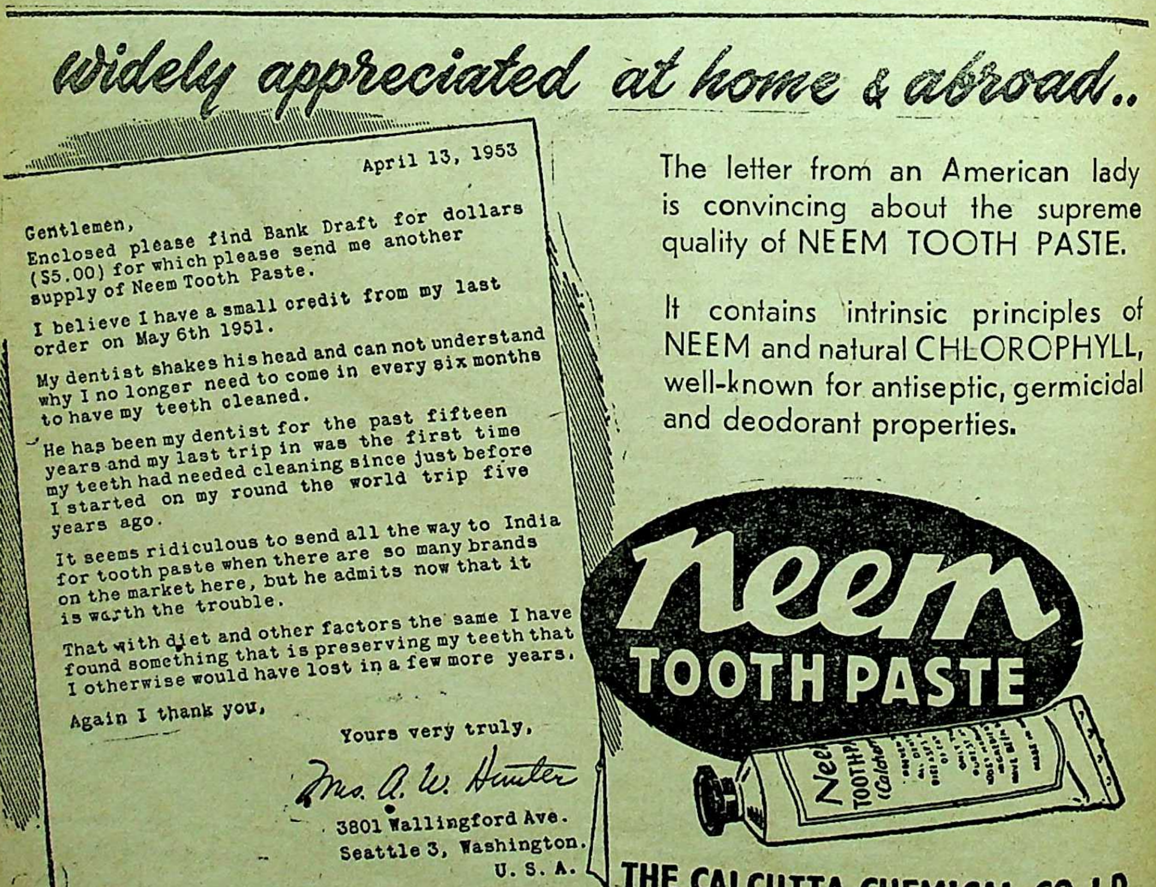
Dale DeWitt observes in *Unity*, March-April, 1953 :

> In these days of controversy and the defeat of many ideals whose permanence was taken for granted, people are thinking more seriously about this nation and its survival. They ask questions such as these: "Is the basic character of America changing ?" "Is the Constitution being undermined and circumvented ?" "Are fundamental liberties being lost ?" "Are we to become like our enemies ?"

We are now at a point in history when America could change in a number of ways, and with reference to these ways we must ask, "Which America do we want ?"

What are these Americas that could be? Which kind of America in relation to these possibilities do we believe in ?

First, we have the most critical choice. Do we want a more authoritarian America ? Or do we want a fulfillment of democratic ideal ? The present problems of liberty are quite real. New laws are being passed limiting freedom. The abuses of investigation for political purposes are tightening up the range of honest opinions which people may have. The recklessness of public



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accusations is creating fears and the failure to exercise normal freedoms. Community life is becoming restricted as seldom if ever before. Every reactionary, authoritarian, and anti-liberty group is playing to the limit the opportunity to change the face of America, hoping for a success that will be permanent.

There are two aspects of this situation which bear upon our decisions. The first is that the problem shapes up over the fear of Communism. The second, that the reactionary effort often seems more truly a fight against liberalism than against Communism.

That Communism is a serious problem is not to be doubted, both within and abroad. The bitter, vicious trail of Communist intrigue in America is a disgraceful betrayal of liberty. The Communist party functionaries have been ruthless and utterly without honor or morals in their espionage and their attempts to create confusion.

No one should doubt that every legitimate agency of law and investigation has a responsibility to go the limit in exposing Communists for what they are or prosecuting them for their violations of law. Liberals know this and have accepted the responsibility to fight Communism, and can do it more effectively than most of the reactionaries would like to see America a basically authoritarian country. For after all, what the Communists fear most are liberal and democratic ideals. They know their true enemy is the American concept of liberty.

Communism abroad presents a problem which is far more critical, and this challenge is only partially being faced. The strange contradiction of our time is that many of the reactionaries who claim such virtue in the fight against Communism in the United States take attitudes which seriously hamper the fight against Communism abroad. Thus one can legitimately question whether their fight is entirely sincere or, rather, ulterior in character.

At any rate the nature of the reactionary one hundred and fifteen per cent is for an authoritarianism that does not differ greatly from certain aspects of Communism. It is from this exploitation of the danger of Communism that the edge of authoritarianism comes closer and closer to American life.

Bertrand Russell recently said, "We hate the Russians because they do not allow liberty. This we feel so strongly that we have decided to imitate them."

Edward Crankshaw in the book, *Cracks in the Kremlin Wall,* has said: "I can think of only one way in which the Kremiln may still conquer us, and that without war. It is by so frightening us that for fear of the enemy within we transform our own society imperceptibly into an apparatus of totalitarianism." This possibility we must reckon with.

The other point mentioned, that many of the reactionaries are fighting against liberalism more than Communism, seems evident in the effort made to destroy liberalism wherever possible. Liberals are attacked by reactionaries more often, it seems, than are Communists. Laws and pressures are supported which more greatly endanger democracy and liberalism than Communism. When laws are passed ostensibly to block Communism, and at the same time enable persecutions which destroy fundamental liberties, we lose the substance of democracy.

What a pleasant confusion this is to the Communists. Those who have observed the Communists most closely, such as Herbert Philbrick, the former F.B.I. agent, have pointed this out. There is a coincidence in philosophy and method, if not in intent, between Communists and many reactionaries. So much so that it is easily understandable that Communists are glad to see the reactionaries at work.

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Thus the situation, the source of which lies in the Communist threat, has produced another danger which may become equally serious, a danger that another America, authoritarian in nature, may supersede the one we have known. And we must ask ourselves which **America we want.**

There are three specific changes in the American way of life now possible which would make the totalitarian danger more real.

One of these is that we might become a military nation, basically, rather than a civilian nation. Again, the Communist threat is the cause of the danger. Again, the point is to be raised as to how far we must change in order to meet this very real external danger. In the minds of many, the issue is Universal Military Training. To some it concerns the question of military influence in politics. But there is no doubt that the necessary greater military strength of the nation needs careful assessment, so that we may locate accurately the dividing line between a military and a civilian nation. Possibly the issue may lie in whether the increased militarization is accomplished on a temporary or a permanent basis. But undoubtedly much will depend upon the alertness of citizens to the graveness of the change that is taking place. Our nation was conceived and established on the plan of civilian dominance of military affairs. If that civilian dominance is lost, America will not be the same nation. Which America do we want?

Another area of possible change in which the alternatives are clear concerns the public schools. On July 2 the National Education Association which was meeting in Detroit was attacked by an article in the June issue of the *American Legion Magazine.* The article, according to the *New York Times,* accused the leaders of the association of "being leftists and of trying, in the role of a Hitler or Stalin, to capture the minds of the youth of the United States."

From Catholic and some Protestant sources have come accusations that the schools are Godless and Secular.

Mr. Allen Zoll and Mrs. Lucille Cardin Crain have engineered attacks upon the schools in a number of important communities in different parts of the country.

These critics are seeking to discredit the public schools in the eyes of parents and civic leaders.

What they want seems to be the abandonment of modern educational methods, the return to enforced discipline, and the teaching of the limited curriculum associated with the three R's; they want the teaching of religion in the schools; the teaching of a special brand of history, economic conservatism, and 100 per cent Americanism. If this were achieved it would inevitably mean the subservience of the schools to religious groups, to professional patiotic groups, and to other pressure bodies.

The American Public Schools System has been for generations one of the bulwarks of democracy. Now with the combination of attacks, and the extremism of those who irresponsibly exploit the Communist threat, the schools are definitely endangered. This campaign could change the character and effectiveness of the public school program and conceivably through the next generation of children change the character of our nation.

In regard to the conduct of public schools, which America do we want? The doctrine of the separation of Church and State has from the beginning of our nation been one of the distinguishing features of our democratic system. Historically, two reasons have been emphasized for this separation. First, difficulties from the schismatic character of religion, making i table either a preferential position of one establi church or the competitive striving for power of a pl establishment. From a practical standpoint there not exist "religion" *per se,* but religions and sects. It highly artificial to speak of religion in relation to state. There are the sects of the Christian religion there are the divisions of Judaism, and several o distinct religious bodies in the United States. Once idea of mingling religion and the state were appro the next question must be: 'Which Religion?' "Which Church?" For it is not quite possible for various religious bodies to carve up the state betw them. Nor does it seem likely, since they cannot ag to merge their views, that they can combine on a j relationship to the state. This is especially true si some of them lay claim to an exclusive possession spiritual truth.

The other reason for separation is that it is throu this arrangement that freedom of belief and of wors are guaranteed. The history of the adoption of the Fi Amendment, the discussions surrounding the Virgi statute which as much as anything is its backgrou make it perfectly clear that one of the major purpo was the assurance of freedom of religion. The wordi of the First Amendment itself makes this purpose clea "Congress shall make no law respecting an establis ment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof Even the slightest merging of religion and governme will raise questions of a doctrinal nature and begin th process of limiting religious freedom.

On this issue, which America do we want? A America which makes religion a function of the state —or an America where there is equal freedom for a religions and where the responsibility for religious lif is placed where it rightly belongs, in the church an home? This is a decision now being made.

Thus, in several major areas we find issues, our atti tudes toward which may determine the character of th American nation for the future.

We can envision as a real possibility an America o fears and intimidation, with the abridgment of freedo of speech and press, and greatly diminished liberty i most fields of life—an America hardened into an authori tarian mold—; a highly militarized nation where a men are trained to be soldiers and military men ar dominant; an America of tightly controlled publi schools which make children into reciters of limite knowledge; and an America in which the religions engage in a terrifying controversy to control the govern ment or are dominated by it.

Democracy in the United States was not easily established—there were always those who fought it. Its maintenance has been difficult and its existence could be lost. It will be if we do not keep before us clearly the picture of America as we have known it.

The French historian Guizot once asked James Russell Lowell how long he thought the American repubic would endure. Lowell replied: "So long as the ideals of its founders continue to be dominant."

Which America? That of our founders or that of modernized tyranny? This is the question we must face with clarity of understanding in the days ahead or lose what is dearest in the forms of human relationship.

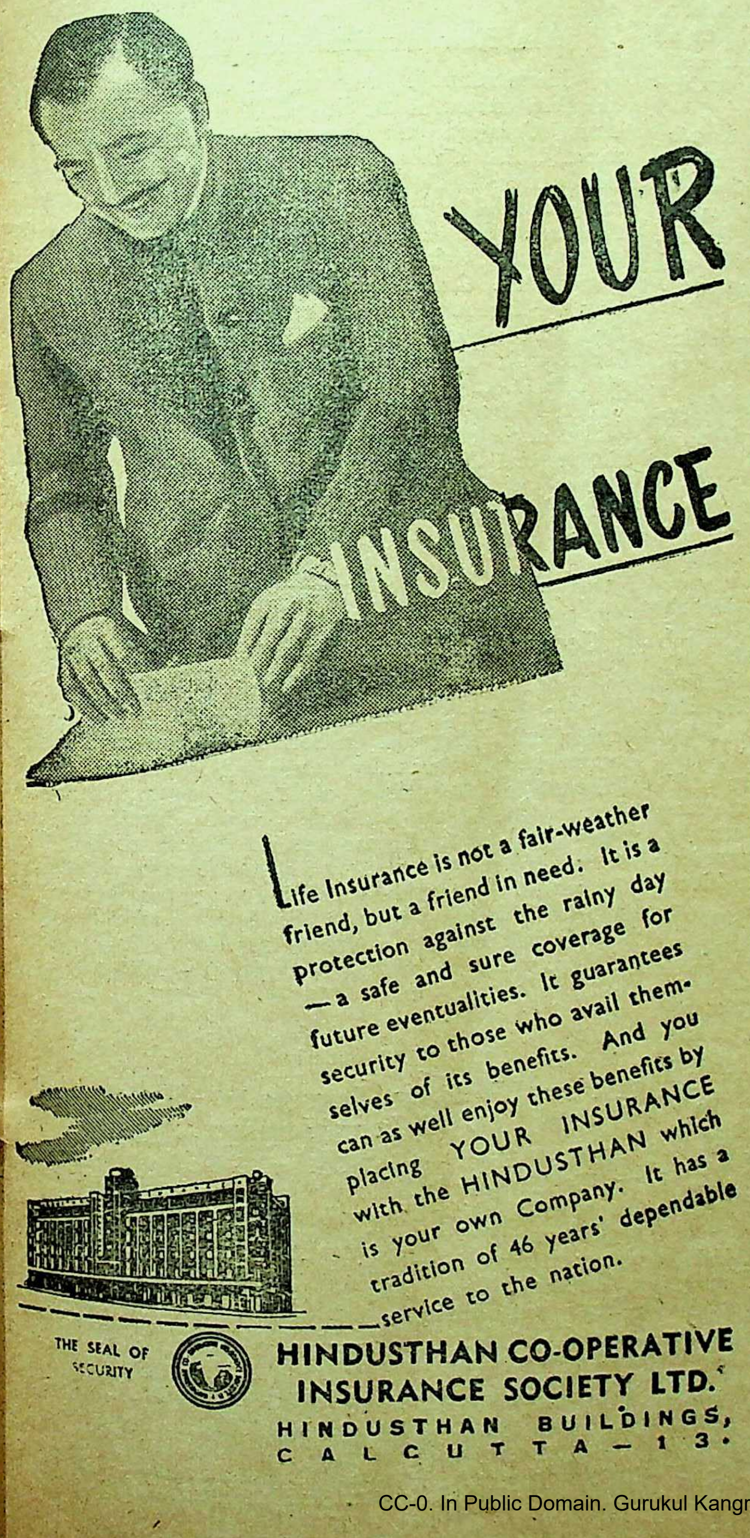
WHO Experts on Health Education of the Public meet in Paris

The following information has been received from WHO Headquarters, Geneva :

Health education of the public seeks to promote higher standards of health by increasing knowledge and influencing behaviour and is now considered an essential part of modern public health services.

For this reason the World Health Organization appointed an Expert Committee on Health Education of the Public, which held its first session in Paris, 7-11 December, 1953, at UNESCO House.

Leading experts from Brazil, England, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the USA attended the session in order to set guiding principles for consideration of governments and for the WHO programme of health education, which, as a result of requests from many



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countries, is expected to develop into an important activity of the Organization.

Experience shows that educational work on health matters is a far more complex question than expected. A wide range of factors has to be taken into account, not only medical, but also social, cultural, economic and religious factors, which differ widely from one country to another. Educational tools, such as posters, films, demonstrations, etc., must be adapted to the interest, problems, psychological and cultural characteristics of the people concerned.

Thus, although it is not possible to establish uniform educational methods and measures applicable to all countries, the WHO experts attempted to define some common principles which could be considered as universally applicable.

They also presented recommendations as to training requirements for health education workers, one of the major handicaps at the present time being the lack, or even the complete absence of training opportunities for many categories of health workers and educational leaders such as doctors, nurses, teachers, sanitation personnel and voluntary workers whose educational role is extremely important.

Finally, the WHO experts are to take up the question of scientific research and the assessment of health education. Research is needed into new educational methods and materials, their relative cost and their applicability to societies at different stages of social, educational and economic development .—*WHO Press Release.*

Soviet Union Seeks ILO Membership

Russia has applied for re-admission to the International Labour Organisation. In a communication to the ILO Director-General the Government of the Soviet Union says that "with a view to broadening co-operation with other countries in the solution of problems confronting the International Labour Organisation, the USSR has decided to accept the obligations of the Constitution of the said Organisation." The letter added that the Soviet Union would not, however, consider itself bound by a provision of the Constitution which says that "any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this Constitution or of any susequent Convention conculded by the Members in pursuance of the provisions of this Constitution shall be referred for decision to the International Court of Justice."

The Soviet Union was a member of the ILO from 1934 until 1939 when it was a member of the League of Nations, membership in the League carrying with it membership in the ILO. When it ceased to be a member of the League, the USSR did not declare its intention of retaining its ILO membership, and the seat which the Soviet Government held on the ILO's Governing Body was thereupon declared vacant. Under the provisions of the present ILO Constitution a State which is a member of the United Nations may become a member of the ILO by communicating to the Director-General its formal acceptance of the obligations of the Constitution.

Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the ILO, in his reply emphasises that the ILO at its annual conferences has frequently expressed the firm conviction that the ends of the International Labour Organisation can be more effectively advanced if its membership could more universal. Mr. Morse, however, points out that ILO Constitution does not make any provision for mbership on the basis of incomplete acceptance of obligations. Drawing attention to the constituti points concerning membership Mr. Morse expre the hope that the Government of the USSR may wish consider the desirability of giving the matter furt consideration and of communicating further with Director-General on the subject."—*ILO News Ser*

A New Academician in France

Pierre Gaxotte, the well-known French histori has been elected to the French Academy in the place Rene Grousset, the great Orientalist, who d recently. M. Gaxotte was received in the Acad on October 29 by General Weygand. Thus a histori has succeeded a historian, a thing which is rare in Academy. The occasion permitted the two speakers make general reflections on the writing and value history. M. Gaxotte said that history arrived at tr only by intellectual vigour combined with scruples, by perpetually revising conclusions. Succeeding Re Grousset M. Gaxotte naturally spoke about the knowle of Asia among Western scholars, and he singled o Voltaire's *Essai sur les Moeurs* as a very great work. said that Voltaire created universal history, comparati history and the history of civilization. In his rep General Weygand spoke of the lessons of history a mentioned some ways of applying them to contempora needs.—*News from France.*

Course in French Civilization for Foreign Students

The course of lectures on French civilization f foreign students began at the Sorbonne on November 3, 195 It comprises lectures by recognized authorities in t University on the culture of France and is intended give an idea of the political, economic, intellectual a moral formation of France and the French people. T lectures are supplemented by a practical course (six hou a week) in grammar, drafting, phonetics and alli subjects. This teaching is in the hands of specialists a is designed to impart a sound knowledge of the Frenc language within a short time.—*News from France.*

A New Work by Cezanne at The Nationa Gallery, London

The famous National Gallery of London, one of t greatest art galleries of the world, has just acquired the price of thirty thousand pounds (about 4 lakhs rupees) one of the most beautiful works of Paul Cezann the great French painter (1839-1906). This work called La Vieille au Chapelet (*Old Woman with Rosar* —*News from France.*

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INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page
Agriculture as a Profession	
Debendra Nath Mitra	320
Art of Sudhir Khastgir, The (*illust.*)	
Sumantra Sen Gupta	298
Basic Education and Child Welfare	
Marjorie Sykes	277
Bhoodan-Yagna As the Call of the Age	
Suresh Ramabhai	105
Big Project of the Punjab, The (*illust.*)	
Baleshwar Nath	471
Boat, The (*poem*)	
Harindranath Chattopadhyaya	67
Book Reviews	68,153,237,321,405,489
Burma Shell Refinery to Save 6 Crores in Foreign Exchange (*illust.*)	
BSIS	388
Caste and Social Revolution	
Lalit Sen	147
(The) Challenge of Anglicism and Cultural Revolution in Bengal	
Nanimadhab Chaudhuri	313
College of Yoga at Lonavla, The (*illust.*)	
S. C. Bhattacharya	213
Comment and Criticism	151, 235
Concept of Justice in Our Constitution	
Kumari Sushila Rudra	234
Confucius, Political Philosophy of (*illust.*)	
Chou Hsiang-Kuang	458
Coorg, The Land of the Kodagas (*illust.*)	
G. Srinivas Rao	385
Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, The (*illust.*)	62
Cottage and Small Industries	
Amulyaprasad Chanda	123
Decentralised Economy	
Bimalchandra Sinha	357
Deputy Ministers—Their Constitutional Position, The	
K. V. Rao	117
Debapala and the Pandyas of the South	
K. R. Venkata Raman	151
Education for Journalism in India	
Roland E. Wolseley	29
Education with Literacy	
Richard W. Cortright	26
Educational Pattern in Pre-British India, The	
S. S. Roy Choudhury	113
Egypt (1875-1953)	
Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji	200
Employment, More Employment !	
S. N. Agarwal	279
Farm and Ranch Ponds (*illust.*)	
Lawrence V. Compton	50
First Census of Free India, The	
Ashish Bose	197
Foreign Periodicals	79,163,246,333,415,500
Freedom of the Press in Britain	
W. L. Andrews	65
Gandhian Concept of Economics, On the	
H. G. P. Srivastava	273
Giuseppe Mazzini and Mahatma Gandhi	
Anthony Elenjimittam	379
Gopalaswamy Iyengar, The Late Sri N.	
P. Rajeswari Rao	145
Harvesters of the Sea (*illust.*)	
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy	132
Historical Records in Kotah, The	
Govind S. Sardesai	451
History and Growth of Co-operative Movement in India	
C. B. Mamoria	109, 192
History's Warning to India	
Jadunath Sarkar	441
How Americans Misrepresent India	
Prem Narain Agarwal	230
Incentive in an Agricultural Community	
Bepin Behari	453
India and China	
S. N. Agarwal	372
(The) Indian Constitution : On the Anvil	
Iqbal Narain	445
Indian Periodicals	74, 158, 241, 326, 410, 494
Indian Price Trends, A Probe into	
V. K. Shrivastava	461
Industrial Development in Rajasthan	
K. B. Saksena	211
In Memoriam (*poem*)	
Lotika Ghose	61
Janata College, The (*illust.*)	
R. N. Kharche	46
Juangs, The (*Ilust.*)	
L. N. Sahu	468
Land Tenures and Their Reforms	
N. K. Kulkarni	21
(Prof. V.) Lesný and India (*illust*)	
Milada Ganguli	301
Lion-hearted Leader, The	
St. Nihal Singh	189, 289, 397, 481
Long-Staple Cotton Cultivation in West Bengal, The Present (*illust*)	
Sarada Charan Chakrabarty	475
Mid-Century 1953	
G. L. Schanzlin	488
Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle (*illust*)	
Jogesh C. Bagal	223, 303
Mirror of the Ages, The (*illust.*)	
Jogendranath Gupta	136
Modern Danish Sculptural Art (*illust.*)	
P. K. Banerjee	465
Moism and Ahimsa	
Chou Hsiang-Kuang	203
Music in Education	
Usha Biswas	143
Mystery (*poem*)	
Harindranath Chattopadhyaya	67
Notes	1, 85, 169, 253, 337, 421
Original Persian Documents in the Hyderabad State and Their Values	
N. B. Roy	126
Outbreak at Benares in 1799, The	
S. B. Chaudhuri	205
Paper : Food for Thought (*illust.*)	
A. G. Mezerik	220
Planning from the Bottom	
S. N. Agarwal	449
Population Problem in India, The	
J. C. Sinha	361
Problems of Indian Agriculture	
B. K. Singh	364

Page

Proportion of the Hindus in Bengal ?, What is the True
  Jatindra Mohan Datta 368
"Quit English"
  Sudhir Chandra Majumdar 235
(Dr.) Radhakrishnan
  N. Venkata Rao 317
Rajeswar Das Gupta (*illust.*)
  Indu Bhusan Chatterjee 216
Removing the Barriers to Peace
  Vernon Bartlett 128
Reorganisation of Administrative Services
  S. N. Agarwal 125
Revolution in Education
  S. N. Agarwal 27
Roman Influence in the Provence
  Indira Sarkar 64
Saga of Napoleon Bonaparte
  Dip Chand Verma 285
Science and Agriculture
  J. N. Chakravarty 119
Second International Contemporary Art Exhibition, Calcutta (*illust.*)
  Kaundinya 381
Shaw—The Successor to Shakespeare
  Lehar Singh Mehta 149
Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir
  Jalali 150
Sino-Soviet Relations in Their Retrospect (1860-1950)
  Uma Mukherjee 40
Some Aspects of Devaluation
  Arun Coomar Ghosh 35
(A) Stanza from "And the Aeons Echoed" (*poem*)
  Harindranath Chattopadhyaya 481
Suffering Humanity and Decentralization
  Mankumar Sen 377
Taming the Turbulent Tapi (*illust.*)
  P.I.B. 218
Taxation Structure of India
  Suresh Prasad Niyogi 293
Theory of Deficit Spending and Indian Planning
  Suresh Prasad Niyogi 37
Teaching of English in the Secondary Schools
  S. N. Roy 315
Tea Industry in India, A Glance into the Position of the (*illust.*)
  Jyotirmoy Roy 310
Towards Economic Freedom
  S. N. Agarwal 209
Toynbee
  Buddha Prakash 401
Trends in Contemporary English Verse
  Michael Hamburger 403
Tungabhadra Project Makes Headway (*illust.*)
  P.I.B. 135
Underemployment in India
  Santi Kumar Ghosh 486
Unemployment in India, The Extent of
  Bela Bose 374
Units in Korea (*illust.*)
  P.I.B. 471
Venkatrama Sastry, The Late Mr. T. R.
  P. Rajeswara Rao 319
Women in India's Freedom Movement (*illust.*)
  Jogesh C. Bagal 53
Wordsworth and the French Revolution
  Amaresh Datta 140
Yoga—Philosophy and Science (*illust.*)
  S. M. S. Chari 129
Young Bengal Discovers India
  Nanimadhab Chaudhuri 46
Yugoslavia Shapes Her Destiny
  Ajit Kumar Bose 28
What is to Happen to the Palestine Refugees?
  Karl Loewy 12

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Crime and It's Cure in India 41
Darwinian Revolution, The 7
Eva Gore-Booth 49
(Prof.) Girindra Sekhar Bose 32
Goa and the Problem of Merger 33
Goa : Fantastic Claims 16
Ideal of the Open Society, The 7
Kanheri Caves 15
Law Problem, The 41
Massingham, H. J. 32
Mau Mau and S.S. 41
Protest Against Race Oppression 49
Somerset Maugham, W. 16
South Africa, A First Glimpse of 24
Test of Democracy, The 24
Trading Links of Old World Empires 24
Turkey and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation 7

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Africa at the Cross Roads 79
Are We Losing Our Morals ? 80
Biography of Swami Vivekananda Wins Acclaim 168
College de France 500
Ernest Hemingway Wins Pulitzer Prize 252
Greenburg, Hayim 163
Growth of Labour Unions in the U.S.A., The 247
How Jews Built the Movie Industry 333, 415
Human Relations is New Force in U.S. Industry 81
(Dr.) Julian Huxley Awarded Kalinga Prize 502
19 Million U.S. Women Have Jobs 83
New Horizon in Antibiotics 25
New York Marks 300 years as International City 50
New Zealand's Place in World Trade 417
Penicillin Story, The 84
(Dr.) P. P. Pillai Retires 84
Problems of China's Industrialisation 168
"Progressive" Taxes Based on Ability to Pay 25
Unesco 16
U.S. National Labour Relations Board in 1952, The 42
V. K. R. Menon Appointed Director of I.L.O., Indian Branch 50
Weizmann, Chaim 246

NOTES

Abor Hills 430
Abors of Assam, The 430
All-Korean Elections 437
American Publishers and Book-burning 10
America's Investments Abroad 10
Anglo-Egyptian Talks 262
Anti-Communism in Chile 355
Apartheid 436
Assam Approves Financial Corporation 261
Bermuda Conference 438
Bhoodan and the Churches 345

	Page
British Action in Guiana	435
British and American-Asian Policy	350
British Coup in Guiana	353
British Goat Farm	259
British Press on W. German Elections	269
Cabinet Crisis in Indonesia	11
Census Analyses	177
Census of India	427
Changes in Exchange Restrictions	179
Changing Lights in the USSR	99
Checking Expansion of Rajasthan Desert	92
Chou En-Lai on U.N. Resolution	269
"Coat, Necktie and Collar"	258
Community Project in West Bengal	259
Concessions to Oil Refineries	260
Congress in West Bengal, The	421
Congress Reverses in U.P. Civic Elections	422
(The) C.P.I. and the Forward Block	345
Crisis in the Uttar Pradesh P.S.P.	93
Dacoit Menace in U.P.	6
Demand for a Punjabi State	431
Democracy and Real Politik	343
Deposition of the Sultan of Morocco	268
Devanagari Script Reform	423
Developments in Iran	182
Developments in Nepal	95
Dulles' Report on His Tour	9
D.V.C. Power Supply	345
East and West Germany	184
East Berlin General Strikes	96
Economic Condition of the Indian People	429
Egypt and Britain	104
Elections in West Germany	355
Enquiry into Syamaprasad's Death	86
Enslaved Labour	14
Estate Duty Act	
Estate Duty Bill	257
Etawah Project, The	344
(Mr.) Evans on Kenya Situation	12
Everest Conquered	8
Exit Beria	98
Expansion of Hindusthan Shipyard	89
F.A.O. Report	267
Film Industry and Finance	
Five-Year Plan, The	255
Five-Year Plan and Agriculture	427
Forced Labour	424
Foreign Agents in Indian Press	94
Foreign Hand in Kashmir Quandary	174
Foreign Policy of Indonesia, The	183
Four-Power Conference	187
French in Morocco, The	12
French Policy in Indo-China	103
(Dr.) Girindrasekhar Bose	20
(Dr.) Gopal Chandra Chatterjee	356
Goondaism in French Indian Settlements	262
Gorwala Study of Calcutta, The	337
(A) Great Ommission	430
Happenings in Kashmir	171
Independence Day	169
India and Pakistan	353
Indian Ocean Command	8
Indian Reactions	174
Indian Tea Crop	180
Indian Troops in Korea	352
Indians in Kenya	94
India's Mineral Production in 1951	426
India's Stand over Kashmir	173
Indira Gandhi on U.S.S.R.	272

	Page
Indo-Ceylon Talks	432
Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation	178
Indo-Pakistan Parleys	175
Industrial Financial Corporation	346
Lesney, Prof. Vincenc	104
Iron Ores of India	427
(An) "Islamic Republic" for Pakistan	431
Jute Marketing Prices	179
Korean Political Conference	185
Korean Tangle, The	8
Kosi Project, The	344
Krishna Menon Defence Minister ?	54
Kuomintang Troops in Burma	272, 439
Law and Order in Calcutta	258
Lesney, Prof. Vincenc	104
Library Movement in India	92
Linguistic Provinces	261
Linguistic States	337
Literacy in Bombay Villages	93
(A) Lurking Danger	438
Lysenko Falls	177
(Dr.) Mookerjee's Demise	14
Music Policy of 'All-India Radio'	91
New Horizons in Orissa Politics	93
Newspaper Circulation	356
North-East India Tribals	343
Nurul Amin also to Go ?	101
"Nothing like Leather"	101
Oil Politics in the Persian Gulf	181
One-Pice War, The	85
Other Side of the Medal, The	100
Pak Cinemas Close Down	262
Pakistani Reaction to Kashmir Developments	176
Palestine Affairs	353
Pan-African Front	12
Patrick Duncan on Apartheid	13
Peace Prize	426
Philippine Elections	440
Politics in France	267
Politics of Suez Canal, The	263
Portuguese Possessions in India	95
(Sri) Prakasan and the P.S.P.	342
Press in Pakistan, The	188
Palm Gur Industry in Madras, The	92
Power Behind Bhoodan, The	93
Problem of Indians in Ceylon, The	9
Present Situation, The	7
Prime Ministers' Conference	2
Progress of the Damodar Valley, The	90
P.S.P. Convention	7
Publishers' Protest	8
Quadruple Emissaries for U.N.	435
Railway Ills	345
Report on Currency and Finance	87
Restoration of Pak-Sylhet Areas to India	176
Resurgence of Islamic Fanaticism	270
Rhee's Standpoint	103
Rosenbergs, The	13
(A) Second University in East Pakistan	102
Significance of the Developments in Iran	271
Situation in Hyderabad	90
Situation in Indonesia, The	186
Slave Mentality	170
(Sri) S. N. Guha's Gift	177
South Africa Through American Eyes	259
Soviet-French Trade and Payments Agreement	99
Soviet Germany	14
Story Behind U.S. Wheat Aid to Pakistan	101
State-Managed Co-operative in Assam	261

Page

Sterling Agreement 88
Sterling Convertibility 3
Student Unrest in Lucknow 339
Sugar Policy Muddle 258
Sugar Scandal 4
Syamaprasad Mookerjee 1
Temple Entry at Deoghar 261
Terms of Reference for Repatriation 102
Tibet Today 11
Trade Unions in India 426
Travancore-Cochin Assembly 257
Trieste 354
Trieste Question, The 269
Unemployment 253, 348
Unemployment and Government 7
United States and Colonialism 434
Unrest in Ceylon 177

Page

Unrest in Czechoslovakia 97
Urban Middle-classes and Money-lenders 254
U.S. Aid Policy 10
U.S. and World Policy 259
U.S. Bases in Pakistan 432
U.S. Economic Assistance to India 10
U.S. Interference in Kashmir 96
U.S. Investments in Asia and Africa 434
U.S.-South Korea Treaty 262
(A) Vicious Convention 431
Village Industries and Indian Government 256
War in Indo-China 267
Wastage in Industry 183
White "Democracy" in Kenya 437
Working of the Sindri Chemicals 178
World Bank Completes Six Years 266
World Monetary Trends 349

——:O:——

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Page

Agarwal, S. N.
  'Employment, More Employment! 279
  India and China 372
  Planning from the Bottom 449
  Reorganisation of Administrative Services 125
  Revolution in Education 27
  Towards Economic Freedom 209
Agarwal, Prem Narain
  How Americans Misrepresent India 230
Andrews, W. L.
  Freedom of the Press in Britain 65
Bagal, Jogesh C.
  Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle (*illust.*) 223, 303
  Women in India's Freedom Movement (*illust.*) 53
Banerjee, P. K.
  Modern Danish Sculptural Art (*illust.*) 465
Baleshwar Nath
  The Big Project of the Punjab (*illust.*) 471
Bartlett, Vernon
  Removing the Barriers to Peace 123
Bepin Behari
  Incentive in an Agricultural Community 453
Bhattacharya, S. C.
  The College of Yoga at Lonavla (*illust.*) 213
Biswas, Usha
  Music in Education 143
Bose, Ajit Kumar
  Yugoslavia Shapes Her Destiny 281
Bose, Ashish
  The First Census of Free India 197
Bose, Bela
  The Extent of Unemployment in India 374
B.S.I.S.
  Burma Shell Refinery (*illust.*) 386
Buddha Prakash
  Toynbee 401
Chakrabarty, Sarada Charan
  The Present Long-Staple Cotton Cultivation (*illust.*) 475
Chakravarty, J. N.
  Science and Agriculture 119

Page

Chanda, Amulyaprasad
  Cottage and Small Industries 123
Chari, S. M. S.
  Yoga—Philosophy and Science (*illust.*) 129
Chatterjee, Indu Bhusan
  Rajeswara Das Gupta (*illust.*) 216
Chattopadhyaya, Harindranath
  The Boat (*poem*) 67
  Mystery (*poem*) 67
  A Stanza from "And the Aeons Echoed" 481
Chaudhuri, Nanimadhab
  (The) Challenge of Anglicism and Cultural Revolution 313
  Historical Background of the Idian National Movement 370
  Young Bengal Discovers India 463
Chaudhuri, S. B.
  The Outbreak at Benares in 1799 205
Chou Hsiang-Kuang
  Moism and Ahimsa 203
  Political Philosophy of Confucius (*illust.*) 458
Compton, Lawrence V
  Farm and Ranch Ponds (*illust.*) 50
Cortright, Richard W.
  Education with Literacy 27
Datta, Amaresh
  Wordsworth and the French Revolution 140
Datta, J. M.
  What is the True Proportion of the Hindus? 368
Elenjimittam, Anthony
  Giuseppe Mazzini and Mahatma Gandhi 379
Ganguli, Milada
  Prof. V. Lesney and India (*illust.*) 301
Ghosh, Arun Coomar
  Some Aspects of Devaluation 35
Ghose, Lotika
  In Memoriam (*poem*) 61
Ghosh, Santi Kumar
  Underemployment in India 486
Gupta, Jogendranath
  The Mirror of the Ages (*illust.*) 136

Page

Hamburger, Michael
  Trends in Contemporary English Verse 403
Jalali
  Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir 150
Kaundinya
  Second International Contemporary Art Exhibition (illust.) 381
Kharche, R. N.
  The Janata College (illust.) 46
K. N. C.
  The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth (illust.) 62
Kulkarni, N.K.
  Land Tenures and Their Reforms 21
Loewy, Karl
  What is to Happen to the Palestine Refugees? 121
Majumdar, Sudhir Chandra
  "Quit English" 235
Mamoria, C. B.
  History and Growth of Co-operative Movement in India 109, 192
Marjorie Sykes
  Basic Education and Child Welfare 276
Mehta, Lehar Singh
  Shaw—The Successor to Shakespeare 149
Mitra, Debendra Nath
  Agriculture as a Profession 320
Mukherjee, Uma
  Sino-Soviet Relations in Their Retrospect 40
Narain Iqbal
  The Indian Constitution : On the Anvil 445
Niyogi, Suresh Prasad
  Taxation Structure of India 293
  Theory of Deficit Spending and Indian Planning 37
Padmanabhan Tampy, K. P.
  Harvesters of the Sea (illust.) 132
PIB
  Taming the Turbulent Tapi (illust.) 218
  Tungabhadra Project Makes Headway (illust.) 133
  Units in Korea (illust.) 470
Ramabhai, Suresh
  Bhoodan-Yajna as the Call of the Age 105
  Theory of Deficit Spending and Indian Planning 37
Rao, G. Srinivas
  Coorg, The Land of the Kodagas (illust.) 385
Rao, K. V.
  The Deputy Ministers—Their Constitutional Position 117
Rao, P. Rajeswara
  The Late Sri N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar 145
  T. R. Venkatrama Sastry 319

Page

Rao, Venkata
  Dr. Radhakrishnan 317
Ray, S. N.
  Teaching of English in the Secondary Schools 315
Roy, Jyotirmoy
  Tea Industry in India (illust.) 310
Roy, N. B.
  Original Persian Documents in the Hyderabad State and Their Value 126
Roy Choudhury, S. S.
  The Educational Pattern in Pre-British India 113
Rudra, Sushila
  The Concept of Justice in Our Constitution 234
Sahu, L. N.
  The Juangs (illust.) 468
Saksena, K. B.
  Industrial Development in Rajasthan 211
Sardesai, Govind S.
  The Historical Records in Kotah 451
Sarkar, Jadunath
  History's Warning to India 441
Sarkar, Miss Indira
  Roman Influence in the Provence 64
Schanzlin, G. L.
  Mid-Century 1953 488
Sen, Lalit
  Caste and Social Revolution 147
Sen, Mankumar
  Suffering Humanity and Decentralisation 377
Sen Gupta, Sumantra
  The Art of Sudhir Khastgir (illust.) 398
Shrivastava, V. K.
  A Probe into Indian Price Trends 461
Singh, B. K.
  Problems of Indian Agriculture 364
Singh, St. Nihal
  The Lion-hearted Leader 189, 289, 397, 481
Sinha, Bimalchandra
  Decentralised Economy 357
Sinha, J. C.
  The Population Problem in India 361
Srivastava, H. G. P.
  On the Gandhian Concept of Economics 273
Venkata Raman, K. R.
  Devapala and the Pandyas of the South 151
Verma, Dip Chand
  Saga of Napoleon Bonaparte 285
Wolseley, Roland E.
  Education for Journalism in India 29

——:0:——

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Art of Sudhir Khastgir, The
(6 illustrations) 298-300
Captive Lady *(in colours)*
Tilak Banerji 169
College of Yoga at Lonavla, The
(8 illustrations) 213-216
Coronation of King George VI inside
Westminster Abbey 3
Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II
Coronation of Queen Victoria 62
Coronation of King George VI 63
Dancers
S. Khastgir 288
Deeds of Selling Oneself
(4 illustrations) 137-139
Exhibition of Indian Handicrafts and Art Objects
in Ankara (Turkey) 169
Farm and Ranch Ponds
(2 illustrations) 51-52
Forty-five Students from all parts of India left
Bombay for the United States for a year's study
and training 85
General Mohamed Naguib Visits
I.N.S. *Godavari* 253
Harvestors of the Sea
(4 illustrations) 132-134
Janata College, The
(8 illustrations) 46-49
(Sri) Jawaharlal Nehru Addressing a huge gathering
at the Red Fort, Delhi on August 15, 1953, in
Celebration of the Sixth Anniversary of India's
Independence 169
Lesny, Prof. Vincenc 289
(Prof. V.) Lesny and India
Prof. V. Lesny with Gurudeva in Santiniketan 301
Prof. V. Lesny and Rabindranath 302
Prof. V. Lesny at the Oriental Institute in
Prague 303
Prof. Lesny's Last Journey
(The) *Life and Death of King John by Shakespeare* 337
Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle—I
Raja Rammohun Roy 223
James Buckingham 224
Dwarkanath Tagore 225
Ram Comul Sen 225
Prasanna Kumar Tagore 226
David Hare 227
Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle—II
Radhakanta Deb 303
Debendra Nath Tagore 304

Page

George Thompson 305
Taracharan Chuckervertty 306
Ramgopal Ghose 307
Pearychand Mitra 308
Mother and Daughter
Yssuo Kuniyoshi 372
Newspaper Reading
Chiang Chao-ho 372
Old Refugee
S. Khastgir 289
Palanquin, The *(in colours)*
Niharranjan **Sen Gupta** 1
Paper : Food for Thought
(3 illustrations) 220-221
Poona Research Station 373
President Rajendra Prasad at the I.N.S. *Circars*
during his visit to the Naval Base, Visakhapatnam 253
Queen Elizabeth II Crowned in Westminster Abbey 35
Queen Elizabeth II, The Portrait of 36
(Dr.) Radhakrishnan Delivered the Convocation
Address in the Mary Washington College 85
Rajeswar Das Gupta
Rajeswar Das Gupta 217
Rajeswar Plough 217
Rhythm
Sculptor—Deviprasad Roy Choudhury 1
Sakuntala Watering the Madhabi Plant *(in colour)*
Satindranath Laha 273
Sindri Fertiliser Factory, The 373
Taming the Turbulent Tapi
(2 illustrations) 219
Tea Industry, The
(5 illustrations) 311-312
Tungabhadra Project Makes Headway
(2 illustrations) 135
(A) Village Singer *(in colours)*
Manicklal Banerji 85
Vishakhapatnam Beach 337
Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel 37
Women in India's Freedom Movement
Mohini Devi 53
Hemprova Majumdar 54
Sarojini Naidu 55
Jyotirmoy Ganguli 56
Preetilata Waddedar 57
Leela Roy 58
Matangini Hazra 59
Yoga—Philosophy and Science
(8 illustrations) 129-131

——:O:——

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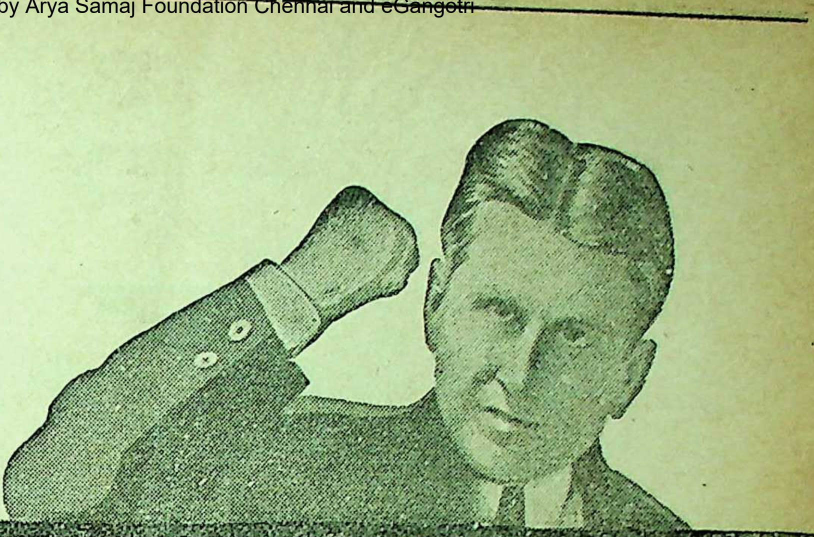

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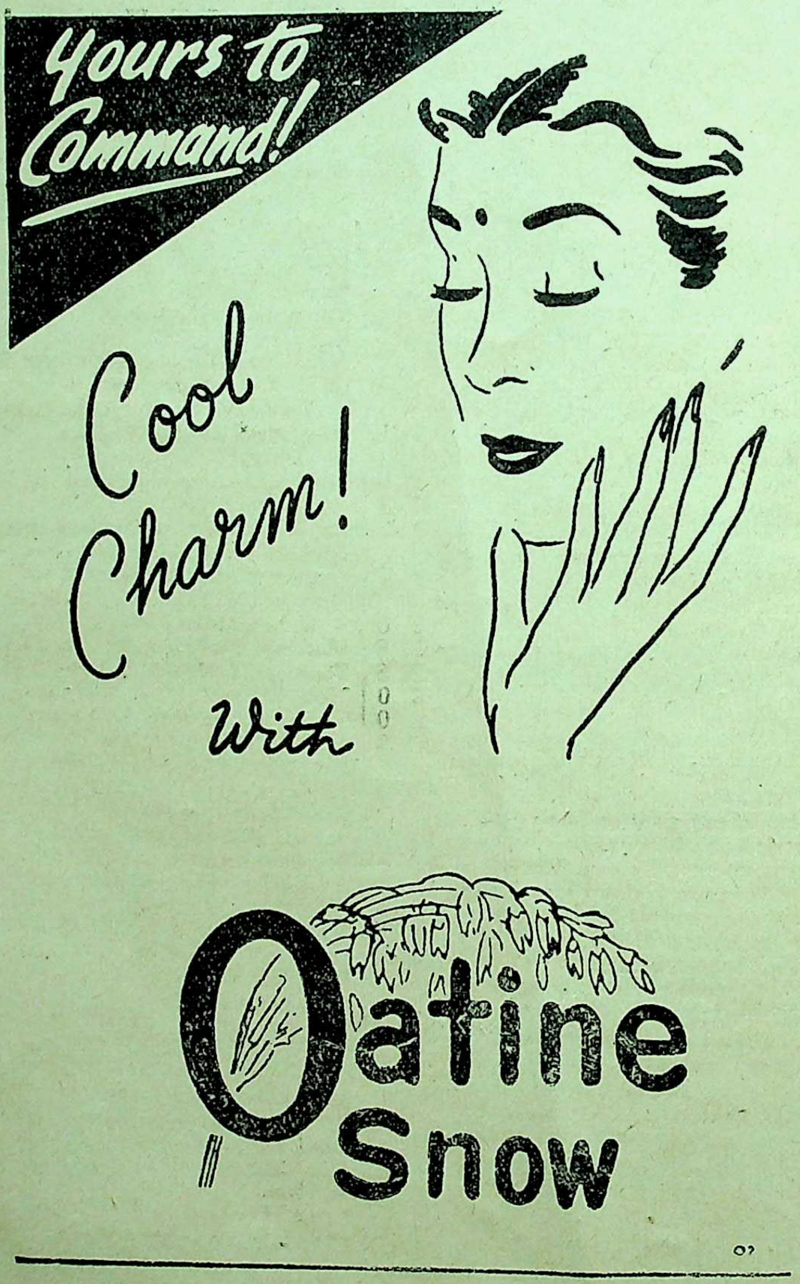
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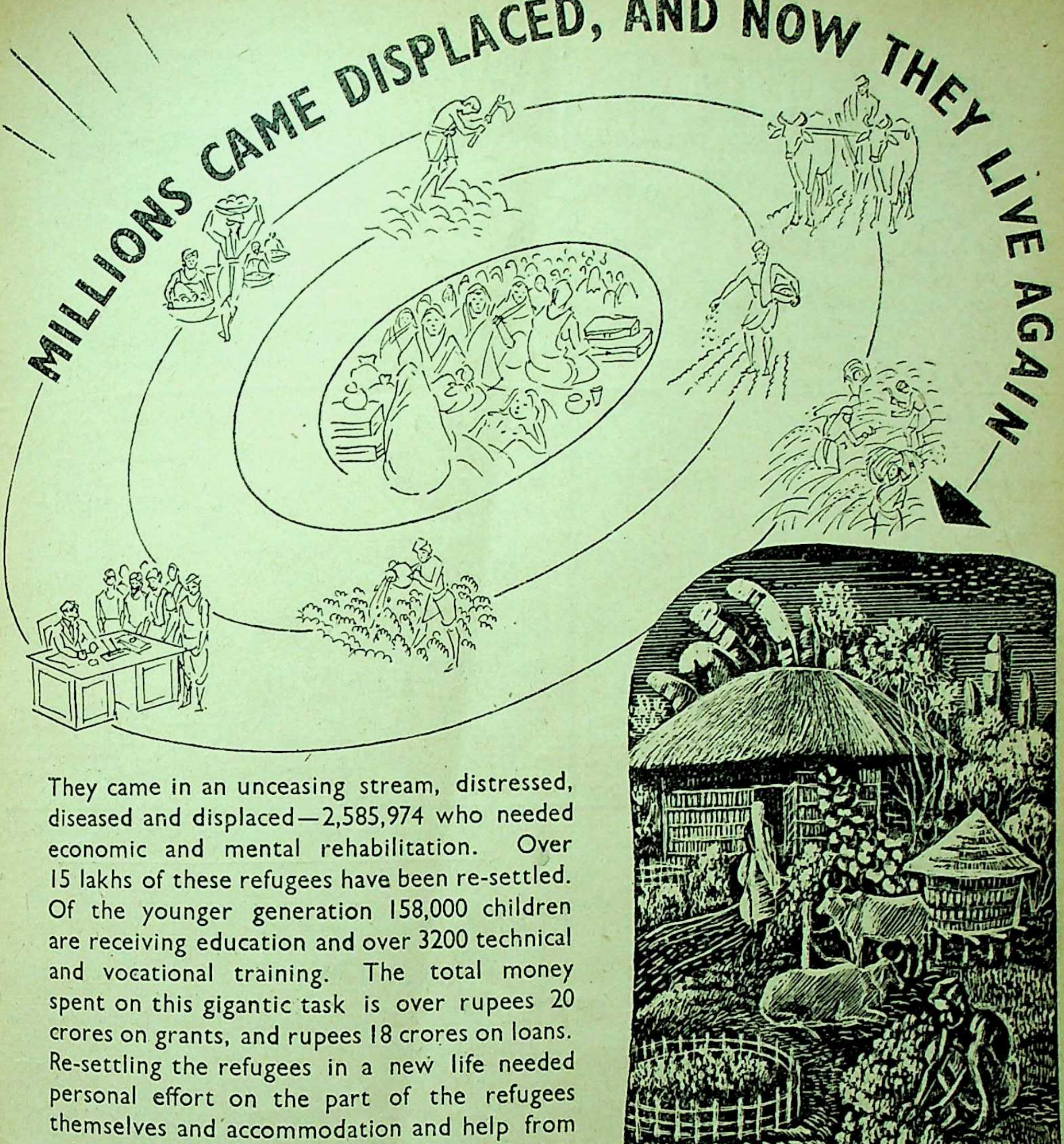

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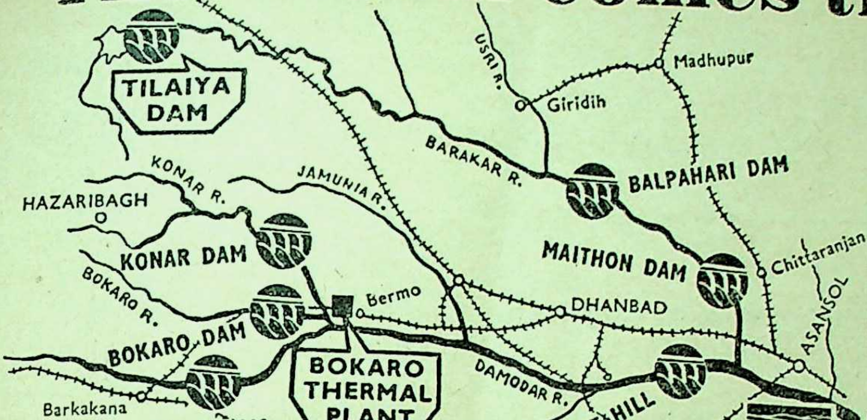
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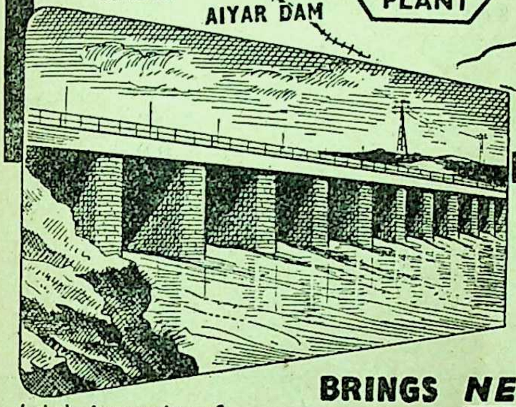

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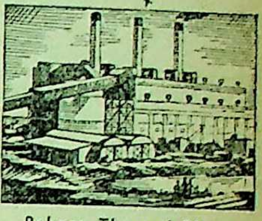

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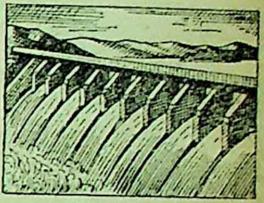

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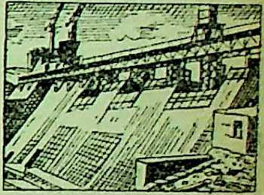

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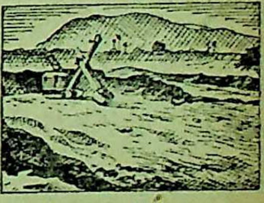

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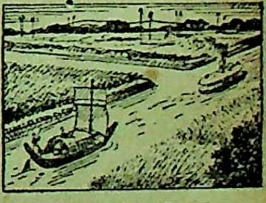

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CONTENTS FOR APRIL 1954

PAGE

FRONTISPIECE—SAKUNTALA (*in colours*)—Kalyani Chakravarty

NOTES : 253—272

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA—Saila Kumar Mukherjee 273

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA—Prof. C. B Mamoria 276

THE GENTLE ART OF BLUFFING—C. L. R. Sastri 285

INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF INDIA—Anadi Bhusan Maity 288

DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY COMMUNITY—Dr. M. M. Mehta 294

THE GENERAL BUDGET—Prof. S. N. Agarwal 296

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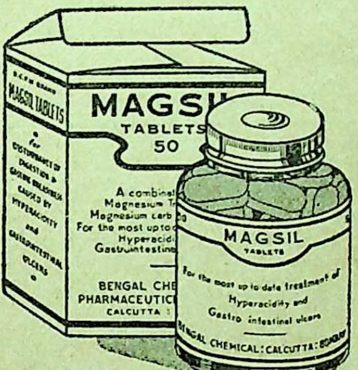

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

A CALCUTTA MUSEUM BRINGS ORISSA CLOSER (*illust*)—Ajit Kumar Dutta 297

THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS (*illust.*)—A. N. Sen 301

THE ICONS OF OHRID (*illust.*)—R. P. Singh 304

MRS. MARGARET E. COUSINS (*illust.*)—Prof. O. C. Gangoly 306

DR. MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR (*illust.*)—Narendra Nath Basu 308

HAROLD LASKI AND THE IDEAL OF NATIONALISM—Rani Mukhopadhyaya 311

SHYAMA PROSAD MOOKERJEE—S. N. Dutt 315

THE VEDANTIC APPROACH TO COMMUNISM—Arun Coomar Ghosh 317

THE LATE DR. SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI IYER—P. Rajeswara Rao 319

BOOK REVIEWS : 321—325

INDIAN PERIODICALS : 327—331

FOREIGN PERIODICALS : 332—336

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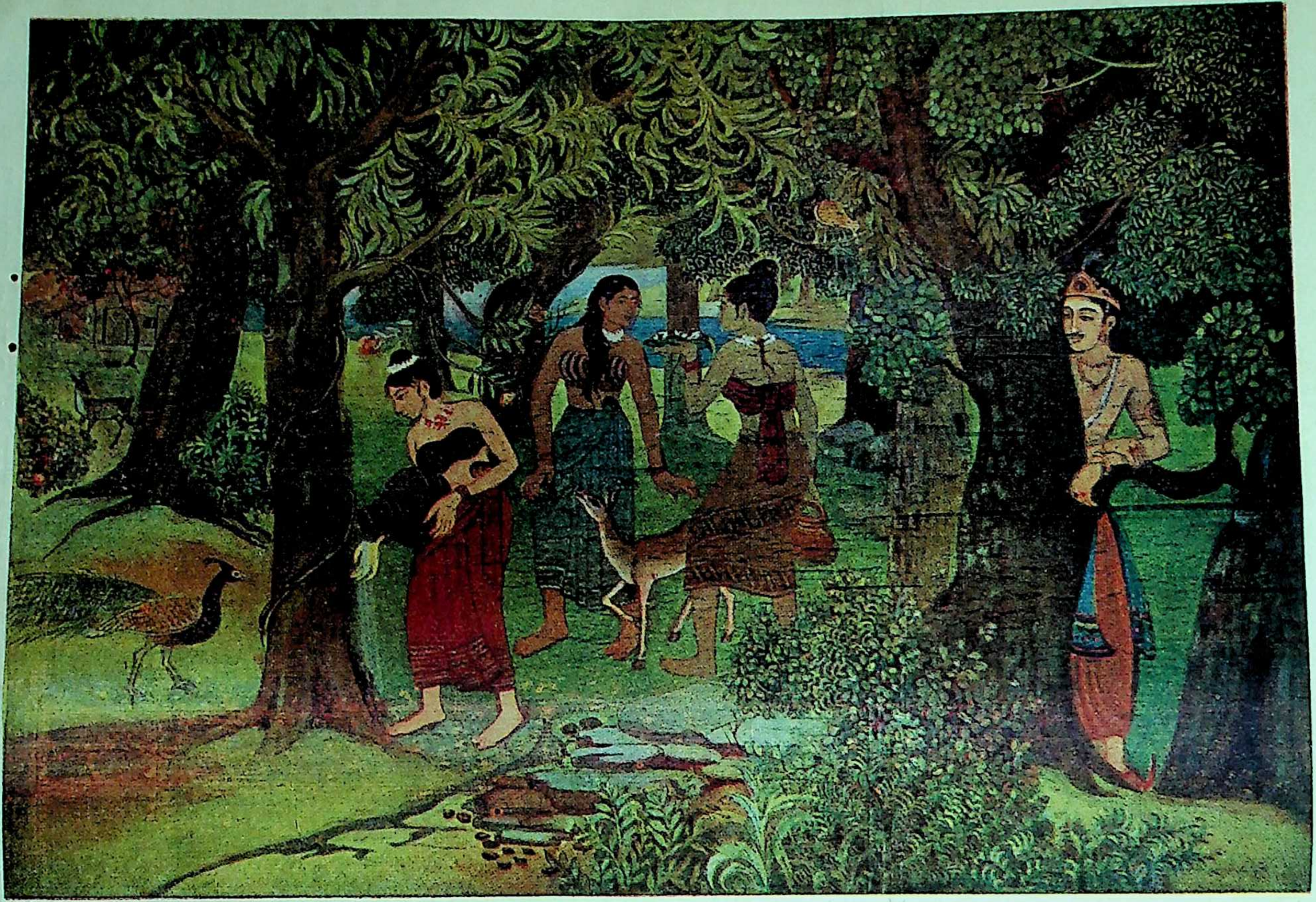
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivering his inaugural address at the First Conference of the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco, in New Delhi, on January 9

Dr. Luther H. Evans, Director-General, Unesco (*left*) and Sir Ronald Adam, Chairman, Executive Board, Unesco, (*right*) laying floral wreaths on the sacred Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat in Delhi on January 10



SAKUNTALA

By Kalyani Chakravarty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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APRIL 1954

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NOTES

The Lesson of East Pakistan

The Moslem League was born in Dacca, the capital of what is East Pakistan today, about half-a-century ago. In the first election on democratic lines in that area, it has met with a debacle, at the hands of the United Front. The defeat has been so catastrophic that the editor of the *Dawn,* the official organ of the Moslem League, has beheld in it "The awful majesty of the people's will!"

It is impossible to predict the outcome of this totally unexpected disaster to the Moslem League. He would be a bold man, indeed, who would dare interpret the portents and portray the shape of things to come in Pakistan as a consequence. But it is gradually becoming clear to the outside world as to what were the causes that led to this drastic reversal of the will of the people of East Pakistan.

The prime cause was, of course, the economic exhaustion of the common man in East Pakistan. Jute, the main stay of the agriculturist, reached a new price-peak during the stock-piling by the U.S. during the black days of the Korean war, when World War III seemed to be so imminent. Since last year it has sunk so low, so far as the actual price the grower got, as to be hardly worth cutting and retting. Price of food-stuffs, particularly, cereals, oils and fats, salt and sugar, have risen to high levels due to scarcity. Market—gardening produce, fish and milk, on the other hand, suffered a decline in prices, due to lack of purchasing power of the local people, and the closure of the doors that led to the markets in West Bengal and Assam in the Union of India. The farmer and the fisherman were thus reduced to penury and could not earn the wherewith to purchase essentials of life. Clothing, medicines and other consumer goods were scarce, and the prices beyond the reach of the Common Man.

The second cause was the gradual pushing back of the Bengali Muslims, the children of the soil, into the background by non-Bengali Muslims, mostly refugees. The son of the soil felt that he was gradually being reduced to becoming a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. All the lucrative business as also the prize posts were going to non-Bengalis. The native of East Pakistan felt that he was being exploited, for the benefit of the non-Bengali. Resentment at the attitude of the non-Bengalis towards the Bengali Muslim gradually rose to a peak.

The third reason was the refusal by the Centre to acknowledge Bengali as a State language. The Bengali-speaking Pakistani was in a majority in entire Pakistan, the Bengali language with its rich literary treasures, with its cultural advancement, was out-casted in favour of Urdu, a much poorer language in comparison, for no ostensible reason besides giving an unfair advantage to those whose mother-tongue it happened to be. The intelligentsia of East Pakistan took this to be a mortal insult and widespread disturbances followed the refusal of the recognition of Bengali.

The American arms-aid Pact is also a major factor. That pact is rightly taken to be conducive towards aggravating Indo-Pakistan relations, which are none too good as they are now. This would effectively stop interchange of goods and trade and commerce, as be- tween East Pakistan and the Indian States that are her immediate neighbours, which spells ruination absolute for the farmer, fisher, labourer, weaver and petty traders of East Pakistan. Outspoken condem- nation of the Pact had been made during the election campaigns by prominent leaders of the United Front.

No one, not even the United Front leaders, expected the people to give their verdict in such an "awful" fashion. The Moslem League expected a stiff fight, not a total rout.

There is a lesson in the East Pakistan elections for certain sections of our own peoples. The Hindi enthusiasts particularly ought to take this lesson to heart. The other lesson, if not learnt in time, will bring in grim consequences to those exploiters of the children of the soil, in certain States. People's will can be manifested in more than one way.

Labour Riot in Chittagong

Serious rioting took place in Chittagong on March 22. Details are given in the two press reports given below. It fully illustrates the tension between the local and the non-provincial Pakistanis:

"Dacca, March 24.—Army personnel moved into Karnaphuli Paper mills area, Chittagong, where a serious labour riot occurred on Monday last.

The G.O.C., East Pakistan, is reported to have visited the area of disturbances today. Subordinate officers involved in the exchange of hot words with the Operative Manager, which according to the Government, set off the rioting on Monday, have been arrested along with 12 others. About 300 other persons are also reported to have been rounded up by the police.

The body of Mr. Khurshid Ali, Operative Manager, missing since the rioting and of two others were recovered today from the Karnaphuli river, bringing the death roll now to 15.

The mill, which is under the Pakistan Industrial Corporation and partly financed by the Government, went into production in December last year and has lately been producing about 50 tons of paper daily."

"Press messages from Eastern Pakistan said that while recent rioting there at Karnaphuli Paper Mills had been quelled, the overall situation had not returned to normal.

"The Chittagong correspondent of Karachi's newspaper *Morning News* reported that 'army has taken control of the situation.' It said the 'European technicians at the paper mills have withdrawan themselves from the mill area and moved down to Chittagong.' The dispatch added, 'they (the European technicians) have refused to return to the mill where panic prevails.'

"Latest press reports said that in the paper mill riots of March 22, persons killed were 25 and persons arrested numbered 300.

"A report in a section of the local press today said that 'as an immediate sequel to the riots there was panicky selling by holders of the Karnaphuli Paper and Adamjee Jute Mills shares at whatever price they could get. A market fall in these shares in the Karachi Stock Exchange was registered.' Karachi Stock Exchange Market report shows that yesterday Karnaphuli paper came under heavy selling causing setback of about 12 annas. The report added, 'Many Karachi industrialists and businessmen were seriously concerned with the future of their investments in East Pakistan and were thinking of withdrawing them in view of the unrest which followed political changes in that part of the country.'

"News of the grim tragedy has cast a shadow of gloom and nervousness among refugee businessmen here."

The U. S. and Asian Defence

The following statement by the U.S. Secretary State, appeared in the daily press at the time of going to press:

"Washington, March 30.—The United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, has today raised the possibility of an Asian alliance to wa Communist China and the Soviet Union to keep o of South East Asia.

"In a major policy speech in New York, la night, Mr. Dulles called for 'united action' by t free world to meet the possibility of 'the imposit on South East Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally, whatever means.'

"Mr. Dulles did not specify what sort of 'uni action' was needed—whether a regional alliance similar to the North Atlantic alliance, a free wo declaration, or some sort of Monroe Doctrine de ing the unwillingness of nations vitally concerned tolerate the extension of the Russian or Chin Communist system to South East Asia.

"Mr. Dulles said: Under the conditions of to day the imposition on South-East Asia of the poli cal system of Communist Russia and its Chines Communist ally by whatever means would be grave threat to the whole free country.

"The United States feels that the possibility should not be passively accepted but should be me by united action.

"This might involve serious risks. But the risks are far less than those that will face us a fe years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

"He recapitulated to U. S. policy towards th Communists in Korea and Indo-China.

"He said that the Eisenhower administration ha sought to deter Communist China from open aggression in Indo-China and added that he (Mr. Dulles had declared that if Communist China intervene with its own army grave consequences would resu which might not be confined to Indo-China itself.

"Mr. Dulles called on the Chinese Communists t 'cease and desist' from their apparent intention o conquest in South-East Asia.

"The United States delegation will go to Geneva in an effort to bring about a united and independent Korea from which Communist China will have withdrawn its army of invasion," he said.

"Mr. Dulles strongly opposed the admission o Communist China in the United Nations unde present conditions and said the United States woul not extend diplomatic recognition to the Peking regime.

"Mr. Dulles said, 'As one of the United Nations members who must pass on representation, we must ask, will it serve the interest of world order to bri into the United Nations a regime which is a convicted aggressor, which has not purged itself from that aggression and which continues to promote the use of force in violation of the principles of the United Nations?'

"I can find only the answer 'no.'

"Those responsible for United States policy must ask and answer, 'will it help our country, if by recognition we give increased prestige and influence to a regime that actually attacks our vital interests?'

"I can find only the answer 'no.'

"Referring to Indo-China Mr. Dulles said: The Chinese Communists have in fact avoided the direct use of their own Red armies in open aggression against Indo-China. They have, however, largely stepped up their support of the aggression in that area. Indeed they promote that aggression by all means short of open invasion.

"The free nations want peace. However, peace is not had merely by wanting it. Peace has to be worked for and planned for. Sometimes it is necessary to take risks to win peace just as it is necessary in war to take risks to win victory. The chances for peace are usually bettered by letting a potential aggressor know in advance where his aggression could lead him."—*Reuter.*

The attitude of the Eisenhower Government towards the forces that are either directly or indirectly attempting to impose the political system of Soviet or Chinese Communism in Asia has been clarified once again by this statement. It may be said that it is clearly understood by all Asiatics who are politically conscious and that further clarification is not needed.

But what is becoming equally clear is that the U.S. Government in its haste has forgotten that some Asiatic nations might prefer to think about the working of their own salvation in their own way. And it is also clear that the officials of the U.S. State departments are still in the same befogged state of ignorance about matters Asiatic as they were two decades back.

An Asian alliance is urgently needed to stave off the spread of Communism in South-East Asia and elsewhere. But there is no need to take stock of ancient enmities or of friendships milleniums old. There is no need to investigate the possibility of the arms-aid programme resulting in the flare-up of many smouldering feuds! It is a mad world indeed!

Soviet-Pakistan Relations

Moscow has clearly expressed the Soviet Government's attitude, towards the U.S.-Pakistan pact, in the statement given below:

"Moscow, March 28.—Russia announced yesterday that she had protested to Pakistan against granting military bases to the United States. The protest said that Pakistan's action 'cannot but harm Soviet-Pakistan relations.'

"The Soviet note, according to *Tass*, the official Soviet News Agency, stated:

"In connection with the note of the Government of Pakistan of December 19, 1953, the Soviet Government considers necessary to state the following:

"In the note of November 30, 1953, the Soviet Government drew the attention of the Government of Pakistan to reports on negotiations between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States in the creation on Pakistan territory of American air force bases and on the inclusion of Pakistan in the plans of the organisation of an aggressive military bloc in the Middle East.

"It was pointed out at the time that the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to such statement as the establishment of foreign military and air bases on the territory of Pakistan and the adherence of Pakistan to the plans for the creation of the aforementioned bloc in the Middle East are directly connected with the security of the Soviet Union.

"The subsequent moves of the Pakistan Government have shown how well founded was the above mentioned note of the Soviet Government.

"It follows from the above that the Soviet Government cannot regard as satisfactory the note of the Pakistan Government of December 19 in reply to the Soviet note.

"The note of the Pakistan Government contains the statement that allegedly the question of granting military bases to the United Staes in Pakistan never arose.

"But in that connection it can be noted that in his interview published in the issue of January 15, 1953 of the American journal, *United States News and World Report,* the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali stated that in the case in which an 'extraordinary situation' should arise, the Government of Pakistan will be prepared to put at the disposal of the United States military bases built by the means of the so-called American military aid.

"As it is known on February 25, of this year reports were simultaneously published in Karachi and Washington on an agreement reached between Pakistan and the United States on giving Pakistan the American military aid mentioned above.

"From the statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan mentioned above it can be seen that the Government of Pakistan in connection with that assumes the obligation not only to put military bases on Pakistani territory at the disposal of the United States, but also to place the Pakistani army in a situation in which it would be virtually placed under a foreign command.

"In its note the Government of Pakistan completely passes over the question put in the note of the Soviet Government concerning the negotiations on the inclusion of Pakistan in the plans for the creation of an aggressive bloc in the Middle East.

"At the same time, it appears from the official Pakistani-Turkish communique, published on February 19 of this year in Karachi and in Ankara and also from the interview mentioned above of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, that a military bloc, directed against the Soviet Union and the peaceful countries of Asia, is being set up in the Near and Middle East.

"At the same time it is known that Pakistan is not threatened by any attack and in view of this the setting-up of the above-mentioned military bloc with the participation of Pakistan cannot be justified.

"Neither the lease of military bases to a foreign country on the territory of Pakistan nor the incorporation of Pakistan in a military bloc which is the instrument of imperialist aggressive forces is called for in the interests of the defence of Pakistan or in any way corresponds to the real interests of that country.

"Such moves can bring no good to the people of Pakistan, who are, like other people, interested in peace, the protection of their independence and the improvement of their well-being.

"In connection with what has been stated above, the Soviet Government deems it essential to draw attention to the fact that the participation of Pakistan in the bloc mentioned above and the putting at the disposal of the United States armed forces military bases on Pakistani territory cannot but harm Soviet-Pakistani relations and that the responsibility for such a situation rests with the Government of Pakistan."

Pakistan's haste in accepting arms-aid and military assistance from the U.S. is well understood in India. Indeed, half Asia understands the real implications.

America's efforts in this direction are leading to an active disturbance of peace over a wide area in Asia. It will retard our efforts towards the amelioration of the living standard of our peoples, because we shall have to devote billions of rupees and endless efforts for weapons of War, instead of using the same for implements of Peace.

India's Defence

"The basic approach to the development of India's defence and its pattern were explained by the Prime Minister in the House of the People today intervening in the debate on the demands for grants relating to the Defence Ministry.

"The two fundamental points in the approach to the building up of India's defence, said the Prime Minister, were that, firstly, it was aimed for defence and not aggression purposes, and secondly, greater reliance was placed on equipments and armaments that were and could be produced within the cou rather than on those which had to be imported which might not be available in times of need."

"Far from increasing the size of her army, ad the Prime Minister, we have deliberately reduced size, but there is a limit beyond which we can hard go. The Prime Minister saw no scope for furt reduction of India's defence forces now.

"Referring to the criticism of about the num of British officers still employed in the Ind Defence Services, the Prime Minister said that number of foreign officers which stood at 8,000 be partition had now been reduced to about a 100. cepting in the Navy and in the Air Force and some ordnance factories, no foreigners held any e cutive posts or operational commands. The Air Fo Chief would be replaced by an Indian officer soon. The Prime Minister told the House th Government attached great importance to the de lopment of defence industries.

"A thorough survey of the country's mine resources would be undertaken, he said, to find what minerals we had for defence equipments. H also stated that it was being explored how the id capacity of defence industries could be utilised produce civilian goods.

"The Prime Minister paid high tributes to th officers and men of India's Defence Forces and al complimented foreign officers who were loyally ser ing India.

"The House of the People took up consideratio of demands in respect of the Ministry of Defen totalling Rs. 223.5 crores. The biggest demand is respect of the Army amounting to Rs. 146 crore Other demands include Rs. 11 crores for the Navy Rs. 32.9 crores for the Air Force and Rs. 18.37 crore for Defence Capital outlay.

"Mr. Umacharan Patnaik (Independent, Oriss stressed the role of civil defence and said it had be treated as part of the defence organisation. Civ defence was not an outmoded thing as the Prim Minister had stated, he said."

"Mr. Giriraj Saran Singh (Independent, Raja sthan) said the U.S.-Pakistan Arms Aid Pact had provided a splendid opportunity to unite the country which must be utilised to consolidate the country While, he added, the threat from this Pact could b dealt with by India's Armed Forces, the real danger lay in fifth column activities which must be prevente by strengthening the security services."

In modern warfare an ill-equipped army, however loyal, brave and well-disciplined, must be always at disadvantage against a better-equipped force. Ou officers and men are equal to the best the world ca show, but have they the "tools of war" that the should have? We would like to be assured on that point.

The question of army intelligence is also of the essence. We also want that the security services should be strengthened.

Ordnance Factories

"Details of some of the schemes, now under consideration of the Government, to make India self-sufficient in defence equipment were given by the Deputy Defence Minister, Sri Satish Chandra, in the House of the People on March 26. Intervening in the debate on the Defence Budget, he said that the Government was planning to set up ordnance factories for development of more advanced and complicated types of equipment. Besides, about two dozen schemes to increase the present capacity of ordnance factories in order to produce new items were under examination.

"The Government was considering possibility of manufacturing aero-engines in this country and proposals for producing more components of I.A.F. aircraft were being scrutinised. Denying that the equipment of the I.A.F. and the I.N. were obsolete, the Deputy Minister said that the Government had evolved a programme for gradually replacing the present vessels of the navy by newly constructed ships.

"Within a few months it would be possible to manufacture all the 20mm. ammunition required by the I.A.F. and the 40mm ammunition required by the army and the navy. He said, almost all the 20 ordnance factories in India were now working in full capacity and efforts were being made to utilise the few idle plants of civilian production.

"In a forceful speech Mr. Joachim Alva pleaded for an efficient military intelligence service."

It is plain, from what has been said, that we are unprepared. We have to go a long way yet before we can reach anything like self-sufficiency in the matters of arms, mechanized weapons of war and large calibre artillery. Vast expenditure in treasure and toil will be involved. But we cannot shrink from it, even though the money be needed urgently elsewhere.

The Union Budget

The Central Budget for the year 1954-55 is remarkable for the provision of deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 250 crores. Otherwise, it has pleased nobody—neither the man in the street nor those who have to bear the burden of controlling the means of production. The former complain that the budget provisions will surely raise the cost of living, while the latter keep on reiterating that the budget lacks incentive. A modern Jesting Pilate may rightfully ask, what is incentive for the capital? Of course, the question will remain unanswered.

The following are the new taxations and reliefs, at a glance, announced by the Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh:

New Taxes

(1) Increase in import duties on betelnuts by -/6/6 per pound to raise Rs. 3 crores.

(2) Increase in import duties on plastic, insulated cables, electric fans, electric conduits, etc., to yield Rs. 1.25 crores.

(3) Increase of excise duty on superfine cloth by six pies per yard and on other varieties of cotton cloth by three pies per yard to yield Rs. 6.5 crores.

(4) Levy of duty on cement at Rs. 5 per ton, washing soap at Rs. 5-4-0 per cwt., on bars of one pound and other washing soaps at Rs. 6-2-0 per cwt.; and toilet and other soaps at Rs. 14 per cwt. The duty on footwear would be 10 per cent *ad valora.*

(5) Excise duty of As. 1½ per yard on art silk fabrics.

Abolitions

(1) Abolition of import duty on raw cotton resulting in loss of revenue of Rs. 4 crores.

(2) Abolition of import duties on steel sheets, plates and rail resulting in loss of Rs. 20 lakhs.

(3) Preference given to U.K. on the imports of motor cars, motor car parts and batteries to be abolished on the expiry of period agreed under *Gatt.*

The following is the final picture of the Central Budget for 1954-55:

	(In crores of rupees) Revised 1953-54	 Budget 1954-55
Revenue	413.69	452.88
Expenditure	430.65	467.09
Deficit	16.96	14.21

For 1954-55, the revenue has been placed at Rs. 452.88 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 467.09 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 14.21 crores on revenue account. On the capital account, the expenditure on development schemes has been stepped up so sharply that the deficit will be as high as Rs. 250 crores, after taking into consideration the aid that would be available from friendly foreign countries and the amount to be borrowed from the long-term capital market. The revenue from customs will be Rs. 175 crores, as against the curent year's revised estimate of Rs. 160 crores. The improvement of Rs. 15 crores is due firstly to the additional duty expected to be collected in the coming year on the increased imports of sugar on Government account, now estimated at between 4 and 5 lakh tons, against 2.5 lakh tons this year, secondly, to increased yield from the import of commodities which carry high revenue duties, and thirdly, to the normal expansion of revenue. The revenue from the Union excise duties is placed at

Rs. 92.60 crores, that is, at a crore less than in the current year. The income-tax yield has been estimated at exactly the current year's revised estimate, that is, at Rs. 70.67 crores. Revenue from the estate duty is likely to come for the first time in the coming year. It is a new tax, the yield from which is most difficult to estimate. The income from this head is expected to be Rs. 4 crores and the whole of this amount will be transferred to the States in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The expenditure estimates at Rs. 467.09 crores reveal an increase of Rs. 36.44 crores over the revised estimates for the current year. Of this increase, Defence expenditure accounts for Rs. 5.78 crores and Civil expenditure for Rs. 30.66 crores, the exact total expenditure under these heads being Rs. 205.62 crores and Rs. 261.47 crores, respectively. The share of defence expenditure to the total expenditure is just 46 per cent. Nearly, the whole of the increase in this expenditure reflects the cost of bringing the Navy and Air forces up to reasonable efficiency in men and material.

As regards the rise in civil expenditure, the Finance Minister stated that the coming year will be the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan and it would be reasonable to expect a rise in the tempo of developmental expenditure during that year. The bulk of the increase of Rs. 30.5 crores in civil expenditure is due to this factor. The total expenditure on the nation-building and developmental services in the coming year is likely to amount to Rs. 53.67 crores, as against Rs. 39.52 crores in the current year. Expenditure on scientific departments, mainly on grants to scientific institutions and outlay on scientific services, is likely to be about a crore more than in the current year. The budget for education, providing for substantial grants for the expansion of basic and social education throughout the country, will be about Rs. 8 crores more than in the current year.

Increased provision has also been made for the development of village and small-scale industries. Community projects and national extension services between them will cost Rs. 8½ crores more than in the current year; about a crore more will be spent on grants for grow-more-food schemes and Rs. 1¼ crore more on schemes of social welfare. These increases in developmental expenditure together account for Rs. 25 crores roundly of the total increase of Rs. 30½ crores. The increase of Rs. 5½ crores in the rest of the expenditure is mainly due to two factors. A lump-sum provision of Rs. 3.6 crores has been made under grant-in-aid to States for meeting any assistance that may have to be given to the State of Jammu and Kashmir if the scheme for financial integration of that State with the Indian Union, somewhat on the pattern of the former Princely States, which is under discussion with it, materialises. The payment of the States' share of the Union excise duties next ye will be about three-quarters of a crore more than the current year. Increased provision has also be made under grant-in-aid to States for the welfare scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and other backwa classes.

As regards the expenditure on capital accou the revised estimate has been put at Rs. 63.90 crore as against Rs. 76.64 crores in the original estimate The saving of nearly Rs. 13 crores has occurred main under Defence Civil Works and Government Trading For the coming year, the provision for capital e penditure has been considerably raised and put Rs. 145.75 crores. In the first three years of the Pla developmental expenditure was necessarily somewh smaller than the proportionate outlay for that perio Now that the economic climate is better suited f stepping up investment and the schemes themselve are gathering momentum, and in some cases nearing completion, the expenditure during the remaining tw years is bound to be much more than in the curren year.

As regards new taxation proposals, the preferen-tial import duty on betelnuts has been increased by 6½ annas a pound. The Government viewpoint is that profit margins on betelnuts have for sometime been very high, often leading to the payment of premium on import licences. There is little justification for the importer and the middlemen retaining such profit and the new duty is an attempt to divert a part of the profits to the benefit of the exchequer. The additional revenue from this is estimated at Rs. 3 crores.

Certain changes in the import tariff have been incorporated in the budget. Duties on some articles like plastic and rubber insulated cables, electric fans and electric conduits have been raised. On the expiry of the period agreed under the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the preference given to the U.K. on the imports of motor cars, motor car parts and batteries is being abolished. The net effect of these and other minor changes will be a net increase of Rs. 1.25 crores in revenue.

The third change is the abolition of the present import duty on raw cotton. Imported raw cotton enters not merely in the production of cloth consumed internally but to some extent in the exports of Indian cloth. Under the present arrangements, Government allow a rebate of duty paid on imports of raw materials which enter into the manufacture of our exports. The whole problem of regulating the import duty on essential materials has been reconsidered by the Government in that context and, while obviously no final view has yet been taken, the Government feel that a move towards the gradual replacement of import duties on raw materials by excise duties on the goods manufactured from them could be made. This replacement seems to the Government more or less inevitable, as the country is progressively industrialised; it will also make the export trade simpler by removing the complication involved in the grant of rebates of import duty. The beginning has been made with the import duties on raw cotton. The loss of revenue is estimated at Rs. 4 crores. In pursuance of the same policy, the import duty on some varieties of steel—a basic material—is being abolished with immediate effect. They are steel sheets (both black and galvanised), plates and rails. The loss of revenue involved is likely to be Rs. 25 lakhs.

In order to counterbalance the loss of revenue arising out of the abolition of the import on raw cotton, the excise duty on superfine cotton cloth has been raised by 6 pies per yard and on other varieties of cotton cloth by 3 pies a yard. This is designed partly, in the opinion of the Government, to replace the revenue lost by the abolition of the import duty on raw cotton and partly to rationalise the existing structure of the excise. The abolition of the import duty is expected to avoid the complications involved in the somewhat cumbrous procedure of giving drawbacks on exports. It will also facilitate the free imports of foreign cotton required by the industry by reducing the amount needed to finance it. The increase in excise duties will, to some extent, also reduce the possibility of diversion of manufactures from one tariff category to another by making it less profitable than at present, and will also, the Finance Minister says, ease the current pressure on Indian cotton. The changes, taking customs and Union excise together, will make the structure of taxatoin of Indian cloth more rational than at present. The net effect of these changes will be an increase in revenue of Rs. 6.5 crores.

An excise duty of 1 anna and 6 pies will be levied on artificial silk fabrics. The Government argument is that the use of artificial silk fabrics is now very widespread and they compete, to some extent, with cotton cloth which has to bear an excise duty. In the opinion of the Finance Minister, there is no reason why, when the bulk of the cotton cloth is subject to taxation, artificial silk fabrics should be exempt. The new duty will not be levied on the manufactures of handlooms and small units which have less than 10 power looms. Art silk fabrics will also be placed in the same position as mill-made cotton textiles by the levy of an additional 3 pies per yard, corresponding to a similar levy which is now being made on cotton cloth under the *khadi* and other Handloom Industries Development (Additional Excise Duty on Cloth) Act, 1953. The proceeds will be appropriated to the Special Fund for the development of the handloom industry. The revenue from this is estimated at Rs. 1.60 crores. The new excises on cement, soap and footwear will together yield Rs. 3.75 crores.

No Taxation Increase

The main feature of this year's budget, whether of the Union or of the States, is that no important taxation proposal has been mooted. With the Taxation Enquiry Commission at work, the Government of India consider that it is neither proper nor desirable to initiate any large-scale change in the present structure of taxation, until the whole problem has been considered in the light of the Commission's recommendations. The same explanation is being put forward by the State Governments, too, for not raising additional resources needed for implementing the Five-Year Plan. The result is that the Union Government have to depend to a greater extent than is necessary on deficit financing and excise duties. Had the Taxation Enquiry Commission been appointed before the Plan was launched or at least simultaneously, the country would not have been in this sorry plight. When the Plan was being framed, the right thing was to explore not only the resources available for the implementation of the Plan but also the manner in which such resources should be raised. For this initial omission, the country is now paying the penalty of inadequate and haphazard economic growth.

Notwithstanding the tall claims of the Finance Minister as to the desirability of shifting emphasis from import duty to excise duty, it must be admitted that the excise duty on consumer goods tends to raise the cost of living and makes its effect felt directly on the consumer. But the import duty is a silent partner in the determination of the cost of production and much of its vibrations are lost while being transmitted from the process of production to the process of consumption. The abolition of the import duty on raw cotton is just a favour shown to the industrialists at the cost of the consumers. What guarantee the Government have obtained that the prices of cloth will be lowered to the extent of the abolition of the import duty on raw cotton? Authority being placed on a higher altitude suffers from myopia in so far as the vision of immediate things is blurred, otherwise it could have seen that the excise duty on cloth, soap and footwear will not only raise the prices of these commodities, but also give a spurt to other consumer goods to be costlier in sympathy. Sympathetic vibration or synchronized movement has now become a peculiar feature not only of our political life, but also of our economic existence. The Finance Minister's pleas in abolishing import duty on raw cotton and imposing excise duty on cloth are not at all convincing. He has said that the replacement of import duties on raw materials by excise duties on the goods manufactured from them seems to be inevitable as the country is progressively industrialised. To say that the import duty is a feature of the underdeveloped economy and excise duty is a feature of industrialised economy is too narrow a generalisation to be plausible. The Finance Minister may as well plainly say that his move is just designed to help the textile manufacturers. Does he not realize that the excise duties will affect the teeming millions of middle and lower income groups who are already groaning under the pressure of various kinds of indirect taxation and income rigidity? The new taxation proposals mean that the limits for direct taxation have been reached and that the scope for even indirect taxation is so restricted that the levies are too far and wide. Almost all important commodities are already subject to excise duties. Moreover, the State Governments are collecting sales tax at steep rates on all commodities, including industrial raw materials and food. The burden of indirect taxation is so heavy that the expansion of industries is being affected by the curb that is now being placed on consumption by excises and sales taxes.

As regards the deficit financing, although we are not opposed to it in principle, we are concerned about the way in which the large dose of deficit financing shall be pumped into the market. Deficit financing by itself is not bad and is needed to a certain extent for financing development projects and creating employment opportunities. But care should be taken to see whether the system can absorb such a huge amount all at once. Deficit financing in slow doses and keeping in pace with the expansion in consumer goods production may help in stepping up the developmental projects.

The States have failed to raise their share of funds to finance the Five-Year Plan. As a result, the Centre is compelled to help the States by way of loans and grants in financing the projects. This huge amount of deficit financing is necessary to meet the States' liability. The States should be asked to tap new sources of income, particularly, by levying taxes on luxuries. Prohibition has been a costly affair and socially wasteful, and in terms of money value, the loss is anything between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 crores per annum.

Deficit financing should be directed towards productive enterprises. The large sums that are being spent on Community Projects naturally raise the question whether the Projects will yield any tangible return of a productive nature and whether it is appropriate to devote sizeable resources on a dubious experiment at a time when funds are scarce. Instead of launching the scheme of "building" new model villages, the results—the sinking of tube wells, building roads, imparting education, etc.,—could have been attempted by trying to intensify the working of the existing machinery.

The outstanding public debt of the Government of India will go up by Rs. 275.45 crores during next year, that is from Rs. 2,130.63 crores at the end March, 1954, to Rs. 2,406.08 crores by the close March, 1955.

West Bengal Budget

The most disquieting feature of the West Beng Budget is the persistent adverse gap between reven resources and expenditure. The Budget estimates the year 1954-55 reveal a deficit of Rs. 13.37 cror Since 1952, the deficits have been mounting at galloping rate. In 1952-53, there was a nomin surplus of Rs. 32 lakhs, and the budget figures 1953-54, revealed a deficit of over Rs. 6 crores; in revised estimate, the deficit went up to Rs. 7½ cro These deficits were wholly on revenue account.

The revenue income of the State of West Beng has remained more or less fixed, but the expendit on revenue account has been progressively increasi In 1952-53, the actual revenue amounted to Rs. 3 crores, in 1953-54, the revised estimates stood Rs. 38.8 crores, and in the budget estimates f 1954-55, the estimated revenue are placed at Rs. 39 crores. During the last three years, the revenues ha gone up by nearly Rs. 2½ crores, and this increase quite inadequate when compared with the growi volume of expenditure. In 1952-53, the expenditu stood at Rs. 38.9 crores, and in 1953-54, it went u to Rs. 50.57 crores. For the year 1954-55, there is further rise in expenditure by Rs. 2¾ crores.

How this ever widening gap between income a expenditure is to be bridged? The cost of admini tration is steadily increasing. It would be dangero to cut social services which are much too inadequa The number of Ministers and their Deputies seem be excessive and the axe should be applied on t administration as a whole. The State must increa its resources by tapping new sources. In this conne tion the question of reallocation of revenues "taxing powers" should be reconsidered. Notwit standing the so-called fine arguments of the Finan Commission, the general feeling in this State is th an injustice is being done to this "problem" Sta Although West Bengal today has less than half t population of the undivided province, her income-t contribution remains as big as that of undivid Bengal. In income-tax contribution, West Beng occupies the second position, but in allocation income-tax from the divisible pool, she comes four West Bengal's share of income-tax has been fix rather arbitrarily and she can justly claim a revisi of this matter by the Taxation Enquiry Commissio

West Bengal should also improve its machin for tax collection. The general impression is that t sales tax evasion is widespread—not of course, the consumers, but by the retailers and the who salers. The sales tax yields in Bombay and Mad are much higher than that of West Bengal. In the revised estimates for 1953-54, the yield from this tax is placed at Rs. 80 lakhs less than in the budget estimate. Nobody would believe that the business conditions in the State have proportionally deteriorated. It is, however, gratifying that the State Government have taken appropriate steps to tighten the loopholes in the sales tax collection machinery.

The expenditure on the Five-Year Plan has been according to schedule. Of the total estimated expenditure of Rs. 69 crores, as much as Rs. 54 crores will be spent by the end of the fourth year of the Plan. In the fifth year of the Plan, only Rs. 15 crores would remain to be spent. West Bengal has made a total contribution of Rs. 36 crores to the Damodar Valley Project. Besides, the State has to spend large sums on the Mayurakshi Projects, Community Development Projects and National Extension Blocks. These projects have largely enhanced the rural wealth and income. Industrial investment and production have also kept on a steady expansion programme. The State economy, on the whole, presents a brighter outlook.

West Bengal's debt to the Central Government now stands at Rs. 76 crores and it will go up to nearly Rs. 100 crores by the end of the coming financial year. With a chronic revenue deficit, which is nearly a third of the annual revenue income, and the need to create jobs at an increasing rate, the State Government deserves sympathy. The grants-in-aid from the Union are just a veil on the unhappy financial position of the State.

Many of the State enterprises which were started with high expectations have turned out to be costly affairs, that is, they are being run at a loss. Out of the 14 commercial concerns of the Government, 11 have been running at a loss. The State trading in foodgrains accounts for the bulk of the loss and this is understandable. West Bengal had to purchase rice from the Union at a higher rate and sell to the public at a subsidized price. It is good that the loss has been borne by the Exchequer instead of transferring the burden on the consumers. Nobody would grudge this loss. The Calcutta State Transport Service could have shown profit had it not been the victim of recurring public vandalism. Moreover, the Service is constantly being expanded and it is quite natural that the profit is being ploughed back into capital outlay. A point should be stressed here in this connection and it is that in a Welfare State profit is not the essential thing. What is essential is creation of more and more jobs and profit is anathema to a State economy. Profit arises by exploitation and the State should not be expected to exploit the labour of its people. If the capital is maintanied intact simultaneously with the creation of increased employment opportunities, then the purpose of the State enterprises is achieved. But if the project neither earns profit nor creates employment, then certainly it is a bad venture, or rather wastage of public money by injudicious speculation which amounts to gambling. The Deep Sea Fishing Schemes belong to this category and stand to be blamed.

Handloom Weaving

India's handloom woven textiles were famous throughout the world for thousands of years. It survived all vicissitudes of invasion, loot and disorder for centuries. Even the determined attempt of the British, during the days of the ill-famed East India Company, to destroy it by brutal oppression of the weavers failed. But now it is faced with extinction through long neglect. The position of this famed and most important of all Cottage Industries in West Bengal has been well described by Dr. S. N. Ganguly in the weekly *West Bengal* of March 11, from which we append extracts below.

In this connection we would recommend the import of fine yarn from abroad until such time as the local mills can fill the demand. The import licenses and the distribution should be given to the State Governments. No other consideration should be allowed to stand in the way of resuscating this dying industry.

"Handloom weaving is the first and most important of all the cottage industries in India. The same applies to the State of West Bengal as well. It is natural therefore that any effort made towards development of cottage industries of the State at once opens up the question of improving the lot of handloom weavers.

It is estimated that there exist in West Bengal, today, an approximate of 147,000 handlooms. Out of these no less than 125,000 are registered. On this industry depend four and a half lakh of inhabitants of this State who derive their living out of it. The products of Bengal handlooms had at one time captured the imagination of many men and women of fashion. It commanded a lucrative trade in the markets of Europe and Asia. The muslins of Bengal have no parallel even today. It is a matter of deep regret and concern that the members of the same weaving class are today on the verge of a dangerous precipice with their very existence at stake. To solve their problem and to set things right is an urgent and pressing need which the country must face squarely.

Out of the total of 125,000 registered looms in West Bengal an approximate of 47,600 are being operated by the handloom weavers working independently, either on their own or on co-operative basis. Nearly 70,000 looms are under the control of mahajans though not directly owned by them, the balance of seven thousand odd belong to the middlemen or mahajans who operate them on the same pattern [illegible] mills, with weavers working them on payment. The workers in 77,000 looms belonging to the last two categories are weavers only in name, while in fact they are mere wage-earners working on daily pittance. The sale price of handloom products are fixed at levels much higher than their cost of production. The middleman maintains himself between the producer and the consumer and the difference in price at the two respective phases of the industry, he appropriates to himself. To produce a saree of 80 counts thread the cost of yarn and dye needed is estimated at rupees five and annas five. But its market price generally ranges between Rs. 14 and Rs. 15.

Handloom products are undoubtedly more lasting and better looking than a mill-made article of similar yarn size. But they are more expensive in comparison. It is not possible for a person of average means to go in for them always. In order to bring about a revival of the handloom industry it is necessary therefore to effect a reduction in its cost of production and sale price.

The second important factor responsible for the retrograde progress of West Bengal's handloom industry is its undesirable dependence on external agencies. To secure a supply of yarn the weavers of Bengal have to look for distant South Indian mills located in Madura and near about. To keep the one and a half lakh looms of West Bengal active it is necessary to secure about 75,000 bales of yarn. During the last three years it had not been possible for this State to procure even half the desired quantity. As a consequence, the weaver had not been able to produce at full capacity and this had resulted in his not being able to maintain himself and the family at the level of what may be termed as healthy living. One of the inevitable results of such poverty is fall of efficiency; and this leads to increased cost of labour. Moreover, whatever insufficient quantity of yarn was possible of procurement, it fell far short of the desired quality and count. A weaver used to weaving *dhoties* sometimes got yarn suitable for making a napkin and vice versa. As a direct consequence to this he had perforce to weave articles whose mode of production he was not well versed in. This led to further drop in efficiency and increase in cost of labour.

Besides, the cost of transport of yarn from South Indian mills to the homes of the West Bengal weavers had been in the region of no less than four per cent of its ex-mill price. This caused an undue rise in the cost of raw materials which he had to bear, putting him thereby at a great disadvantage as compared to his compatriot in South Indian regions.

It would be interesting at this stage to study the yarn situation in West Bengal. There are 23 mills at present in this State, engaged in the production of yarn. The total spindleage of these mills is estimated at 460,000. The total output of yarn in 1952 had been an approximate of 99,000 bales. Out of these 23 mills however 16 are of the composite types with facilities for weaving as well. They have installed in them more than a power looms. Besides, there are 23 power loom facto in West Bengal with a total strength of 1,533 po looms. They have no means of producing yarn.

West Bengal requires at least 108,000 bales of ya annually to feed these power looms. A further quan of 60,000 bales of yarn are needed to meet the needs Hosiery mills, if working at full capacity. The rema able dependence of West Bengal for its yarn supply appalling, as will be seen from the above figures. T some effective measures are taken to remedy this def stabilisation of handloom or so to say the cotton te industry, in this State will remain an uphill task.

West Bengal's need for cotton fabrics for inter consumption alone is estimated at 370 million yards year. Besides, a considerable amount of fabrics is e ported through Calcutta to neighbouring States l Assam, Manipur and Tripura, etc. Besides, there markets overseas. The annual production of fabrics this State may be stated to be 50 million yards in ha looms, 160 million yards in the mills and 13 million ya in the power looms outside the composite mills. It g without saying therefore that West Bengal's producti of cotton textiles falls far too short of her demand. Th is thus ample scope for increasing the production capac of handlooms. This can be effected by increasing t number of looms and also their efficiency."

"Statistics reveal that out of the total registered loo in West Bengal there are 10,600 throw shuttle, 111400 f shuttle and 3,000 semi-automatic looms. The first ca gory of looms possess very low productive capacity. I the interest of the handloom industry it is desirab except in cases where use of such looms is indispensab for the purpose of making of articles of specific natu that these throw shuttle looms should be replaced by t more efficient ones like the semi-automatic and "Chit ranjan," etc. In order to survive, the industry mu maintain a dynamic existence and march forward al the path of progress. In the alternative, it w perish."

"The Governments of West Bengal and the Indi Union are fully aware of the present precarious positi of the handloom industry. Efforts are being made t wards its improvement. To help sale of handloom pr ducts, a scheme has been taken in hand for establishme of 60 sales emporia at 60 different places to cover all t districts of the State. In addition, action is al being taken to equip a mobile shop. These measu are meant to bridge the gap between the producing a consuming centres and establish a closer contact betwe the weaver and his customers. Amongst other scheme being launched with immediate effect, with a view t bringing relief to the weavers are (i) establishment 12 regional dye houses so as to bring within easy rea of the weavers, dyed fabrics of standard quality reasonable prices, (ii) establishment of a central blo printing and block cutting station at the Bengal Texti

Institute at Serampore. This will offer increased scope for printing of fabrics with improved designs so as to meet the changing taste of the consuming public, (iii) to effect conversion at Government cost of 1,000 throw shuttle looms belonging to the indigent weavers to fly shuttle ones with automatic throwing device, and (iv) to introduce 250 additional semi-automatic looms at Government expenses."

"Massage Clinics"

With the influx of hundreds of thousands of uprooted young women, Calcutta was infested with a host of anti-social pests who established a large number of brothels in Calcutta, under the guise of Massage Baths and Clinics, in order to exploit the misery of those unfortunates for monetary gain. The West Bengal State is taking action against it now.

The State Assembly took serious view of the employment of women for immoral purposes in a number of so-called massage baths and clinics in Calcutta when it passed unanimously the West Bengal Clinical Establishments (Amendment) Bill, 1954.

Members so strongly expressed themselves against such massage clinics that they were ready to give Government more power to deal with this menace effectively. The House practically gave mandate to the Government that offenders should be given exemplary punishment. The Opposition, in fact, proposed that punishment for such offences should be raised to two years' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 2,000 in place of one year's imprisonment and fine of Rs. 500.

Sri M. N. Roy. A Correction

Sri H. D. Malaviya of the *A.-I.C.C. Economic Review*, sends the following correction, which we append below:

"I have seen the February, 1954 issue of *The Modern Review*, in which, on page 104, there appears a note on the late Shri M. N. Roy. I wish to draw your attention to para 3 in column 2 of page 104, in which you say that, "Immediately after he set foot on the soil of India, Comrade Roy was arrested in connection with what is known as Meerut Conspiracy Case", etc.

"I beg to bring to your notice what, I feel, is a mis-statement of fact. Firstly, Mr. Roy was not arrested after he set foot on Indian soil. Actually, I think, he remained underground for at least 1 or 2 years, if not more. He wrote a number of articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* in the name of Dr. Mahmud. I also believe that he was present at the Karachi Congress where he met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I have learnt on reliable authority that he had a hand in the drafting of the famous Karachi Fundamental Rights Resolution. Kunwar Brajesh Singh of Kalakaukar, U.P. (Dist. Partapgarh) was very intimately associated with Mr. Roy during those days, and this information I have got from him.

"Again, I will point out that Shri Roy was tried in Kanpur not in connection with Meerut Conspiracy Case but in connection with Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Mr. S. A. Dange, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, and I think, Shaukat Usmani were the other accused. They had already been tried and convicted and Mr. Roy, the fourth accused of the case, was tried after he was arrested in 1932 or 1933. It may be pointed out that the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case was the second Communist Conspiracy trial in India; first trial had taken place sometimes in 1921 or 1922 in Peshawar, known as Peshawar Conspiracy Case, in which, amongst others, Mr. Feroze Mansur was an accused. This Mr. Feroze Mansur was sometime Secretary of the Punjab Communist Party and he is now somewhere in West Pakistan, may be behind prison bars. It may be pointed out that Mr. Roy was maintaining contact with Mr. Dange and Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, etc., from Moscow, and through them was organising a Communist movement in India."

Contributory Negligence

Sri S. R. Venkata Raman of the Servants of India Society sends the following suggestion:

"A bill now before the New York State Senate Judiciary Committee seeks to replace the present doctrine of contributory negligence by a rule of comparative negligence. Under the plea of contributory negligence by the plaintiff, the defendant may escape payment of damage if he proves that the plaintiff himself contributed to his injury by his negligence however small it may be. Under the contemplated bill, a more equitable rule is sought to be introduced, enabling the plaintiff to recover damages proportionate to the plaintiff's degree of negligence. This rule of comparative negligence has been, I understand, in operation in the admiralty Courts of America much to the advantage of injured person. Why not in India?"

Unrest in Nepal

It seems the feud between the two half-brothers, B. P. and M. P. Koirala, has again assumed major dimensions. It is not known how wide this latest flare-up has been. It is a great pity that Nepal's progress should thus be hampered by party feuds.

"Kathmandu, March 28.—Mr. B. P. Koirala, President, Nepal Congress, and Mr. K. P. Upadhyaya, former Speaker of the Advisory Assembly, were arrested at a public meeting here this evening. Mr. Amir Bahadur, who was earlier wanted by the police, escaped as soon as the meeting was over. About 50,000 people attended the meeting which was one of the largest seen in recent years. A huge procession was taken out before the meeting. Mr. Koirala and Mr. Upadhyaya were arrested as they were leaving at the end of the meeting which had remained perfectly peaceful. The police then tear-gassed and lathi-charged the meeting. They also used water hoses.

"Moving a resolution against the third amendment of the Nepal Interim Act, Mr. Koirala said the present Government was a Fascist one. The rights it had withdrawn by this amendment had been won by the people after a long and bitter struggle. He appealed to all democratic parties to unite on this issue. Mr. Amir Bahadur seconded the resolution. The amendment curtails the powers of the High Courts."

The Spanish Claim on Gibraltar

Devere Allen commented in February last on Spain's agitation for Gibraltar as follows. The picture covers a wide area, and shows up the laches in the U.S. schemes for defence.

"Why this new drive by Franco's regime to keep Queen Elizabeth from stopping at Gibraltar next May? Why the revival of the Gibraltar claim? Why the student agitations? There is only one answer. Just as this column warned, U.S. aid to Franco has puffed him up and he is throwing his weight around. He attacks Britain and France to destroy their prestige in the Arab world, which Franco wants to dominate. The French in particular have left themselves open by their crudities in holding back their colonials in North Africa, even to the extent of putting over them a hand-picked sultan. There is no percentage for colonial peoples, however, in backing Franco.

The deal for bases, incidentally, is showing strange aspects. As Walter Millis has shown in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the U.S. has no assurance whatever that in case of war its Spanish bases can be used. Spain's view is that they can't be used unless Spain comes into the war on the American side. If Secretary of the Air Force Harold Talbott thinks the U.S. can just bulldoze its way into an acceptance of its viewpoint, as he appears to, he doesn't know Franco very well.

The student episode is something straight out of Hitler's book. The government at Madrid, through the Falange Party, incited the students to agitate against the British and French. When the rioting got out of hand, the government cracked down on its own tools, and then the students promptly turned on the police. There is something sad about all this: not since Franco took power have the universities been open to all qualified students. Instead, they are screened by a matriculation committee, and only those appearing subservient are allowed to get a higher education. It is not easy for an individualistic Spaniard to be turned into a robot, but Franco is willing to try.

The Catholic paper, *Ecclesia,* frankly said the other day that the people of Spain are lax in their religious devotion. They lack confidence in the regime, they are hounded by poverty. *Ecclesia* could say this because it is the sole uncensored paper in the land. The popular laxity is not hard to understand. I shall not soon forget the ragged man I saw at the cathedral in Barcelona, first making the sign of the cross, then pressing his n against a window displaying part of the cathedra golden and jewelled treasure, said to be worth two milli U.S. dollars. From such vulgarity he turned away rage, his broken shoes pounding the pavement in fury. Compare this with the dignity and simplicity of a n little Catholic church in my home town, and one c see why the people of Spain are not as devoted as th might be. *Ecclesia* was on the right track." (*Worldo Press.)*

The East German State

The Soviet Government has announced with great deal of fanfare the birth of a new State in E Germany. It is clearly stated that it would be sovereign State, as follows:

"Berlin, March 25.—The Soviet Governm today announced the end of the occupation regi in Communist East Germany and declared E Germany a sovereign State, conducting its own inte nal and external affairs. The declaration said th henceforth the task of the Soviet High Commissi would be concerned mainly with ensuring, in th interests of security, that Germany should develop a 'democratic and peace-loving State.'

"All Soviet surveillance over the East Germa State organs hitherto carried out by the High Com mission would cease. 'The German Democratic R public will be free to decide itself on its internal a external relations, including those with West Ge many,' the declaration said.

"The full text of the declaration as published b the East German News Agency *A.D.N.* was:

'The Government of the Soviet Union is unerring aiming to contribute to a solution of the Germ problem in accordance with the interests of strength ing peace and security, and the national reunificati of Germany on a democrtic basis. These aims shall b pursued by practical measures aiming at a rapproch ment of East and West Germany, the carrying out o free elections and the conclusion of a peace trea with Germany.

'In spite of the efforts of the Soviet Union, n step towards re-establishing German national uni and the conclusion of a peace treaty were taken a the recent Berlin conference of Foreign Ministers.

'In the face of this situation and as a result o negotiations of the Government of the Soviet Uni with the Government of the German Democratic R public, the Government of the U.S.S.R. deems necessary to take steps serving the interests of th German people even before the re-unification Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty, such as

(1) 'The Soviet Government establishes with th German Democratic Republic the same relations with other States.

'The German Democratic Republic will have th freedom to decide on its interior and exterior affai at its own will, including the question of relations with West Germany. The Soviet Union maintains in the German Democratic Republic the functions concerned with guaranteeing security and those resulting from the duties of the U.S.S.R. out of Four-Power agreements.

'The Soviet Government has taken note of a declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic that it acknowledges the duties arising for it from the Potsdam Agreement about the development of Germany as a democratic and peace-loving State, as well as the duties connected with the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

(3) 'Supervision of the activities of State organs of the German Democratic Republic, hitherto observed by the High Commissioner of the U.S.S.R. in Germany, will cease. In accordance herewith, the functions of the High Commissioner of the U.S.S.R. in Germany are restricted to questions resulting from the abovementioned guaranteeing of security and the maintaining of relevant contacts with representatives of the occupation authorities of the United States, Great Britain and France in questions of all-German character and such resulting from agreed decisions of the Four-Powers on Germany.

'The Government of the U.S.S.R. believes that the existence of the occupation statute, fixed by the United States, Great Britain and France for West Germany, is not only incompatible with the national rights of the German people, but also under the present circumstances makes difficult a rapprochement of East and West Germany being one of the main obstacles on the road to national reunion of Germany'."

The U. S. Government, however, is very skeptical about the sovereignty of the newly born State as the news-item below indicates:

"Washington, March 25.—The State Department said tonight the Soviet Union's grant of 'full sovereignty' to East Germany was 'sheer facade' and that that Government would collapse if Soviet troops did not support it. The department said in a statement the significant fact in the announcement was that Soviet occupation troops would remain in East Germany.

"'If those troops removed, the entire puppet regime would collapse under the weight of hatred and hostility of the populace which it has the effrontery to claim it represents,' it added."

Situation in British Honduras

It seems that the only cure for colonialism is total extinction of the infected people. After British Guiana we have now British Honduras.

According to a *Reuter* message, the Governor of British Honduras had requested the British Government for a political probe of the South American colony. A general election was to be held there on the 3rd of April for the first time with universal suffrage. The only fully organized political party in the country was the People's United Party and it was very likely to win the elections. The Governor had expressed his concern that the party had strong links with the neighbouring State of Guatemala whose Government was said to be pro-Communist.

The *People* writes with reference to the situation in British Honduras that the constitution there stood morally suspended. "The legal suspension will probably follow soon enough. Elections are to be held on April 3. It is possible they will never be held, for the popular party which is against the colonial rule is bound to be in a majority. The British Government, wiser for their experience of British Guiana, don't want any more Jagans and Burnhams. They would rather have no elections in order to avoid the inevitable suspension of the constitution that will follow the emergence of a troublesome popular majority in the legislature.

"A convenient lie is that the opposition is tainted with Communism. The truth is that both Honduras and British Guiana betray a reversal of the policy of decolonialising. There is no doubt that all this is being done with the blessing and help of America. Any anti-Communist cloak, real or false, appeals to this immature nation. Americans seem to be forgetting in their present paroxysm of panic, even the holy doctrine of Monroe."

Racial Discrimination in S. Africa

We append below a Russian view of the plague-spot of racialism. So long as these besotted Rip van Winkles are associated with the "Democratic Bloc" that camp will be viewed with suspicion by all Asiatics, excepting those that are besotted themselves.

L. Yablochkov writes: "Racism has now become the State ideology of the Union of South Africa. Through strict segregation and bloody terror the present masters of South Africa strive to keep 8,500,000 Africans and 365,000 Indians of the Union of South Africa in a state of constant fear, poverty and ignorance."

The enormity and monstrosity of the measures taken to keep the coloured and Indian peoples under subjection might be gauged from the fact that sixty-three laws, not reckoning laws of discrimination directed against all non-Europeans had been enacted against the Indian population alone from 1885 to 1946. The Indians had no representation in Parliament.

The white settlers had grabbed all good land from the native population, so that ninety per cent of the country's land now belonged to a handful of white plantation owners. The local population had been driven to so-called "native districts" or reservations which were too crowded. At the present time forty per cent of the families in the reservations had no cattle, and thousands of families had neither cattle nor land. "Hunger, poverty and heavy taxes force the inhabitants of the reservations to seek work in the cities and on the farms agreeing to any, most enslaving conditions."

Colour discrimination was a paying proposition for the white masters so far as it related to questions of labour. The African labourers were never paid wages equal to that paid to other workers. As a rule they received in wages a tenth of what was paid to the white workers, having no right to paid holiday or to a pension when they lost their capacity to work. They were debarred from resorting to strikes for a redress of their grievances under pains of imprisonment. The Africans were deprived of their right to move freely through the country by the introduction of a complicated system of passes and were thus virtually bound to their place of work. One could appreciate the miserable conditions, under which the native population were forced to live, from the fact that according to official data 65.3 per cent African children and 85.6 per cent Indian children were underfed. Chronic undernourishment and disease sent to the grave 242 out of 1000 new-born infants up to one year, 327—up to 2 years, and only 492 children live to the age of 16.

The national income of South Africa, writes Yablochkov, amounted to 1,200 million pounds sterling. Of this only 32 million, *i.e.*, less than 3 per cent fell to the share of 8,500,000 Africans. Twenty-six lakh Europeans received more than 90 per cent. The State spent 15 million pounds sterling a year on the education of 450,000 European children while for 872,000 non-European children attending school it spent only 5 million pounds sterling.

The coloured people were sent to prisons on the slightest pretext and the Government loaned prisoners to white proprietors and received two shillings a day for each of them. During 1951, 800,000 non-Europeans had been sentenced for violating all kinds of discriminatory laws and decrees.

Parliamentary Report on Kenya

A six-man British Parliamentary Delegation visited Kenya between the 8th and 26th January. On February 18, the report of their tour was placed before the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for the colonies, Mr. Lyttleton.

The report says that notwithstanding the state of emergency, the expansion of the Regular Police force and the presence of five battalions of British troops in Kenya, "the influence of Mau Mau in the Kikuyu area, except in certain localities, has not declined, it has, on the contrary, increased." All political activity on the part of the Africans was virtually banned with the outlawing of their principal political organization, the Kenya African Un The Government had not succeeded in rallying mass of the Kikuyu to the side of law and order.

Even in Nairobi, the influence of the Mau M was very effective. "Mau Mau orders are carried in the heart of the city, Mau Mau 'courts' sit judgment and their sentences are carried out . . The mass of Africans in Nairobi were leading passive resistance movement. For example, they started a "bus boycott" movement under wh Africans had for several months boycotted Europe owned buses.

A Commission of Enquiry into the police fo had found disturbing signs of bribery and corrupt in the lower levels of the Kenya police. But Parliamentary Delegation felt it their duty to on record their own serious disquiet on these other points, appertaining to the police and to and order generally. They referred to "the fact th brutality and malpractices by the police ha occurred on a scale which constitutes a threat public confidence in the forces of law and ord Official records with which we were provided, sh that there have been 130 prosecutions for brutal among the police forces, ending in 73 convictio Forty cases are pending. There have also been prosecutions for corruption of which there were convictions; 13 are pending. These are significa figures, representing much larger numbers of com plaints received by the authorities, investigated a not proceeded with because they could not proved or were disproved by investigation. An ev larger volume of complaints, many no doubt false b others possibly justified, are said to have been ma to people in close touch with Africans."

The Delegation suggested that a "reorganisati of the police, from the highest level downward should be accompanied by stern action to enfo proper discipline and a right approach to the gene public." The Report expresses the anxiety of t Delegation at the attitude of a section of Europe public who had been openly proclaiming their sy pathy with the European members of the Secur forces who were accused of brutality and committi other offences. The Europeans had started a fu with the object of paying the legal expenses of su European officers. The Report says that, "Activity this kind, taken in conjunction with protests in t press and elsewhere when proceedings are institu against Europeans in the security forces, is tan mount to giving moral support to breaches of the la

Referring to the relations between the Gover ment and the people the Report says:

> "If the Government has not succeeded diminishing the sway of Mau Mau over the ma of Kikuyu people, equally it has not yet secur the full support, loyalty and understanding of t

majorities in all the racial communities outside the Kikuyu."

The Delegation noted widespread colour bar in Kenya and suggested that there must be more rapid progress in Kenya towards destroying the colour bar. "At Government level we believe the time is ripe for an examination of laws, with a view to eliminating discrimination. It is also at Government level that a lead may most appropriately be given in the economic sphere, by payment for the job rather than the occupant . . ."

Referring to the economic life in Kenya, the Report says that the basis of life in Kenya at the present time and in the foreseeable future was agriculture and its dependent industries. There was practically no industry in Kenya before the Second World War. No remarkable progress was noticeable in that direction since that time, though undoubtedly something had been done.

There was serious overpopulation in areas where Africans owned the land. In the European areas as well as in some other areas there were lands which were undeveloped. The Delegation did not deal with these matters in detail, leaving that to the Royal Commission now at work on all aspects of land and land use in Kenya but said, "Whatever adjustments in this field are eventually made as a result of the work of the Royal Commission we feel that there should be a declaration once more of the determination on the part of the United Kingdom that in Kenya, the objective is a multi-racial society in which the rights of all men are safeguarded, and not the domination of one race by another, or of the whole country by and for one race."

We hope that declaration will not only be made, but given effect to. The *New Herrenvolk* of Kenya should be made to understand that their dinosaur mentality would only lead to their extinction.

Hindi and the Regional Languages

Referring to the controversy about the medium of instruction in the Universities, Sri Maganbhai P. Desai writes in the *Harijan*, March 20, that until freedom had been won three things were taken as generally accepted that

"(a) The mother tongue should take the place of English as the medium of instruction;

"(b) the provinces in India, ill-arranged as they were from the national point of view, should be re-arranged linguistically;

"(c) Hindusthani should be the national language for inter-provincial intercourse and Central administration."

But after the achievement of freedom, to some people these principles appeared to demand a reconsideration. The first principle—that the true medium of education was the language of the child—was a universally accepted principle, "and there need arise no question on it." But unhappily the supporters of Hindi as the national language wanted to impose that language as a medium of education also chiefly in the name of Indian unity, adducing minor academic considerations in favour of their argument like migration of teachers and students and the availability of competent teachers.

Exposing the fallacy of such argument Sri Desai writes that provision of the above facilities could not be the *sine qua non* of a medium. Had it been so "it would lead us into the absurd position of having one world language for all Universities. But we know that it is not necessary; nor is it feasible."

Regarding the plea of unity of India, Sri Desai writes that there was no danger of the disruption of the unity of India by adopting regional or provincial languages as the medium of instruction. On the contrary, the imposition of Hindi would lead people to think in terms of Hindi imperialism and would thus lead to the growth of a more dangerous type of provincialism and parochialism thereby disrupting the unity of India.

So long our Universities had simply played second fiddle to the British Universities. Henceforth, the role of our Universities also would have to change. "It will have to concern itself with training of three sections within society—the elite, the specialists and the residual mass." That three-fold education could not be democratic unless instructions were to be given in the mother tongue.

The provincial languages were moreover free from Hindi revivalist and communal considerations in contra-distinction to Hindi where such revivalist and communal considerations were trying to assert their narrow values and disrupt the march of true national growth.

Hindi could moreover hardly claim its precedence as a medium of instruction on the fact of its sufficient development. Hindi was as much undeveloped, if not more, as were the regional languages. Sri Desai reminds everybody that the people had lent their support to the national language movement on the clearest understanding that Hindusthani was "not designed to replace the provincial languages, but was intended to supplement them and to be used for inter-provincial contact." (Gandhiji)

Sri Desai emphatically says that the regional languages should immediately be adopted as the medium of instruction in the Universities with Hindi as a compulsory second language.

We support Sri Maganbhai Desai without any reservation. He is correct in laying emphasis on the incorrect and anti-national character of the Hindi revivalist movement.

His statement that Hindi was as undeveloped as the regional languages is very moderate. Hindi has to go very far yet before it can catch up with two or three regional languages.

French Methods in Pondichery

Colonialism dies hard. We see the results of it in Indo-China, as does the sane portion of the world. But French colonialism is evidently of the die-hard type and the reactions to that have begun in the French pockets as the following bits of news show:

"Pondichery, March 19.—M. Edouard Goubert and four Ministers of the French India Government declared today that the French Indian Settlements should be merged with the Indian Union without any referendum.

"At a Press Conference held here, the five French Indian Ministers said that they 'whole-heartedly' supported the resolution passed yesterday by the Municipal Councils of the eight Communes of French Settlements, demanding merger of these Settlements with the Indian Union without a referendum.

"The Municipal Councils of these eight Communes passed unanimously separate resolutions which declared that 'since the tendency of the population is asserting today in favour of merger with the Indian Union without referendum, we request the French Government to take urgent and necessary measure to that effect.' Copies of these resolutions had been cabled to the President of the Republic of France, the President of the Council of Ministers, Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Overseas Territories and to the Presidents of the Houses of the French Parliament.

"M. Goubert told the Press Conference attended by the other four Ministers and the Councillors of the eight Communes that a copy of this resolution had also been sent to the Prime Minister of India. He said that a meeting of the French Indian Cabinet to be held before March 27 would also pass a resolution unanimously demanding the merger of the French Indian Settlements with the Indian Union without a referendum. He said their decision on the merger issue 'was irrevocable whatever might be the consequences.'

"Asked whether the French Indian Governor, M. Andre Menard would not dissolve the Cabinet if the Cabinet insisted on passing this resolution, M. Goubert declared that the Ministers of the French Indian Cabinet were responsible to the Assembly and hence the Governor could not dissolve the Cabinet without special decree from France."

"Pondicherry, March 27.—A non-violent mass movement for the merger of the French Indian settlements with India was launched today in four communes of Pondicherry by the French India Socialist Party with the support of other Nationalist parties.

"The communes—Bahoor, Kallapet, Mettapalayam, and Mannadipet—are separated from Pondicherry proper by a strip of Indian Union territory.

"In Karaikal, where Indian flags are reported be fluttering from housetops, a procession, defying the ban on the assembly of two or more persons, lathi-charged and eight processionists were arrested. A crowd of about 200 persons which had gathered the place was later dispersed by the police.

"In the Kallapet commune yesterday, a police chief and his party joined a crowd of local people in shouting Jai Hind. The police party was sent the place on news that the Indian flag had been hoisted there. On arrival, the police was told that had no authority over the people who had declared themselves Indian citizens and their territory part India. The policemen were then asked to join the movement.

"The civil disobedience movement in Karaikal was launched by the Karaikal National Youth Congress. Mr. R. Ramasrinivasan, President of the Congress, with six volunteers, clad in white khaddar and carrying Indian flags and placards reading "French Imperialism Quit" and "We don't want a referendum" took out a procession. Nationalist leaders Karaikal have strongly condemned the lathi-charge and the arrest of the volunteers."

"Paris, March 28.—The Overseas Ministry today denied that the French police in Pondicherry had violated the Indian frontier to arrest Mr. Nandgopal, Mayor of Mudaliarpet.

"The Government statement said, Mr. Nandgopal was arrested on French territory at the same time as two Indian nationals, who were later released after their identities had been verified.

"The French statement added: 'This could be another tendentious incident in the campaign being carried out by New Delhi with a view to annexing our settlements'."

French Pockets in India

The Municipal Councils of eight Communes of French Settlements in India passed a resolution on March 18 demanding merger of these settlements with the Indian Union without a referendum and requested the French Government "to take urgent necessary measures to that effect." On March 19, the five Ministers of the French India Government declared their whole-hearted support to the resolution. On behalf of the French India Ministers, M. Edouard Goubart said in a Press Conference in Pondicherry that their decision on the merger issue "was irrevocable whatever might be the consequence."

Immediately the French authorities let loose a reign of terror against the people who wanted merger with India. The authorities sent police parties to various parts of the French Settlements to warn people against demonstratoins for merger.

The Government of India in a Note handed to the French ambassador in New Delhi drew the attention of the French Government to the incident in the French possessions in India. The Note said that the resolution passed by the President and Ministers of the Representative Assembly of Pondicherry and by Mayors of the Communes should be regarded as complete an expression of the wishes of the people as was possible in the existing circumstances.

Referring to the merger agitation in Pondicherry, Pandit Nehru said in the House of the People on March 22: "Now that the people, as represented by the municipal communes, as well as the industrial workers, have clearly expressed their views, the point as to what the people desire should at any rate be treated as settled." The next step, he said, should be a peaceful transfer of power. Speaking on the following day on the demand for the External Affairs Ministry, Pandit Nehru said that the time had arrived for a rapid *de facto* transfer of power in French India, to be followed later by a *de jure* transfer.

The French authorities, however, were not ready to concede the just demands of the people for merger and they were reported to be of the view that there could be no merger with India without a referendum. And in their efforts to put down pro-merger elements armed people from French Settlements even did not hesitate to violate Indian territory from where they arrested and took away the Mayor of Mudaliarpet and two Indian citizens.

In reply to a question in the House of the People, Pandit Nehru criticized these incidents and said that steps had been taken to prevent a repetition of such incidents. And it was only after the vigorous protests of the Government of India that the two Indian citizens were freed.

A mass movement was launched on March 27 for the merger of French Indian Settlements with India. Meanwhile the French authorities had banned the assembly of two or more persons in Pondicherry as well as processions and demonstrations. By a decree of the French Government in Paris, the meeting of the French India Representative Assembly, scheduled to meet in Pondicherry on March 27, had been postponed indefinitely.

Foreign Pockets in India

Happenings in Portuguese and French India are exercising the minds of our people. Clear statements on these have been made by our Prime Minister on March 16 and March 26. We append the statements below:

"New Delhi, March 16.—The House of the People today received with cheers a statement by Prime Minister Nehru that 'the way things are continuing to happen in Goa strains one's patience to the utmost.'

"The Deputy Leader of the Communist group, Sri Hiren Mukherjee, had asked in a supplementary to a question put by a Congress member, Mr. Joachim Alva, about the arrest of Dr. Gaitonde and stopping of the car of the Indian Consul-General at Goa, 'when Portugal is obviously determined to retain Goa as one of her possessions and when under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, Britain has given a guarantee, according to Dr. Salazar in 1949, to defend Portuguese territories overseas, will India make it plain that she cannot indefinitely desist from answering the cry of agony which comes from her peoples in that area?'

"The Prime Minister replied, 'India has made it perfectly clear what our intentions are in regard to Goa. It seems inconceivable that any foreign pocket like Goa should continue in India. It is true we believe that the best way to solve this question is peaceful even though they may take a little time, but I must confess the way things are continuing in Goa have strained our patience to the utmost. As for the member's reference to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, I cannot say what the consequences of the Treaty may be in regard to the matter legally speaking nor I am prepared to take Mr. Salazar's interpretation of the Treaty. It has been clearly stated by many countries that this external treaties have no application to Goa in India'."

"Kanpur, March 26.—Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, declared in the midst of cheers and applause that the foreign pockets would no longer be allowed to continue in this country. The Prime Minister, who was addressing a gathering of over two lakhs of people in the Phool Bagh under the auspices of the City Congress Committee this evening, called upon the people to realise the responsibility that had devolved on them after the attainment of freedom.

"He laid very great emphasis on establishing complete unity among all classes of people and strongly deprecated communalism which, he said, had done immense harm to the country and would further prove detrimental if it was not checked with strong hands. It was really a pity, he added, that provincialism still continued to dominate the people and they forgot that, in fact, every piece of land belonged to the country and all should try to contribute towards building the happy and prosperous India.

"Sri Nehru continued that India was a democratic country and the real power lay in the hands of the people. Freedom had recently been won at the cost of great sacrifice and sufferings by a large number of people. The freedom was our birth-right and we had to preserve it. New and greater responsibilities had fallen on the shoulders of the people. Everyone in the country should realise that this freedom should be defended with all the might at command. The defence of freedom, he continued, did not merely depend on a big army but it is to be defended by everyone on the roads, markets, fields and villages. Unity was essential for this purpose.

"Sri Nehru said that India was one of the backward countries in the world. He had dreamt of making this country one of the most advanced ones, economically, culturally, morally and otherwise. A tremendous task, therefore, lay ahead of them. There were dangers and difficulties which were to be overcome and surmounted.

"Sri Nehru said that the world was taking a peculiar turn and nobody knew what was to happen. With new scientific developments people had attained the power of destruction. He added that this tremendous power could be used both ways either for destruction or for prosperity. The trend, he continued, was that people were using this power for the destruction of the humanity. It was, therefore, obviously necessary that people of this country should keep their minds cool and well balanced and avoid mutual dissensions. The need of the hour was unity amongst all classes of people."

Sales Tax in India

Sri H. Laxminarain writes in an article in the *A.-I.C.C. Economic Review* that the revenue possibilities of sales tax were very great. But at present there was no uniformity system in the country regarding the sales tax. The amount as well as the method of levy varied from one State to another. Mysore had a sales tax of 3 pies per rupee while in West Bengal, the rate was 9 pies per rupee. Bombay and Mysore had multi-point taxes.

Sri Laxminarain writes that a single-point tax was preferable from all points of view. The consumer was under a heavier burden under the multi-point tax system. It also placed the small dealer at a disadvantage compared to the bigger manufacturer-*cum*-dealer. The multi-point system also encouraged greater tendency to horizontal integration with all the evils of such integration. "The multi-point system imposes larger burden on trade and industry generally." From the Government's point of view also the administrative difficulties under the multi-point system were greater than under the single-point system.

Most of the States, however, had a single-point tax. It was highly desirable to achieve uniformity both as regards the system and the rate of tax, writes Sri Laxminarain.

The Finance Ministers' conference held in October, 1953, had considered the question of uniformity of sales tax and had appointed a high level committee to go into the question of uniform policy. Regarding essential goods the conference had reached some conclusions. These conclusions, according to Sri Laxminarain, were, "Firstly, no tax should be levied at any stage for the sale or purchase of foodstuffs and raw materials for import industries; secondly, on other goods taxes not more than six pies per rupee at the point of sale to consumers should be levied and tax should be a single-point tax; lastly, the S Governments should alter as soon as possible existing law so as to these principles."

Indo-Burmese Rice Deal

The Government of India has entered into agreement with the Burmese Government for purchase of 9 lakh tons of rice at an average rate £48 per ton f.o.b. Rangoon. According to a statem made by the Union Food Minister in the Council States, the supply of rice will be spread over a pe of three years, the option being left to the Burm Government to supply all the rice even in one y In the event of the supply being spread over th years, the price will be £50 per ton during the f year, £48 per ton during the second year and £46 ton in the third year. The average rate of £48 apply if the whole quantity is supplied in one y Of the 9 lakh tons of rice, 3.5 lakh tons will be bo rice and the rest will be "small mills specials." T boiled rice is being specifically procured to serve needs of Travancore-Cochin. It is reported that out of £48 paid for each ton of rice, will be adjus against Burma's outstanding debt to India amount to Rs. 75 crores.

The main object of this agreement is to build reserve stock with a view to ensuring supply in t event of crop failure. Part of the imported rice be distributed among the deficit States for enabl them to maintain their existing scale of rice rati The balance will be supplied in the rationed areas the States to the consumers without quantitat limitations. Such supply to the deficit States will in addition to whatever quantities they have the selves procured or will procure and the quanti received by them from the surplus States. T Government of India would advise surplus States give up their procurement as soon as a certain fig is reached. If, however, prices at any time go bel the economic level and surplus stocks were offered Government agents, the Government would purch such quantities. The Union Government are al contemplating to resume export of finer varieties rice in order to give an opportunity for those peop in foreign countries who were accustomed to u Indian rice in the pre-war years to have their requir ments. The exports, however, will be made Government.

The agreement has been subjected to a good de of adverse criticism. The price agreed upon to paid, which averages £48 a ton, is very high, as it claimed that the real value of the rice is £30 to £ per ton. Moreover, it is alleged that the stocks rice which Burma wants to dispose of, belonged the previous year and had deteriorated in qualit The rice is being repolished for purposes of exp

Such rice, it is reported, is unfit for human consumption. It is also being criticised that there is no necessity at all for importing Burma rice for building up of reserve stocks, for there is enough surplus rice and other grains in the country to meet the needs of the people. Indeed, after so much trumpeting that India has produced enough rice this year and she will not need to import rice, the agreement to buy Burma rice is really an anticlimax. Further, a section of public opinion is disappointed over the agreement, as it does not cover provisions for the settlement of the question of Indian-owned property in Burma, which valued at about Rs. 90 crores.

Travancore-Cochin Ministry

A new experiment in democraitc practice in legislatures came into being with the two following news bulletins :

"Trivandrum, March 16.—Two weeks after the general elections, which gave no party absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly, a Ministry formed by the 19-member Praja-Socialist Party was installed in office in Travancore-Cochin today.

"Sixty-eight-year old Sri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, veteran politician of the State, heads the first P.S.P. Government to be formed in any State in India. Immediately after the swearing in, Sri Thanu Pillai drove to the Secretariat and assumed charge of office there. The care-taker Ministry, headed by Mr. A. J. John, relinquished office shortly before 2-30 p.m.

"The P.S.P. leader stated in an interview immediately after his appointment as Chief Minister that he expected support of all parties in the Assembly. 'I do not see any reason why I should not get the support from all sections of the House,' he said.

"Sixty-eight-year old Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai has been in public life since 1927. As President of the State Congress from 1938 to 1947, he led the popular struggle for responsible Government in Travancore."

"Trivandrum, March 15.—Sri Panampilli Govinda Menon, leader of the 45-member-Congress-Legislature-Party in the Travancore-Cochin Assembly, said that there was a 'good deal in common' between his party and the P.S.P. The Congress Party being in a minority in the Assembly although the largest single party, was not anxious to form a Government, he said. But the party wanted to avoid President's Rule in the State as far as possible. Its policy would be such as 'to facilitate a democratic set up' in the State.

"Sri Govinda Menon added, the Congress Party would not obstruct the formation of a Government 'whether by the United Front of Leftists or the Praja-Socialist Party.' But, he said, 'we may not extend our co-operation to the Communist and their fellow travellers as there is little in common between us. We can and will extend co-operation to the P.S.P. because we consider that there is a good deal in common between us."

P. S. P. Ministry in Tra-Cochin

Welcoming the formation of the P.S.P. Ministry in Travancore-Cochin, the *Vigil* writes editorially that the Central leadership of the P.S.P. was to be congratulated for the "bold and unorthodox decision" it took in Madras of not forming a coalition ministry with either the Congress or the Communist-dominated United Front of Leftists.

Having fought the general elections against the Congress with an electoral understanding with the U.F.L. a coalition with the Congress would have meant a betrayal of the people who had deliberately voted against a renewal of Congress rule. A coalition with the Communists on the other hand was against the principle for which the P.S.P. stood. Moreover, it would have led to a split in the P.S.P. itself. Yet if the party had remained neutral regarding the formation of a ministry it would have been charged by all as having been responsible for bringing about the President's rule and as a consequence of which it would have heavily suffered in the next elections.

Under these difficult circumstances the National Executive of the party rose equal to the occasion. "At every turn the Central leadership put a healthy curb on the impatience of the local leadership and perhaps, its desire for office, involving dangerous compromises," notes the paper.

The paper commends the Congress for its offer of support to the P.S.P. Ministry and says that the success of the ministry would depend upon its popular character. It could not hope to carry on as a party government, therefore, it would have to try to carry with it all the parties in the legislature, at least "the national and democratic parties and groups in the State."

Referring to the Communist charges of betrayal of electoral understanding, the newspaper writes that the Communist Party could not be unaware of the decisions adopted at the last annual conference of the P.S.P. at Allahabad in December rejecting any coalition with the Communist Party. "It was with great difficulty, and on the solemn word given by Sri Thanu Pillai that he had committed himself to nothing beyond an electoral arrangement with the Communists to avoid triangular contests, that the conference endorsed the arrangement made by the National Executive. As for any possible coalition with the Communists, the conference was definitely against it. Only on the almost unanimous persuasion of the leadership did the conference pass a resolution contemplating a possible U.F.L. Government with P.S.P. support from outside."

Moreover, in rejecting a coalition with the U.F.L. the National Executive of the P.S.P. had been guided by practical consideration of maintaining the unity of the party. If there had been a local understanding between the P.S.P. and the Communist Party, the

Central Executive had known nothing of it. Sri Thanu Pillai had denied it.

The P.S.P. had received the backing of Congress without any political commitment whereas if it had formed a ministry with the Communists it would have to make compromises. The combined strength of the P.S.P. and the Communists whether in votes or seats in the legislature was less than that of the P.S.P. backed by the Congress. "The P.S.P. Government, as it is now formed, is, therefore, more democratic than it would have been if it had been formed in combination with the Communists."

The Communist wrath was, therefore, clearly born of disappointment and frustration. They had been outmanœuvred by the P.S.P. in the matter of forming a ministry, says the *Vigil*.

But all the same, the P.S.P. is in a most curious situation in Tra.-Cochin. There is no parallel to this government in the history of parliamentary or democratic practice. Much will depend, of course, on the actual working of the ministry, regarding the stability of this arrangement.

Anti-Rajaji Moves in Madras

"A first rate crisis is brewing in the Madras Congress Legislature Party and a bid for leadership is on, according to well-informed sources," writes the Madras Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

He adds: "Clouds have gathered and all politicians are looking forward to March 24, probable date for the next Congress Party meeting. Lobby circles set great store by this meeting which would prove 'momentous'."

According to the correspondent, a number of the Congress Legislators had become irreconcilably antagonistic to Rajaji. Rajaji's elementary education scheme had become one of the main targets of attack of his opponents. A majority of the Congress legislators is said to be against the scheme. But Rajaji was determined to go ahead with it. In the ensuing party meeting there would surely be a tussle between those two groups.

It was however expected that with the return of Kamaraja Nadar, who was away in Malaya, in time for the Party meeting "the thundering clouds would disperse without making any noise."

The Correspondent writes that Sri Rajagopalachari was expected to make a surprise statement at the meeting. Rajaji is reported to have offered to quit if his education scheme was assured of vigorous implementation. The possibility of a last-minute device by which Rajaji might be able to continue was also not wholly ruled out. Failing that he was likely to quit by the first fortnight of April. "But the chances are that his exit would come sooner than expected."

There was much activity among high Congress circles regarding the appointment of a successor to Rajaji. According to one plan Kamaraja or one of his men would head the Party while one Minister of the present Cabinet would become the Chief Minister. Among those often mentioned as the likely successors of Rajaji were Mr. C. Subramanian, Finance Minister in the Present Cabinet and a trusted lieutenant of Rajaji; Raja of Ramanathapuram, Minister of Public Works and Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Agriculture.

Later reports said that Mr. Rajagopalachari had asked for and obtained the permission of Sri Nehru to relinquish office.

At the time of going to press it is reported from Madras that the Congress Legislature Party had elected Sri K. Kamaraja Nadar as its leader in place of Sri C. Rajagopalachari who laid down his leadership before the Party.

Thus ends the political career, through a graceful and voluntary exit, of perhaps the most brilliant and determined character after Sardar Patel, in the Old Guard of the Congress.

Mental Cases in Bombay Colleges

The Council for Mental Hygiene, which had conducted a "personality test" survey among 1200 college students of the Bombay University recently, found that thirteen to fifteen per cent of Bombay's college students were maladjusted or unstable and would benefit by psychiatric counselling or guidance, reports Mr. Thomas Coutinho in the *Bombay Chronicle* on March 22.

In all there were six universities in Bombay State with 111 affiliated colleges imparting knowledge to about 50,000 students. Applying the rule of averages it would mean that about 7,500 college students in the State were to some extent immature or unstable. However, that might not be the case in practice.

According to the report the Council had also applied the same test to 200 students of the London University in order to make a comparative study. The Survey was to be continued and a comparative study of students in other Western and Asian countries would also be made.

In view of the student disturbances in West Bengal and U.P., such investigations may be revealing.

World Languages

According to the *Courier*, Unesco's monthly publication, some 3,000 languages were spoken throughout the world. Of the thirteen major languages, Chinese (including all its dialects) topped the list, followed by English, Hindi-Urdu, Russian, Spanish, German, Japanese and French. English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese were the official U.N. languages.

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PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

BY SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJEE,

Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly

BEFORE I speak of "Parliamentary Democracy in India," I ought to say something about the background and basis of this new form of Government in our country which has been declared to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic. This vast country of ours with a population of 360 million people speaking more than 25 different languages, professing different faiths, observing different manners and customs, taking to different foods and dresses used to widely varying climatic conditions, was never before in her long course of history governed under one Constitution by a Central Government. The glimpses of different types of Government at different times in our past history and in our ancient literature do not give any indication of any particularly uniform type to suit all parts of the country, particularly suitable for the twentieth century conditions of the problems of Government of so vast a country of varying nature of population. The framers of our first constitution, therefore, examined various constitutions in different countries of the world. Some critics say our constitution is a blind copy of such and such a model. Is that a correct view? Is it really a blind copy of any constitution of any country? Framers of our constitution have, of course, taken full advantage of the achievements and mistakes of the great constitution-makers of different countries in modern times and adjusted the collective wisdom of the world with the special needs of our country. The magnitude of the problem therefore will be apparent when we set about preparing the instrument for making the adult population of this country—roughly 175 million people, really sovereign so far as the Government of the country is concerned or in other words when we begin preparing a constitution which will preserve democracy and will be the surest guarantee of Democracy.

Before I proceed to illustrate how our constitution has produced and safeguarded a democratic constitution it will be necessary to examine briefly what Parliamentary Democracy connotes as it has developed in western countries by a process of evolution through several centuries. Democracy never claims to be a perfection at any stage. It is based on the fundamental conception that it is always changing and growing for the better and creating some conditions which are conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number although trying to do good for all. Its doors have always been kept open for admission into its folds newer and newer thoughts and better plans of action. It is therefore a continuous process and not a hide-bound steel-frame rigid structure. It is always capable of adjustment and expansion. Its framework always admits of development and improvement by tightening one or more screws here or one or more bolts there or one or more plates somewhere, the ultimate objective being always to create a better structure and in this operation it is the process of evolutionary change which is known as democracy and not the ultimate structure that stands erected. This process naturally requires a watchful vigilance so that in the course of change a false step or handling may not make the whole structure tumble down. Two methods are therefore needed always for successful functioning of this process of growth; an evolutionary method always attempting to improve the existing condition and a watchful method always attempting to see that evolutionary process does not proceed on a false path so as to lead to ruin and destruction and in this continuous process there are two distinct forces always working on opposite directions. In the case of democratic Government, therefore, there are always needed these force and counterforce; one being represented by the majority party responsible for running the democratic Government and the other being represented by opposition functioning as a watchful band ready to take over charge when the action of the Government force has not the support of the majority. Democratic Government therefore is the most difficult art of Government of a country which is nothing but Government by discussion. The very word 'Parliament' owes its origin from 'Parleys' or talks and discussions amongst several men. The two fundamental characteristics of Parliamentary democracy are:

(i) The Government by discussion and decision of the majority, and

(ii) unequivocal acquiscence of the minority in the decision of the majority.

This set-up of a parliamentary Government through a democratic constitution through representatives of the people chosen by means of universal suffrage of adult franchise necessarily implies formation of different political parties representing different view-points of the people in the country. In parliamentary institutions, therefore, today it is a matter for anxious consideration as to how far discussions and deliberations on the floor of the Parliament can influence decisions as in every democratic parliament rigid rules and discipline of party constitutions by means of party whips determine votes in the Parliament. No amount of argument or oratory can influence the decision of individual members as far as their vote on particular issues before the houses of parliament. But still good sound and convincing opposite views and speeches have their direct reactions on the majority sometimes belated, but sometimes indirectly through the pressure of public opinion that they succeed in creating in public mind outside the house. People generally are expected to have the commonsense to judge what is good or bad for them. The test of democracy and its success depends on how far through press and publicity the discussions and deliberations within the parliamentary institutions may have their reflections on public opinion outside so as to mould the decisions of the general body of men in the country at the time of the periodical general elections when the entire people have the opportunity to express their opinion by their votes to form their own Government. It presupposes therefore existence of opposing political parties for successful functioning of parliamentary democracy. That is why in the British system of parliamentary democracy which has grown up through a process of evolution through several centuries by means of usage and conventions without any written constitution the opposition party in parliament is called His Majesty's Opposition and the Leader of the Opposition is an essential adjunct in Governmental machinery and is paid a salary out of the State Exchequer.

In our first Constitution our Democratic Republic has been formed with an elected President as the head of the State and we have so far as the conduct of parliamentary institutions is concerned followed the powers, privileges and immunities of the British House of Commons, the mother of Parliaments. To a dispassionate student of constitutional history, the British model which has grown through conventions established through several centuries in the present form of monarchical Government headed by the Prime Minister responsible to the House of Commons with an official Leader of the Opposition is the best example of Parliamentary democracy. The other European countries, for instance Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, are all on the British model with the monarchical form of Government headed by the Prime Minister, who is responsible to the Legislative Houses. In some other European countries, for instance France, Ireland, Italy and Finland the Government is republic with President at its head, but is headed by the Prime Minister responsible to the Legislature. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa—all Commonwealth countries—the model is practically the British model with Prime Minister as the head and the Governor-General appointed by the King being the constitutional head of the Government. The American Constitution which has also its roots in democracy, has developed a new convention where the head of the State, *viz.*, the President, is also like the members of the Congress and the Senate elected directly by the people with a far greater mandate of executive responsibility than perhaps the Prime Minister of England. The President may have a majority in one House of the Congress and not in another. Even with majority in both he may not have his way. He cannot control either House directly and he has no powers to dissolve it. He can persuade, cajole and threaten, but the life of the American Legislature, continues independently of its will. He sends to it the proposals, but the Congress makes up its own mind what it will do with them. It has an authority of equal legal standing with him in the determination of its policy. If he cannot secure what he wants from the members he has no way of appealing to the electorate against their decision. With the Americans the Congress may have a different party complexion from that of the President and his Cabinet colleagues. Even when the President's party has a majority in both Houses he has no certainty that he will have his way. His defeat does not create a crisis in his party. in America the President yields power so in other d cratic countries of Europe in both monarchical an publican forms of Government it is the leader of majority party who is the Prime Minister and who f the Cabinet with collective responsibility that comm the confidence of the majority of the House and r the country by directing its policy which is teste the time of every general reference to people. In this matter the Government of the S Republic has taken a further forward step in democr *viz.*, of carrying on of the Government of the co through the will of the people. The Swiss stitution provides for referendum in respect of e legislative measure passed by the Parliament if the people throws out any legislative mea the Government has to bow down to it. Switzerland being a small country constant referen is possible which is not within the range of prac politics in a country vast in area and population.

The success of a democratic form of Governm therefore, will depend upon the spirit of toleration the members of parliament and respective poli parties would be able to generate in the entire co amongst the people and upon the consciousness of people of the value of the sacred right of franchise. T of the best forms of working democracy in a country the consciousness of the people of that country that electorate is the sovereign to which all political par must ultimately rely and it is their verdict through ballot box given periodically that will guide the des of the nation for a certain period. The epithet the people deserves its own Government therefore an absolutely true saying in democracy. Simply cause in a country which is following a democratic up of parliamentary institutions there are turmoils, motions, conflagrations and disturbances of peace some dislocation of normal life, it cannot lead to conclusion that democracy is a failure. If we go and probe into the causes of such situations in de cratic countries in some parts of the world it is beca there the Government and the party in power have been able to perform satisfactorily their duty of p perly educating the electorate to a sense of balance toleration and to a sense of awareness and vigilance regard to their soverign rights of forming their Government.

Let me now summarise from our Constitution Democratic form of Parliamentary Government functioning in India under her new first Constitutio Ours is a union of States or a Federal form of Gove ment. The federating units being 9 A class St 8 B class States and 10 C class States, Andaman Nicobar islands being the only D class. The law-ma ing powers of the Union Legislature and of the State Leg latures are clearly defined by three exhaustive lists in seventh schedule to the Constitution known as Union Li the State List and Concurrent List. In Union the Parl ment consists of the President and two Houses of the Legislature, *viz.*, the House of the People and the Council of States. In the States the Legislature consists of the Governor and one House known as Legislative Assembly, except in case of six 'A' class States it also consists of another House known as Legislative Council. The Constitution of the House of the People which is the law making body of the Central Government is that it will consist of representatives of the people not exceeding 500. For choosing such 500 representatives on a uniform basis the States have been divided into territorial constituencies and the number of members to be allotted to each such constituency has been so determined as to ensure that there shall be not less than one representative for every 7,50,000 of population and not more than one member for every 5,00,000 of the population. Such representation in the case of State Legislature is on the basis of not more than one member for every 75,000 of the population. Upon the completion of each census the representation of the several territorial constituencies in the House of the People as also in the Legislative Assembly of each State are re-adjusted. The Council of State in the Centre and the Legislative Councils in the 6 A class States are created by method of indirect election by the members of Legislatures and other special electoral colleges such as Local Bodies and Graduates. These second chambers are provided for in the Constitution following the precedents in other Parliaments of some Commonwealth countries and U.S.A. as a possible check against hasty legislation by the lower house. Whether these upper houses serve the purpose of democracy in India intended by the constitution-makers is a matter for future historians and constitutional experts to judge and the constitution itself provides for means of abolition of such councils and creation of such in states where they do not exist. President of the Republic is elected by a uniform method of election by the members of all State Legislatures and the House of the People and the time of office of the President is co-extensive with the life of Parliament and Assemblies. The Governor of a State is nominated by the President. Although the executive power of the Union vests in the President and that of the States in the Governors they are not responsible to the members of the legislative bodies and this responsibility is cast on the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Ministers of States who select their respective council of ministers commonly known as 'Cabinet' with collective responsibility from the members of the Houses. President and the Governor respectively are aided in their executive functions and duties by this council of ministers. As time passes on healthy convention is to be grown and established in India between the respective powers of the President and the Governor and the extent of aid and advice tendered by the Council of Ministers within the framework of the constitution. Under the above framework, therefore, the real person who has to answer to the people for his acts of government of the country in the Union and the States is the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Ministers of the States through their selected men in the cabinet. Ultimately therefore the government of the country is run by a handful of men known as Council of Ministers or the cabinet so long as its policies have the approval of the majority of the chosen representatives of the people in the Houses. To get such confidence therefore the cabinet has to rely on the majority of the members of the house and see that the majority is never turned into a minority. As the cabinet is selected from the members, therefore, ultimate responsibility of returning best men in the House of the People and legislatures falls on each and everyone of the citizen of India, men and women. That is how parliamentary democracy works in New India and is on its march. Before the first general election in India under the new constitution under adult franchise several political parties with different election manifestoes appealed to the country for support. The political party led by the Indian National Congress had the overwhelming majority support in all the State Legislatures and the House of the People and their leaders were called upon by the President and the respective Governors to form Governments.

In the House of the People at the Centre the ruling party, *viz.*, the Congress Party holds 364 seats out of 499 excluding the Speaker and there are six different Opposition parties with a sprinkle of unattached Independents numbering 134 in the aggregate. Similarly in all the other States in the State Legislatures the ruling party having a very overwhelming majority is the Congress Party and the Opposition is similarly divided into several Groups and Parties and unattached Independents. It remains to be seen as democratic conception develops amongst the electorate how far in future elections the effectiveness of Opposition crystalises into lesser number of parties by the consenting voice of the people expressed through the ballot box.

After a cycle of depression in India's national life for centuries during which she was under foreign domination, she is gradually finding expression to her real spirit, spirit of toleration that is in the very blood and bones of Indians through centuries of religious teachings and spiritual lessons. The very fact that in the early stage of her march under the New Constitution where democratic Governments have been formed in different States and in the Union, there has emerged a single largest political party entrusted with the task of forming and running Governments on uniform policy and the emergence of other political parties functioning as Opposition in different legislatures, and the spirit of tolerance shown towards those opposing political parties by the majority party that has been in evidence in the various legislatures during this short period prove that one can reasonably be optimistic of the future of Democracy in India so that the people of India or the electorate may be the real effective sovereign of this great land of ours and it is hoped that Parliamentary Democracy may usher in a new era of peace, progress and prosperity in our country.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.com.

Introduction

UNEMPLOYMENT may be defined as a condition of involuntary idleness. The problem of unemployment may be designtaed as our economy No. 1. This problem is by no means peculiar to India but it is a problem common to all countries though the causes and the extent of such unemployment vary from country to country. In European countries and elsewhere it existed for a long time and attempts have been made in nearly every country to deal with it with varying degrees of success. The State, nearly everywhere, has come definitely to recognise its obligation in this matter. This obligation and responsibility has also been accepted in the new Constitution of India where it is clearly laid down that

> "The State, in particular, shall direct its policy towards securing such a condition that the citizens, men and women, equally have a right to an adequate means of living."

Defining the country's goal the President of the Union observes :

> "We aim at a Welfare State in which all the people are partners sharing the benefits and the obligations; so long as there is poverty and unemployment, a section of the community derives no benefit from the partnership. It is, therefore, necessary for us to aim at full productive employment."

It is, therefore, quite natural that due emphasis has been given to full employment in our First Plan as the basic objective of national development.

Magnitude of the Problem

According to 1951 Census out of a total poupulation of 356 million 250 million people are engag agricultural and the rest in non-agricultural oc tions. It is a fact that the Indian farmer suffers chronic underemployment ranging from 3 to 7 mo in a year. He, therefore, urgently needs some sor work for his spare time. Of the total non-agricul population of 106 millions 37.5 millions are eng in industries of which only 2.5 million are eng in large-scale industries and the rest are artisans craftsmen who are not fully employed and live hand to mouth. Commerce employs 22 million p and transport another 5.5 million people and miscellaneous services including domestic ser absorb about 43 millions. Most of the pe engaged in commerce are petty shopkeepers or middlemen who will be easily ousted from em ment if the farmers start co-operative farming. miscellaneous services are mainly part-time occ tions. This analysis of the occupational distribu of the population clearly indicates the seriousne the stupendous problem of unemployment, and more so of partial employment.

A special enquiry conducted by the director of the Employment Exchanges in India disclosed in July, 1953 there were about 5 lakhs of appli tions registered for employment of which in t particular month only about 15,000 could be gi employment. A rough estimate puts the number unemployed in India at 70 millions and that of underemployed to double the figure. The follo table gives the data regarding unemployment in In and elsewhere :

Unemployment in India

States	Population Total	Population Rural	Population Urban	*Unemployed* Total	*Unemployed* Rural	*Unemployed* Urb
Uttar Pradesh	63,215,742	54,590,043	8,625,699	33,155	25,983	7,17
Bombay	35,956,150	24,785,810	11,170,340	80,613	—	–
Saurashtra	4,137,359	2,744,198	1,393,161	4,719	—	–
Kutch	567,606	453,852	113,754	634	—	–
Mysore	9,074,972	6,896,245	2,178,727	6,376	—	–
Vindhya Pradesh	3,574,690	3,268,780	305,910	1,802	510	5,86
Punjab	12,641,205	10,240,272	2,400,932	X	537	1,26
Pepsu		)				
Delhi		)				
Himachal Pradesh		)				
Bilaspur		)				

X Figures not available.

Unemployment in Asia

Date	Burma *Registered applicants*	Ceylon *Registered applicants*	India *Registered applicants*	Israel *Registered unemployed*	Japan *Labour force sample surveys*	Pakistan *Registered applicants*
1937	—	—	—	—	2,95,443	—
1946	—	29,182	—	1,870	15,90,318	—
1947	3,139	32,995	—	2,772	3,70,000	—
1948	2,446	53,513	2,24,900	1,320	2,42,000	77,983
1949	777	68,358	2,93,043	6,351	3,78,000	70,996
1950	2,049	68,471	3,14,336	5,908	4,36,000	96,439
1951	4,149	56,844	3,38,402	6,336	3,86,000	1,00,993
1952	4,782	51,603	3,83,992	9,413	4,70,000	1,07,087
1953 March	4,087	54,483	4,25,178	20,700	6,10,000	1,03,348
„ June	—	—	4,73,917	15,850	4,40,000	90,834

Unemployment in America

Date	Canada *Labour force sample surveys*		*Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics*		United States *Labour force sample surveys*		Chile *Registered unemployed*	Puerto Rico *Labour force sample surveys*	
		%		%		%			%
1937	406,000	9.1	—	—	7,000,000	14.3	2,315	—	—
1938	142,000	3.0	96,760	4.5	2,270,000	3.9	3,433	—	—
1947	988,000	2.0	68,254	3.0	2,142,000	3.6	3,700	—	—
1948	102,000	2.1	88,909	3.6	2,064,000	3.4	3,203	—	—
1949	135,000	2.7	135,626	5.2	3,395,000	5.5	3,445	—	—
1950	167,000	3.2	168,874	6.1	3,142,000	5.0	2,937	104,000	14.5
1951	108,000	2.1	148,222	4.9	1,879,000	3.0	2,562	114,000	16.2
1952	130,000	2.5	191,564	6.1	1,673,000	2.7	3,274	100,000	15.2
1953 March	172,000	3.3	360,100	11.0	1,674,000	2.7	2,931	—	—
,, June	90,000	1.7	119,800	..	1,562,000	2.4	—	—	—
Persons covered (thousands)	5,304 (1952)		3,097 (June) 1952		62,996 (1952)				

Tables reproduced from the *International Review.*

Number of passes in Matriculation, Intermediate and Degree Examinations in India 1947-48 to 1951-52

Examination	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52 (estimated)
Matriculation	116,680	162,530	190,960	249,747	270,000
Intermediate (Arts and Science)	39,840	49,972	59,081	72,441	78,000
B.A./B.Sc. (Including Hons.)	20,766	24,344	28,313	32,754	35,000
Graduates in Professional Subjects	10,364	15,419	13,756	18,583	19,500

These figures are illustrative. For certain States data are not yet available.

Therefore to bring India to a level of rational employment in order that the people should be productively employed like those of Europe or America we would require about 70 million new jobs for the people. According to the calculation of the Planning Commission it may be possible to provide an additional employment to four lakhs in the new industries and 2½ lakhs might be absorbed in major irrigation and power projects, additional work for about 1½ lakhs annually will result from repairs of old tanks, wells, etc., land reclamation may absorb about 7½ lakhs, about a lakh may be employed in public and private sectors of buildings and construction and another two lakhs may find jobs in the construction of roads and over 20 lakhs of people might be employed in cotton industries and partial employment may be given to about 30 lakhs of people.

TYPES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Five-Year Plan refers to three main types of unemployment, distinguished according to causes:

(1) Unemployment arising from deficiency in aggregate demand. This is mainly cyclical in character and has been recurring in all advanced countries from time to time.

(2) Unemployment arising from the shortage of capital equipment for other complementary resources. This type of unemployment is found mainly in the underdeveloped countries.

(3) *Frictional Unemployment*: This type may occur in any progressive countries.

PROBLEM AN OLD ONE IN INDIA

Unemployment has not been a new problem in India. It is a very old problem. The late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said in a speech in 1935:

"I and my colleagues on the unemployment committee have been told that there are B.A's of the University who have enrolled as Constables, that there are M.A's who are selling milk in the streets and that there are persons who after passing the Intermediate Examination have been engaged as cycle peons. There are LL.B's who have accepted very humble position in the Excise or the Registration Departments."

The same sorry tale was repeated at a speech delivered recently by the Home Minister of the Union, wherein he pointed out that when he had been Governor of West Bengal, about fifty thousand applications, among them majority being University Graduates, had applied for 314 posts of Bus drivers and conductors. The situation has no doubt been deteriorating during the last 15 to 20 years and now it has become a great headache to the Government and the people.

Total Urban Population in the Indian Union (including Kashmir)

Year	Millions
1931	31
1941	44
1951	62

Looking coldly at the facts one can separate the long-term and the short-term elements in the situation. The former are: (1) During the past decade or more the population of the town have grown rapidly and from rural areas both those who have some education and those who have only their labour to supply have tended to move in increasing numbers to the urban centres. (2) The number of educated persons seeking mainly the white collar jobs is steadily increasing.

In 1939-40, the total number of the students including those getting primary and vocational education was 1 crore 52 lakhs. This number increased to 1 crore 70 lakhs in 1948-49. This is not to be wondered at if it is realised that within five years since 1947-48 the number of those who passed the Matriculation, Intermediate, Degree and Professional examinations has doubled. To these may be added numerous others who failed in the examination and are yet a burden on the employment market.

Statement showing the number of Matriculates and Graduates on the Live Registers of Employment Exchange seeking employment assistance on March 31, 1953

State	No. of passed Matriculation but not passed Intermediate	No. of passed Intermediate examination but not taken a Degree	No. of passed Degree examination	Total
Assam	1,663	141	153	1,957
Bihar	4,479	603	1,078	6,160
Bombay	13,582	1,252	1,754	16,588
Madhya Pradesh	3,467	205	408	4,080
Madras	21,196	1,360	1,797	24,353
Orissa	1,009	113	187	1,309
Punjab	4,230	617	713	5,560
Uttar Pradesh	12,516	3,044	2,125	17,685
West Bengal	14,718	2,538	2,386	19,624
Hyderabad	2,676	236	287	3,199
Madhya Bharat	482	77	151	710
Mysore	1,068	187	585	2,739
Pepsu	599	42	100	742
Rajasthan	1,035	138	129	1,303
Saurashtra	407	20	59	486
Travancore-Cochin	2,237	71	411	2,719
Ajmer	707	72	105	884
Bhopal	67	10	9	86
Coorg	134	16	20	170
Delhi	5,036	787	1,671	7,494
Himachal Pradesh	55	7	9	71
All India	92,263	11,537	14,136	1,117,936

(Number of passes in Matriculation, Intermediate, and Degree Examinations).

The short-term factors in the present unemployment situation have operated at the margins of the employment situation ; thus reduction in the external demand for raw materials and manufactured goods, the power cut in the Madras region, the difficulties which the tea industry recently experienced, decline in road transport development and other similar factors tended in different parts of the country to reduce the amount of Urban Employment available.*

CLASSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The problem of unemployment may be discussed under three main heads :

(*i*) Urban unemployment ;

(*ii*) Unemployment among the educated classes and

(*iii*) Rural unemployment.

(*i*) *Urban unemployment* seems to be a very serious problem for some time past. Several circumstances may be mentioned which have led to an increase in the Urban unemployment :

(*a*) The total value of foreign trade in India in 1952-53, as compared with the previous year after allowing for the fall in prices, points to a substantial reduction in the volume of employment in the commercial activity in internal as well as external trade.

(*b*) Although industrial employment has been maintained in the large-scale industry, there has been curtailed activity in specific industries, *e.g.*, Jute, Mica and Shellac, on account of weak foreign demand, and in the Automobile industry and small-scale engineering industry because of slack internal demand. Although industrial production rose from an average of 105.2 in 1950 to 117.2 in 1951, to 128.5 in 1952, rising further to a level of 132.6 for the first quarter of 1953, and although it might appear that there has been no decline in the employment opportunity, there has been a lack of adequate expansion relatively to the increase of the labour force coming on the market.

(*c*) The growing volume of welfare legislation has so increased labour cost without a corresponding increase in the output that it constitutes a strong factor operating against additional employment and in favour of retrenchment.

(*d*) The disappearance of inflationary conditions began in 1939 but after assuming a very serious form in the post-war period they disappeared since the beginning of 1952, partly as the result of the domestic policy and partly as a result of the operation of various international factors, the most important thing being the adverse movement in the terms of trade in the last two years.

There are also other causes which in varying degrees have worked in the same direction, *e.g.*, decontrol has led to retrenchment in the Government offices of persons for whom no alternative employment is available, small dealers have been displaced from business as a result of sales-tax in the States like Bombay, considerable unemployment has resulted in the cities from the enforcement of prohibition, heavy taxation on motor-vehicles had led to a large reduction in the lorry traffic, low purchasing power has reduced the number of persons to whom is catered and who pay for public entertainment, in Bombay alone a fall of 20 per cent was felt in the entertainment tax receipts in 1953 as compared with 1951-52 with no change in the rate of the tax.

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* In a recent survey conducted in West Bengal, it was found that at least 12,000 persons lost their jobs during the year 1952-53 largely as a result of retrenchment and the closure of mills and factories. As against this the quantum of additional jobs made available in new undertakings set up within that State was only 7000. Although corresponding figures are not available for the first few months of 1953-54, there are reasons for holding the view that jobs lost continue to be more than jobs created. The same appears to be the case in U.P. and Madras.

(*ii*) *Educated unemployment* : The most important feature of unemployment problem is the increasing unemployment amongst the educated classes. But this problem is not new in India ; even in the twenties and thirties there was growing concern about this when the number of students was much less than they are today. Unfortunately in spite of the best efforts of the various committees to examine the matter, the problem has persisted and grown in intensity. The number of students has been increasing rapidly year after year without a corresponding increase in the openings available to them. Therefore, the basic cause for the increased unemployment among the educated classes despite the potential needs of the country lies in the form of education imparted at present and the dislike which the average educated person has both for manual work and for employment in the rural areas. The result is that the educated persons look for employment opportunities in the urban sector, and shift to the congested cities and towns in search of jobs which are hard to find. Lack of vocational guidance and the absence of possibility of getting employment without University education lead the students to continue their studies without any definite aim in the hope that on getting the degree a job will be assured. The result of such unemployment is that people become biassed about higher education as a road to success. They become disappointed and this results in the destruction of a happy healthy life.

(*iii*) *Rural unemployment* : Besides the above two types of unemployment there also exists rural unemployment in a rather acute form. Such an unemployment occurs in various forms, namely, unemployment resulting from crisis in the agricultural production, seasonal unemployment, unemployment due to lack of technical skill or the inferiority of the agricultural workers' position. Compared to that of industrial workers, recent unemployment from the cultivation of dwarf holdings in the rural areas may last from 150 to 270 days in a year.† The seasonal character of agricultural operations is the main cause for unemployment in the villages.

Employment in Factories

(Covering only those subject to the Factory Act)

State	Average daily number of workers employed									
	1939	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	
									1st half	2nd half
Assam	52003	58070	53161	56119	59563	61132	62262	65136	54472	69190
Bihar	295998	168408	138990	136834	148208	155234	180204	192150	177567	168599
Bombay	446040	735774	680896	702465	737460	789463	733332	767704	732245	709495
Madhya Pradesh	64494	110263	101355	97219	111646	96273	100056	110994	115787	91751
Madras	197266	279176	262292	276856	288722	323950	391457	417545	417471	370270
Orissa	5371	7427	7443	10592	12329	13359	14439	17186	17670	15283
Punjab	22468	44759	41626	37486	36625	39342	50413	48175	45633	53598
Uttar Pradesh	159738	276468	257140	240396	242083	233837	232695	202514	206122	192894
West Bengal	532830	702964	663087	667626	687701	665008	641694	654901	623885	—
Ajmer	13330	15877	15789	15864	15877	15380	16597	16027	16782	15467
Coorg	14	27	53	117	74	82	485	366	396	372
Delhi	17400	36870	33349	31320	36894	38806	40268	42636	45604	35562
Andaman & Nicobar	—	—	—	2065	2019	2000	1637	1637	1548	—
Total	1626994	2436083	2255181	2274689	2360201	2433996	2504399	2536970	2446182	—

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† In one of the villages in West Bengal, agricultural workers were found to be employed, on an average for 220 days during the year ; in Madras for 200 days ; in Bihar for 151 days and in Mysore for 121 days.

CONSEQUENCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The evil of unemployment extends far beyond any loss of material wealth. A long spell of unemployment ruins a man's dignity and self-respect; it creates a sense of frustration and eventually of uselessness; it saps his power of concentration and capacity for normal enjoyment; it makes for tension within the family and within the community; it leaves men apathetic to ordinary social activities and duties, and makes them liable to lend a willing ear to violent expedients to get a status and a sense of purpose in life. In the words of Dr. N. G. Dass:

> "The worker's attitude to his job is also perverted. He goes in fear of losing it and yet in fear of excelling in it: he cannot afford to be either conspicuously inefficient or conspicuously efficient.
>
> "So long as there is a scramble for jobs, it is idle to deplore the inevitable growth of jealous restrictions, of demarcations, of organised or voluntary limitations of output, of resistance to technical advice."

Therefore, it has been rightly said that

> "Unemployment is a great evil, it is a poison, it pollutes the society and wrecks the political fibre of a country. It creates devils, it turns good men into bad, it changes a honest worker into a criminal. It encourages dishonesty, patronises corruption, glorifies falsehood, points out the dark side of human character and makes one blind to its good side. It is difficult to expect truth, nobility, honesty from a person who cannot have two square meals a day, and who cannot provide a morsel of food or a dose of medicine to his sick wife or ailing children. A half-clad and a half-fed man is a diseased man and a diseased man infects the nation, the fire of hunger consumes all the noble virtues of a father, duties of a son or a husband."

SUGGESTIONS BY VARIOUS PARTIES MADE SO FAR

The A.-I.C.C. at its meeting held in Agra in July, 1953, passed a resolution to re-examine and expand the Five-Year Plan in such directions as will lead to an increase in the volume of employment and particularly stressed the need of developing industries specially cottage and small-scale industries by the establishment of co-operative societies. It also emphasised the great need for large-scale investment in the development programme of the country, revision of educational system, greater effort to effect national saving.

In pursuance of the resolution of the A.-I.C.C. the Planning Commission issued its notes containing recommendations to the Central and State Governments to expand the working of the Plan in specified directions which if done by the administration will go a long way to provide employment to a large number of idle population. The recommendations of the Commission consist of 11 points, namely:

(1) Special assistance should be given to individuals of small groups of people for establishing small industries and business under the State to industries.

(2) There should be expansion of training facilities in those lines in which manpower shortage exists at present. The training facilities will remove those shortages, besides at the same time opening up new employment opportunities for semi-skilled workers.

(3) Active encouragement is to be given to the products of cottage industries through the purchase of the stores required by the State and the public authorities.

(4) Municipal authorities, private educational institutions and voluntary organisations should be assisted in establishing adult education centres in the urban areas. In the rural areas opening of one-teacher schools should be encouraged.

(5) The National Extension Service should be handled with courage as it will contribute towards removing the educated unemployment.

(6) There should be development of road transport. The existing licensing policy should be re-examined with a view to stepping up road transport development specially through private agencies.

(7) Slum clearance schemes and programmes for the construction of the houses for low income groups people in the urban areas should be implemented.

(8) Private building activities should be encouraged.

(9) Planned assistance should be given to refugee townships which suffer from chronic unemployment with a view to developing a sound economy for their continued existence.

(10) Schemes for the development of the power sponsored by private capital should be encouraged.

(11) Work and the training camps should be established at places where mainly through the Government action work opportunities exist, *e.g.*, in the Community Projects, Road construction programme, afforestation and soil conservation and co-operative land resettlement programme.

PROPOSAL FROM STATES FOR RELIEVING URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT

As stated above the Planning Commission prepared an eleven-point programme for relief of urban unemployment in the country. It has now received the proposals from the State Governments for strengthening the State Plans in the field of small-scale and cottage industries, vocational and technical training, road development, etc. The States have also given information about the preliminary assessment of the urban and rural unemployment in their areas. For relieving unemployment, the Five-Year Plan is proposed to be expanded by about Rs. 175 crores. The States have given different proposals relating to cottage and small-scale industries.

Assam has proposed that training institutions for manufacturing implements, used by agriculturists and by tea industry, should be started, and handloom, bell metal, pulp for paper and cardboard and compressed fibre industries be set up.

Orissa has proposed increased aid to individuals and groups for setting up small industries under the State aid to Industries Act, and setting up of a training-*cum*-production centre for some new industries.

The Punjab Government has recommended that for starting new cottage industries, loans should be granted to deserving persons or groups of persons, and a technical service unit for small-scale industries should be established. Lac industry should be developed in Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts. Quality making should be done for hosiery and agricultural implements, and making of handloom products should be given special attention.

Uttar Pradesh proposed the development of handloom and tanning and leather industries. Cottage industries should be developed in eastern districts to relieve scarcity conditions and co-operative societies should be formed for brick-kiln industry. West Bengal has proposed the starting of work-*cum*-training centres for sports goods industry, dairies and carpets, wood, pottery, cane and bamboo products. Every year 500 trade apprentices should be trained and small engineering industries should be developed.

Mysore has suggested the development of mat-weaving, pottery, manufacture of ceramic ware and porcelain articles, starting of leather tanning industry, production and utilisation of glass articles and bangles, manufacture of simple mathematical instruments and grant of loans to the educated unemployed for starting new industries. Pepsu Government has proposed the starting of ten cotton spinning and weaving centres for development of Khadi industry, establishment of finishing plant for handloom industry, a central cycle parts workshop, a sewing machine parts workshop, development of footwear and leather goods, leather tanning, sericulture, glass industry and sports goods industry. Saurashtra wants loans to be granted to small scale and cottage industries.

Ajmer is interested in the organisation of Co-operative Societies for small-scale and cottage industries, such as bidi-making, weaving, palm-gur industry, chatai and broom making and starting of neem oil industry. Bhopal has proposed the opening of training-*cum*-production centres and a polytechnic in the State. It has recommended that increased aid to existing industries should be provided under the State Aid to Industries Act. Delhi also wants to give increased aid to cottage and small-scale industries and to a recognised body for Khadi development scheme. It has proposed the establishment of a Commercial Show Room, an industrial museum, Delhi industries emporium and training-*cum*-production centres, besides development of handloom industry and a scheme for intensive propaganda.

The Kutch Government has proposed the constitution of a cottage industries board, staff for Industries and Commerce Department and to depute an officer to Mysore to study the development of cottage industries there. Manipur wants to create an industries department and proposes the incorporation of increased professions in the State Plan for the development of Cottage industries. While Tripura has proposed an increased provision for the development of Cottage industries in the State Plan, Vindhya Pradesh has recommended the opening of training-*cum*-production centres in each district.

How far the National Extension Service Scheme will directly help to solve the problem of growing unemployment in our country is revealed from the following table:

Kind of employment	*Number employed*
Village level workers	12,440
Ministerial staff	12,300
Agricultural graduates	1,120
Project Executive Officers	1,120
School teachers	38,440
Midwives	2,480
Overseers	1,740
Veterinary Doctors, Stockmen, Messengers, etc	3,600
Co-operative Inspectors	1,120
Social education organisers	2,240
Graduates of social sciences	207
Doctors, Compounders, Sanitary Inspectors and Lady health visitors	2,480
Engineers	207
Arts and crafts supervisors	1,240
Mechanics	1,860
Sweepers	1,240
Total	83,834

The Central Government has also announced to invest 12 crores of rupees to open one-teacher school in different parts of the country so that employment could be given to nearly 80,000 educated youngmen. Besides this they have also suggested the establishment of Industries Department Corporation with a capital of five hundred crores of rupees. This Corporation is expected to finance and develop a number of small-scale and cottage industries in order to relieve unemployment.

SCHEME FOR RELIEVING EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

The Central Government have accorded financial sanction for the recruitment of over 16,000 rural teachers and 670 social education workers by eleven States in the implementation of the educational scheme for relieving educated unemployment.

Under this scheme the period of central assistance is three years. The centre will contribute 75% 50% and 25% of the salaries of the teachers in the first, second and third year of the scheme respectively. After the three-year period, the whole responsibility of maintaining the schools will fall upon the States; for new social education centres, the centre will contribute 50% of the salaries or honoraria to the teachers and the expenditure on contingencies up to a certain maximum, till the end of March 1956.

Proposals have been received from about 20 States and allocation has been made to the following eleven States for the present :

States	Rural teachers allocated	Social education workers allocated	Central share
			Rs.
Bhopal	150	15	71,500
Bihar	2,500	250	1,198,334
Bombay	4,000	..	1,400,000
Hyderabad	1,500	150	708,750
Manipur	50	..	22,000
Pepsu	700	59	202,250
Punjab	1,200	80	557,375
Rajasthan	800	80	372,000
Saurashtra	250	36	105,401
Vindhya Pradesh	200	..	87,250
West Bengal	5,000	..	1,496,875

I. N. T. U. C.'s Suggestions

The Indian National Trade Union Congress has also brought out its programme to relieve unemployment in the country. Among other things the programme includes the encouragement and development of cottage industries, the ban on the imports of articles which come in competition with the home-made articles, provision of facilities for the making of products of the cottage industries, greater emphasis to be given in the purchases of Swadeshi articles in place of foreign ones, establishment of industrial training centres in the country, change in the present education system, decentralisation of the large-scale industries and cottage industries to be centralised in the hands of individuals, establishment of more employment exchanges and no retrenchment of labour by means of rationalisation in the industry.

The Socialists also have not lagged behind in respect of recommending the measure for decreasing unemployment. Dr. Lohia has put forward certain suggestions which represent the views of the Socialist Party. Here he recommends that the rural economy should be reorganised on the basis of new land reforms, Co-operative Societies should be established in the villages, a land army should be formed consisting of the agricultural workers, landless labourers and the educated youngmen to cultivate the land which is lying fallow, cottage industries should be given all forms of financial assistance, there should be equalisation of prices not only for the agricultural products but also for the industrial products, the prices of necessaries should be reduced by 30 per cent, a ban should be imposed on the export of oilseeds and vegetable ghee and above all there should be started a scheme of unemployment insurance.

Communist Views

The views of the Communist Party have represented by Mr. Gopalan, who has suggested th sum of fifty crores of rupees should be allocated distributed in the form of cash and free rations ar the unemployed. There should be a reduction 30 per cent in the prices of all consumers' go Proper check should be placed on the closure of and factories and the consequent retrenchment labourers. The amount of revenue and rent from farmers and different taxes from the consumers sh be lowered. All multipurpose projects requiring expenditure should be totally abolished, and all ments entered into between India Government the foreign firms for the purchase of essential mate should be cancelled and the imports of such ar which might injure Indian interest must be prohib monopolists' right should be abolished and the hoa of necessaries and other consumers' goods must strictly dealt with.

What Measures should be Taken to Solve the Problem

Unemployment in India is, by all avail evidences, of such a magnitude that no single meas of whatever intensity and volume can touch eve fringe of the problem. Agriculture, industries, fis policy or public works, none of them alone can eradic this source of national waste and misery. And it imperative that both for social and economic rea a solution must be found out to meet the grow intensity of the situation. An integrated program for the implementation and promotion of inter-rel economic development policies together with a cha in social pattern of the country can alone be of to us in this direction. No action of temporary na will in any way affect the situation, although it mi be capable of providing temporary relief in a way would make things worse when the effect of action comes to an end. The problem, therefore, not and should not be viewed apart from the econo development of the country.

Co-ordination of Agriculture and Industry Needed

In a well-balanced economy, industrial and ag cultural development should be linked together. Wi out developing both, our economy would be a lop-si one and we cannot add to the material prosperity the country or the economic soundness of the aver purchaser. No nation in modern times has grown from agricultural pursuits alone. India must bec industrial-minded and the motto of future In should be "Industrialise or perish." Industrialism come to be regarded as the most important factor civilised existence because it gives not only wea but power and modernity. The Government of India must abandon the attitude of apathy and embark on an aggressive and progressive industrial policy. To make up for lost time and neglected opportunities and reorganise the country's economic life side by side with the industrial development, greater emphasis must be given to the decentralisation of industry and every effort should be made to encourage and develop such rural and cottage industries which are suitable for different areas having regard to the necessary raw material, labour supply and the capital resources available. This will to a great extent relieve the pressure on land by diverting the surplus rural population to the productive channel, because agriculture must also be reorganised on sound lines. Without the reorganisation of our primary industry the secondary and the tertiary industries could not be placed on a sound footing.

CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY BADLY REQUIRED

Besides, educational policy of the country needs to be completely reorganised. Up till now our education has been too much academic and theoretical and too little practical and useful because it trains head but neglects the use of hands. Education must be such as should teach not only how to learn but also how that learning should be used to earn one's livelihood. To quote Sir Visvesvaryya :

> "The universities of the educational institution in this country should prepare men and women for the business of life. They should give a practical turn to the learning they impart in order to correct certain known tendencies which are unfavourable to progress. I have long complained that the Indian Universities have been unmindful of their duty towards the bread-winning occupation. So long as the people are poor there is no reason why the education of the country should not be largely vocational ?"

With the change in education our young people should cease to go on job-hunting and turn to more independent and enterprising occupations.

REORIENTATION OF AGRICULTURE

The agrarian system needs reorganisation according to the present-day needs and conditions on improved lines. This should include an increase in the net returns, reductions of production cost, better standard of living for the farmer and considerable saving of labour. The reorganisation of agriculture can be taken up in three ways. Firstly, by intensification of utilization of the land already in use through improved methods in agriculture, such as, improved methods of manuring, better quality seeds, better farming methods and cultivation of heavy crops requiring more labour and more capital. Secondly, by removing the obstacles for full utilization of land tenure system, ownership of land, size of holdings, laws of inheritance, illiteracy and rural indebtedness. Thirdly, by bringing more land under cultivation by means of extended use of irrigation and by the establishment of land colonies. It may be pointed out that these measures would not result in the desired goal without the creation of certain necessary prerequisities, such as the corresponding growth of co-operation, vocational and general instruction in rural schools and associations.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE SOUND

It need not be pointed out that our present industrial development is not commensurate with the size of population. Besides there has been an uneven distribution of industrial units in the different parts of the country. The concentration of industries in certain quarters have definitely done more harm than benefit to the nation. The problem of over-crowdedness, filth and dirt, squalor, prostitution, insanitary conditions of living and above all, the moral degradation of the workers are the outcome of factory concentration in large industrial centres. Therefore, in order to make the industrial development uniform decentralisation of industries in the rural sectors is highly desirable. This will not only improve the moral of the society but will also give employment to lakhs of peoples residing in the remotest corners. It was for this reason that various committees and commissions set up by the Government emphasised the importance of developing a industry which will not only relieve the pressure of land but will lead to integration of labour power and establish a really balanced and wholesome national economy. Rice and flour milling, sugar processing, cotton ginning, handloom weaving, paddy-husking, bee-keeping, poultry-farming and fruit-canning and basket and rope-making and the preparation of *jellis* and *achar* will no doubt give employment to the millions of uneducated masses.

In order to develop these industries it is necessary that Developmnt Boards should be established at the Centre and the States which should be entrusted with the work of providing finance to the village artisans, either through the village Co-operative Credit Societies or through the Government Banks. Electrification of the industries is also necessary and the Board should give their attention not only to the supply but also to the marketing of finished products ; more emporiums, distributing shops and research centres should be opened up to provide for the sale of the products and the technical training to the artisans. Above all, to give more employment to these cottage industries the purchasing of Government requirements of the articles produced by these industries should be made compulsory as far as possible.

Another direction in which additional employment could be found for educated youths would be to develop motor transport in the country. Expansion of motor transport for goods traffic would give employment both to semi-skilled and clerical workers. The passenger traffic in large cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi, can also provide employment to numerous young men as taxi-drivers, conductors, accountants and other clerical staff. New passenger routes should be opened up between two centres not covered or inadequately covered by railways. These measures would not only make life easier and happier for the travelling public, but would provide much-needed relief to at least a section of the unemployed.

Besides, certain essential social services should also be extended. These services will have a direct effect on the health and happiness of the public. In addition to providing employment, *e.g.,* a vigorous drive to end illiteracy, they can provide employment to a large number of teachers. Similarly, extension in public health services is bound to give employment to more doctors, nurses, attendants and sanitary and health inspectors. Construction of school buildings, hospitals and dispensaries would assist in capital formation as well as widen the sphere of employment. Slum clearance schemes and construction of residential quarters in the industrial centres for low-paid workers would give employment to urban people to a great extent.

In addition to the above measures an extended programme of apprenticeship training in the industrial concerns, mills and factories is another method by which the vicious circle of unemployment and shortage of technical skill could be broken. The trained hands should at least be immediately absorbed if and when opportunities for employment occur; substantial additional employment can also be found for the urban population for a short period by developing the engineering industry and by carefully scrutinising our import policy so that the import of articles which can be manufactured in the country should be banned and that the newly started engineering industry should be assisted and encouraged by all possible means to take up the manufacture of such items in the country.

EQUALISATION OF NATIONAL INCOME SHOULD BE AIMED AT

It has been pointed out that the distribution of income in India is not even. It has been found out that more than a third of the population enjoys about one-third of the annual wealth produced in the country while one-third of the total wealth is enjoyed by one per cent of the population while the rest is enjoyed by the remaining population. This means that unless the income-expanding process is than the rate of growth of population and maintained at an even space economic develop may not result in an increase in per capita i or in a stable level of employment. Therefore, is essentially needed is that there should be equ distribution of income among the different se of the society. The most simple way of equa the distribution of income would be that ma should take place among the higher and lower of the same society and an increase in income definitely raise the standard of living, thereby ing in the lower growth in the rate of population this will indirectly help in providing employm the usual number available in the country.

TRANSPORT SYSTEM SHOULD BE ADJUSTED TO THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY

As our transport system is haphazard, unpl and inadequate for the size of the country it great hindrance not only to the agricultural pros and industrial progress but also to the g economic development of the country. There what we feel is that if full employment progra is to be implemented it is essential that the tran bottleneck must be removed. For this purpose it be suggested that all the different methods of tr port should be nationalized so that competition be reduced among the operators leading to a employment of the services. And further effic transport system must be evolved so that it cope with the increasing demand of transporting agricultural and industrial products to the diffe parts of the country. Further, every effort should made to take advantage of the village carts whic its improved form would provide employment to large number of villagers sitting idle at present.

It has been often remarked that Indian labo rather immobile in the sense that people do migrate from their homes to the places of emp ment. Therefore, if full advantage is to be take the increased opportunity of employment in agri ture, industry, commerce and transport, efforts be made to make the Indian labourers more mo In fact, what India wants at the present time is mobility of labour but organised mobility so that industries may not starve for want of labour.

MORE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES SHOUED BE SET UP

It is a matter of dissatisfaction that in India number of Employment Exchanges have been insignificant, *e.g.*, up to December, 1947 there only 75 employment exchanges throughout country and the number increased to 126 by J 1953.

Employment Exchange Statistics

Period	No. of Exchanges at the end of the period	No. of Registration during the period	No. of Applicants placed in employment during the period	No. of Applicants of the live registers at the end of the period	Monthly No. of employers using the exchanges	No. of vacancies notified during the period	No. of vacancies outstanding at the end of the period
15th Aug., 1947 to 31st Dec., 1947	75	207838	61729	236734	2879	97892	68756
1948	77	868787	259774	239033	3422	380118	55131
1949	110	1066351	256809	274335	4483	362011	29292
1950	122	1210358	331193	330743	5566	419307	28189
1951	126	1375351	416858	328719	6364	486534	21776
1952	128	1476699	357828	383992	6023	429551	22293
January, 1953	131	114617	20378	434428	4474	25912	21861
March, 1953	134	110293	17785	425178	4569	23980	21157
June, 1953	126	124429	16045	473917	4563	21398	22662

This increase in number is hopelessly inadequate for the country's need because on an average one employment exchange caters to the needs of 28 lakhs of people. Therefore, it is perfectly clear that even though employment opportunities may exist in different parts of the country yet a vast majority of the population is ignorant of these and, therefore, it would be to the interest of the nation that the number of such institutions be increased.

Check Must Be Put on Further Population Growth

A foreign authority on population, Mr. Osbourne, has pointed out about the internal economy of India as "too many people for the land to support." India's land has long ago been depleted yet her population continued to increase at a rapid rate. Therefore, if employment is to be found for all the people and that without reducing the per capita income, it is absolutely necessary that suitable measures should be taken in hand to put a check on the growth of population and lower it substantially. Besides this, the future population policy must also provide for educating the students of high school classes in the biological side of the human body, the functions of the physical organs with special reference to the reproductive side, so that they might know beforehand the harmful effects of unchecked growth to the country. Over and above, a team of educated people having a common knowledge of and training in human biology may be sent to the countryside to make the rural people understand the advantages of the limited growth of population. This measure will in the long run definitely prove useful in reducing the pressure of population on land and thus create full employment opportunities for the people of this country.

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THE GENTLE ART OF BLUFFING

A Species of Protective Colouration

By C. L. R. SASTRI

> "What cannot you and I perform upon
> The unguarded Duncan? What not put upon
> The spongy officers?"—Macbeth

To bluff, or not to bluff,—that is the question: whether 'tis noble in the mind to bluff away the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to wage an honest battle against a sea of troubles and, by opposing, end them? To bluff,—to win: to bluff,—perchance to be found out: ay, there's the rub. For in that bluffing what fearful risks we may run must give us pause. There's the respect that induces us to deal fairly with our fellow-humans and not systematically to try to "put it over them" and thereby gain a treacherous advantage. The choice, of course, is immensely difficult: most often it is decided at our nativity. On this reasoning some must be adjudged to be born bluffers and some, by taking thought, to achieve bluffing. There remains the third category—namely, those on whom bluffing is thrust—willy-nilly, as it were. Just as the sun shines on the just and on the unjust alike so also, it might be argued, bluffing may, on occasion, be forced on the habitually truthful no less than on the congenitally false. Circumstances, as we know, alter cases; and instances have not been lacking where persons that could be presumed to have imbibed the Beatitudes with their mothers' milk subsequently developed, through the machinations of blind fate, into very creditable imitators of a Macchiavelli or a Benvenute Cellini. These things happen: nor do we know why they happen.

The Artists

All, it goes without saying, do not bluff alike. There is, in my opinion, no *one* art of bluffing: there are as many arts as there are persons to practise it. A few, indeed, are such pastmasters of bluffing that it may be said of them that age cannot wither nor custom stale the infinite variety of their bluffing. They are the real *maestros,* the real artists. Bluffing comes to them, as reading and writing came to Dogberry, by nature. We can imagine them bluffing at all hours of the day and in all seasons of the year. They bluff without respite. They bluff rain or shine, in "cold wars" no less than in "hot," and they can be discovered on either side of the Iron, or the Dollar, Curtain and in every stratum of society. They bluff and bluster, as Falstaff ran away from the battle-field, on principle. They are the "die-hards" and the "last-ditchers" of bluffing. The poet, with his eye in a fine frenzy rolling, has visualised the rose that died of aromatic pain: these gentlemen may be found, by those who care to watch them, to be dying at their posts—with a last bluff on their lips. In life, we may assume, they bluffed assiduously—and while dying they ceased not to bluff equally assiduously! They are, it will be seen, at the opposite pole to the man who was such a *born* non-bluffer that when, as what Mrs. Malaprop called an "unscrupulous" Providence would have it, he acted the *role* of Othello in a dramatic performance he deemed it incumbent on him to black himself *all over*! It is evident that not all the wealth of the Indies could ever have tempted him into even a reasonable semblance of bluffing. He, it is clear, was the prototype of the youth who bore, 'mid snow and ice, the banner with the strange device.

No Hard and Fast Rules

Again, bluffing may differ according to the latitude and longitude. What is, for instance, sheer honesty above the 38th Parallel may be pure bluffing below it, just as what is merely cussedness in the Captain is supposed to be rank blasphemy in the soldier. Have we not been told that what is meat for one man may be poison for another? (In the Cannibal Islands, it is conceivable, what is a *mate* for one man may similarly be poison for another!) In some places people may take in their stride what in others compels their neighbours to raise their eyebrows and to shrug their shoulders. By the same token, in some *situations* a code of conduct may be followed with impunity that will scarcely be tolerated in some others. The same rules, obviously, do not apply in war and peace. Those who are regarded almost as angels in the piping times of peace are apt to become devils incarnate—"red in tooth and claw"—when Armageddon is let loose on the human scene. Then we are confronted with a revolutionary change of values. Is not everything fair in love and war? During the pendency of a war the end is assumed to justify the means: the end being so noble (both the parties to the dispute blatantly proclaiming that *they*, and they alone, are on the side of Right) the means that are employed to achieve that end may, it would seem, very well be as ignoble as possible! Like the independent trooper, Tomkins, in Sir Walter Scott's novel, ***Woodstock***, the combatants on either side imagine themselves to be "above such matters as Ordinances. They are living on a plane where these petty things just do not apply. This Tomkins of Scott avows that, in former days, he had been only "the most wild malignant rakehill in Oxfordshire." *Now* he is a saint and can say to the girl whom he wishes to debauch:

> "To him who is but a novice in the things of the spirit much is enjoined, much is prohibited; and he is fed with milk fit for babes—for him are ordinances, prohibitions, and commands. But the saint is above all these ordinances and restraints. To him, as to the chosen child of the house, is given the pass-key to open all locks which withhold him from the enjoyment of his heart's desire. Into such pleasant paths will I guide thee, lovely Phoebe, as shall unite in joy in innocent freedom, pleasures which, to the unprivileged, are sinful and prohibited."

"Evil, be Thou My Good!"

When humanity is caught in the toils of war-hysteria it is not only freed from all its traditional inhibitions but, like the trooper Tomkins aforementioned, gloats self-righteously over that newly-won freedom. Thus it comes about that we elect ourselves to be our own law-makers and, sitting in judgment over the most abominable atrocities that we have committed, absolve ourselves from the least taint of moral infamy and of spiritual apostasy. Even what are commonly called the beasts of prey and the vultures of the air and the monsters of the deep may not descend to such acts as have "no relish of salvation in them" as we (that preen ourselves to have been created in God's own image) habitually commit in times of hostility: yet somehow we contrive to exculpate ourselves from censure of any kind!

It is, however, not only the soldier on the battle-field that is liable to go berserk and to throw his weight about and generally to make a thorough nuisance of himself: the civilian sitting quietly at home or in his office is prone to no less mischief in his own modest and unostentatious way. It is he who sets the ponderous machinery of propaganda in motion, and there is not, it appears to me, much to choose between the ravages of insidious propaganda and those of actual fighting. If anything, the pen being proverbially mightier than the sword, the *propaganda* arm of war is more baleful in its effects on the enemy than the *fighting* one. No hold is barred in either, to be sure, but the former has the advantage over the latter—namely, that, like the Rumour of Shakespeare, it is a person "painted full of tongues" who "stuffs the ears of men with false reports" and is thus, as we might say, one up as against the other. And propaganda is nothing if it is not political salesmanship at the meridian of its splendour. It is aimed at nothing less than leading the enemy a veritable dance of conjecture, of speculation, as to our own next move or manoeuvre in this long-drawn-out game. If he lapses up he finds himself ignominiously trapped: if, on the other hand, he shies away from it like a startled mustang he may find himself equally ignominiously trapped—truth sometimes being stranger than fiction and what he been presented to him in his instance, at any rate, being the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

TIGHT-ROPE WALKING

This is, really, tight-rope walking with a vengeance, as it were. The enemy is left guessing all the while: he does not know whether what he beholds is a mask hiding the truth or truth itself parading in the open for him to make the most of, if he has the requisite gumption. I am inclined to think that the biggest bluff of all is this parading of truth itself leading the enemy to imagine that what is thus being so wantonly exhibited cannot, in the nature of things, be what it pretends to be but its direct opposite. But, to quote a line of Matthew Arnold's, "it needs heaven-sent moments for this skill." The common, or garden, variety of bluffing is the mask hiding the truth; and the success of this depends on the canniness with which we design the mask. Very often it is the press of a country on which devolves the patriotic duty of devising the mask. The press is the chief medium of propaganda. Thus it can be said, without any exaggeration, that the journalist quietly sitting at his desk in his newspaper office is a combatant in the field to a much larger extent than is generally supposed. It follows that they also serve (in war) who merely sit and write. The New Journalism, being geared to publicity more efficiently than the Old, is as much to be reckoned with by the embattled foe as the mighty military machine itself which faces him at every hour of the day and night. This being conceded it needs only the emergence of a Goebbles (let us say) to

> "coach the whole multitudinous orchestra of the Press to carry out the vast conceptions of some consummate conductor, *splendide mendax*. From each instrument under his baton this artist would draw its utmost contributive aid to immense schemes of concerted delusiveness, the harping of the sirens elaborated into Wagnerian prodigies of volume and complexity." (The late C. E. Montague.)

Some day an article needs to be written entitled, "The Journalist as Bluffer." If, as I earnestly believe, bluffing is an art the journalist, it needs no emphasising, is the artist *par excellence*.

WHERE BLUFFING IS BLISS

Bluffing may strike the same individual differently at different periods of his growth. Many a staid old man of the present day who smilingly tightens his belt one notch more at the sweet behest of his Food Minister and wins prizes in his parish for the number of meals he has uncomplainingly missed and for the number of ghost ration-cards he has *not* accumulated might (who knows?) have been a bluffer of the first water when the blood ran more gaily in his veins and time seemed to stand still.

> "And at the rainbow's foot lay surely gold,
> And hope was strong, and life itself not weak."

Then, again, bluffing may differ widely in men and women. Talk of the *equality* of the sexes! In the matter of bluffing women begin where men—the poor mutts!—leave off! The most consummate bluffer among men is a mere child, "a six years' darling of a pigmy size," as Wordsworth so happily puts it, in comparison with a member of what is, euphemistically, called the gentler sex. A woman (God bless her!) is born to bluffing as the sparks fly upwards. Someone has perspicaciously remarked that the word, "honour," is conspicuous by its absence in women's dictionaries. That being so it is not surprising that they have brought off, through every age and clime, some of the rawest of ideals, some of the meanest of *coups*. But, perhaps, it can be said in favour of bluffing that where bluffing is bliss 'tis folly to be straightforward and to act in obedience to the maxims embodied in the Sermon on the Mount. Women naturally act on the principle enunciated by that seventeenth century poet, Prior:

> "The merchant, to secure his treasure,
> Conveys it in a borrow'd name:
> Euphelia serves to grace my measure,
> But Cloe is my real flame."

These lines are, in my opinion, the *locus classicus* on the subject of bluffing: their author has given pointed expression, a local habitation and a name, to the truth about it for all time. It is not known, however, whether he was himself a paragon of bluffing in real life, treading, like a puff'd and reckless libertine, the primrose path of dalliance or only pretended to be what he was not: he might merely have wished to strike an attitude, to cut a dashing figure, and his bark might very well have been worse than his bite!

A BLUFFEE, NOT A BLUFFER!

An essay, obviously, admits of autobiographical touches, and I have to econfess, at the very outset, that, try however I might, I have not been able to come up to the standard of bluffing outlined above. That target, alas, is not for me! I am a tragic misfit in this age, which is, pre-eminently, the Age of Bluffing. It surprises me how an adult like myself could have come by such colossal indigence in the matter of bluffing. Actually, I have, if I may be permitted to say so, been more bluffed against than bluffing. I have been the unfortunate victim of bluffing by others, not the perpetrator of bluffing myself on those others: *bluffee*, not the bluffer. I have never bluffed—at least not on principle. I might, now and then, have deviated into bluffing by the exigencies of circumstances, nothing more. My best friends and warmest admirers cannot say more than that, *at the most*, I am only an amateur in the line. My bluffing, such as it is, can be very easily seen through—not, perhaps, by other amateurs in the line but by the professionals, the big guns, the high priests. That is why I feel that I am initially handicapped in the matter of writing an essay on the gentle art of bluffing. But I have derived no little encouragement from the French aphorism that a sculptor need not himself be made of marble. Besides, is it not the outsider who sees most of the game?

The Finest Example

I believe that the finest example of bluffing that occurs to the memory is the story of the Emperor Without Clothes. The Emperor, as we know, went in the procession under the splendid canopy. And all the people in the streets and at the windows said, "Bless us! what matchless new clothes our Emperor has?" *"But he hasn't anything on," cried a little child.* "Dear me, just listen to what the little innocent says," observed his father, and the people whispered to each other what the child had said. "He hasn't any clothes on!" they began to shout at last.

"This made the Emperor's flesh creep, because he thought that they were right; but he said to himself, 'I must keep it up through the procession, anyhow.' And he walked on still more majestically, and the Chamberlains walked behind and carried the train, though there was none to carry."

The moral of this parable is plain for all to see: a child can see through even the most consummate bluffing. There is no art of bluffing that can bluff him!

If, according to Hindu philosophy this world that we see around us, the sun, the moon, and the stars, "this vast overhanging firmament," is nothing but a mirage, a figment of the imagination, *maya*, illusion, what you will, their Architect must be, not to put too fine a point upon it, the Greatest Bluffer of All!

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INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF INDIA

By ANADI BHUSAN MAITY, M.A.

I

THE emergence of India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic is a land-mark in the history of the world. Economic and strategic reasons had thrown her under the iron-grip of British rule for nearly two centuries. At present, she is looked upon as the key country in Asia. She is potentially strong enough to alter the balance of power in the Far East. Moreover, she has a leading part to play in the struggle for emancipation of subject races from foreign yoke that is going on throughout the world. This had made her voice a force to reckon with in the sphere of world politics.

II

In order to understand the present status of India, it is necessary to view it from a historical perspective. Before the Islamic conquest, India was regarded as an independent State in the international field. She conducted her relations with ancient Greece and Rome by an exchange of embassies. The schools of international law sprang up in some parts of India. But the Islamic conquest of India sounded the death-knell of these institutions. Again, the growth of the Turkish Empire between the East and the West further interrupted the relations between India and Europe.

The discovery of sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in the 15th century changed the history of India altogether. Shortly after this event Portuguese Empire in the East was established. But soon their power began to decline owing to heavy influx of competitors in the scene. Spanish, Dutch, English and French merchants got into the field gradually. The rivalries among them became acute with the passage of time. It was the defeat of Spanish Armada in 1588 that finally doomed the fate of Spain and Portugal for ever and their trade with the East came to an end.

For the purpose of counteracting the trade monopoly of the Dutch, the merchants of London formed the British East India Company and asked Queen Elizabeth to grant them a charter of incorporation. On January 24, 1600, the Charter was granted authorising them 'to acquire territory, fortify their stations, defend their property by armed force, coin money and administer justice within their own settlements.'

Now, what was the status of the East India Company in international law? The answer to this question may be given in the following words of Prof. Westlake:

> "The East India Company was an incorporated Company. An incorporated company is the *creature of the state* to the law or to the Government of which it owes its corporate existence and power, and if it is incorporated for an object which brings it into relations with foreign states, the state which has created it cannot escape responsibility for the acts of its creature."[1]

After the formation of the East India Company the rivalries among the Colonial Powers became more prominent. India became 'the chess-board where the nations of Europe played out their game of skill'. Britain, with the intention of monopolising this trade, tried to oust her rivals by clandestine means. There were internal struggles among the native powers like the Moguls and Marathas. This created a 'power-vacuum' and Britain lost no time to exploit the weakness of this situation. The combination of all these forces led to the battle of Plassey in 1757 which put an end to Muslim rule in Bengal. The British conquest of India began from this date. The causes that led to the establishment of British supremacy over India was described by Karl Marx (*The Future Results of British Rule in India, New York Tribune, August 8, 1853*), thus:

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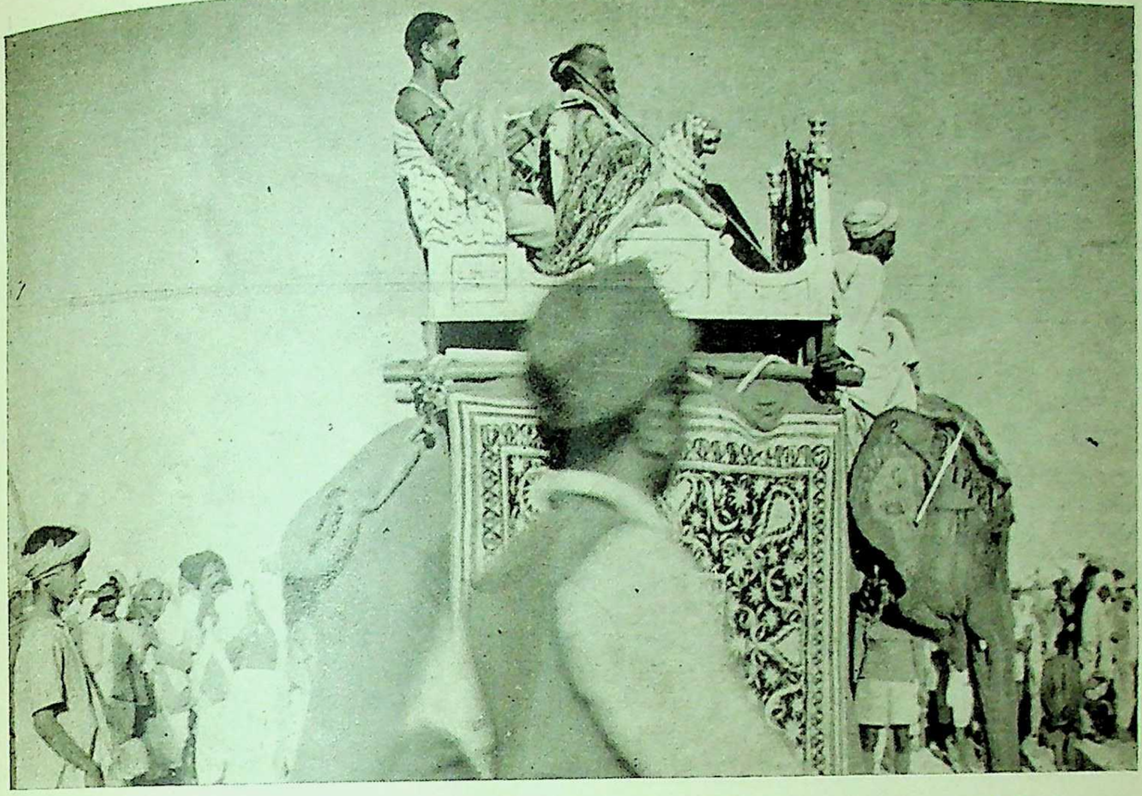
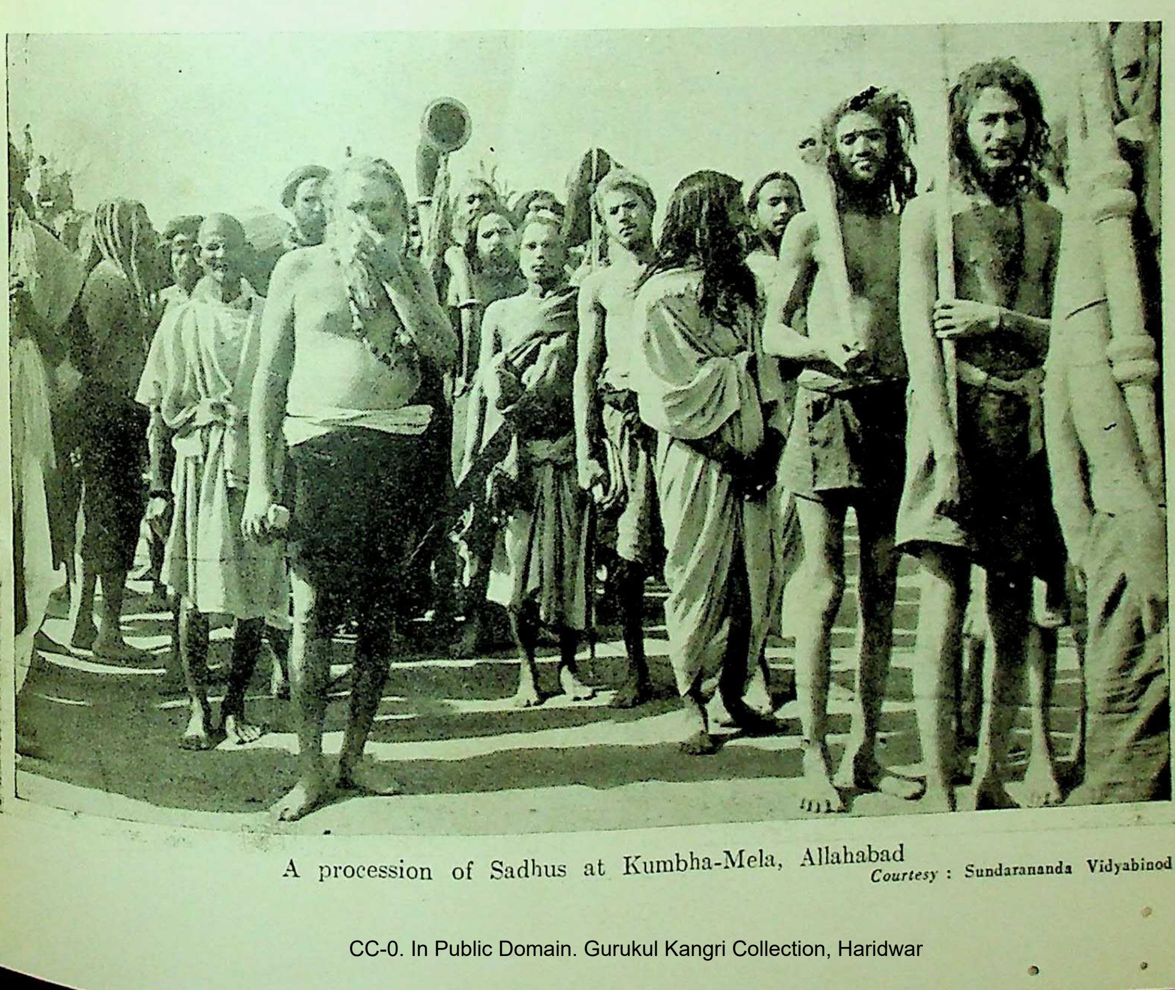
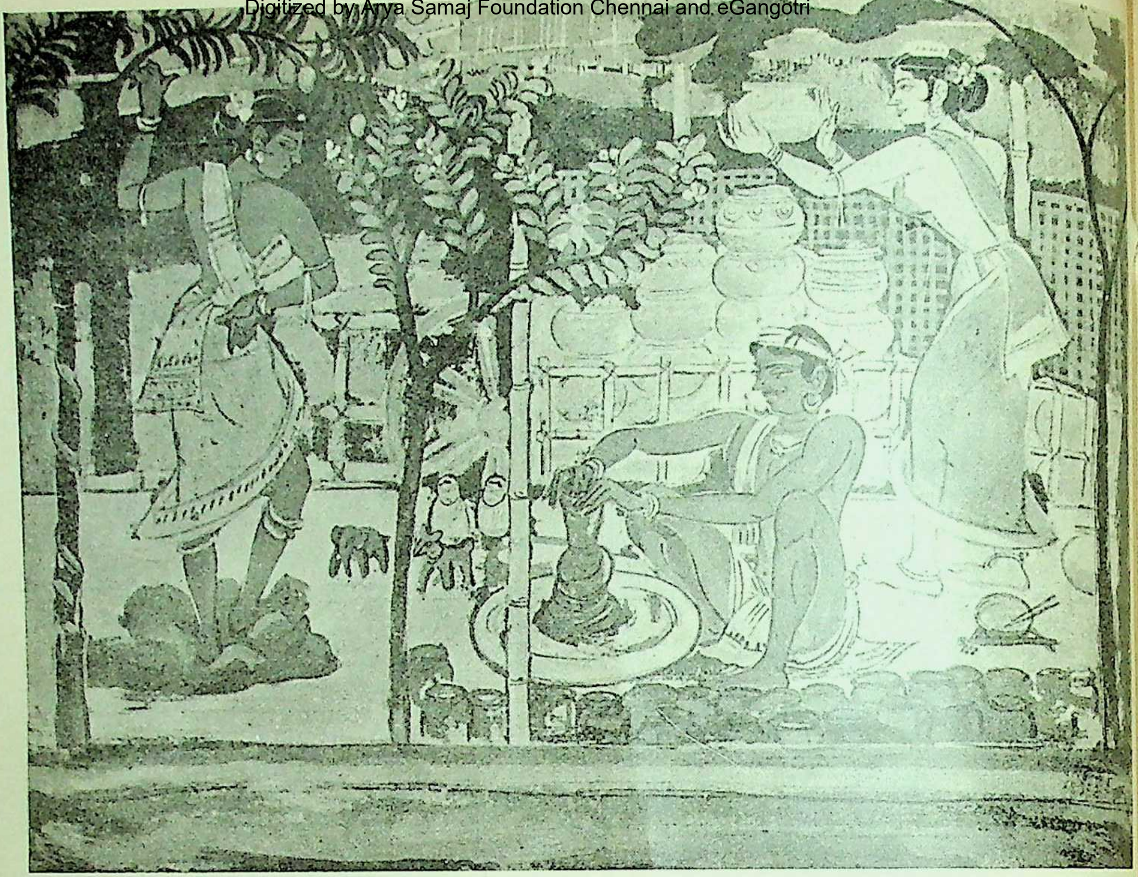
[1] Westlake: *Chapters on the Principles of International Law*, p. 191.



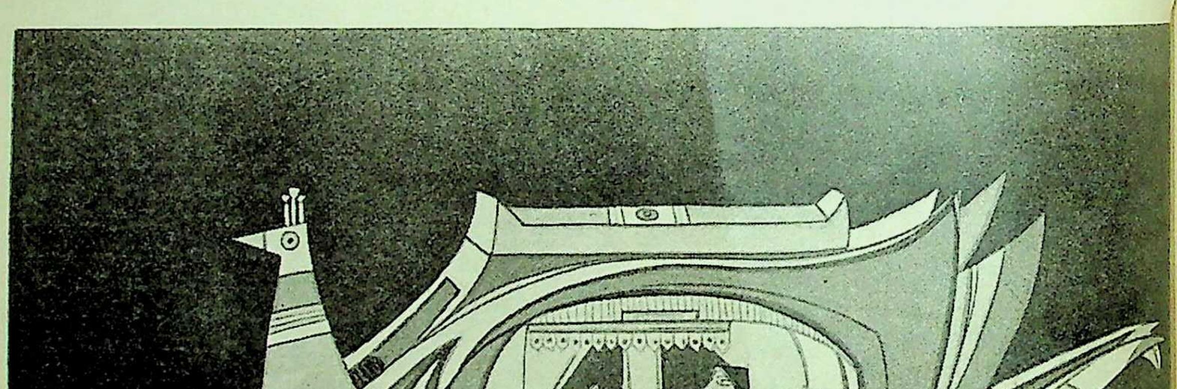
A Mohunt riding an elephant in procession at Kumbha-Mela, Allahabad



A procession of Sadhus at Kumbha-Mela, Allahabad *Courtesy* : Sundarananda Vidyabinod



Potter
By Samar Ghose



Suka-Pankhi boat
By Gopen Roy

"The paramount power of the great Mogul was broken by the Mogul Viceroys. The power of the Viceroys was broken by the Marathas. The power of the Marathas was broken by the Afghans; and when all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all."[2]

After the battle of Plassey, Britain embarked upon a policy of territorial expansion and political domination. Latterly, the peril of financial bankruptcy of the Company necessitated an effective system of Parliamentary control and supervision over its policy and administration. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was the beginning of Parliamentary control to realise this object. The Act transferred the Company from a purely trading Corporation into a *semi-sovereign* political body under the control and direction of Parliament. This Parliamentary interference and the subsequent renewal of the Company's Charter implied that "whatever the East India Company held it held mediately as an organ of the State."[3] By the middle of the 19th century they became the *paramount power* in India. The rapid territorial expansion of the Company was an important cause of the unrest which led to the Indian Mutiny in 1857. It was a revolt of the 'dispossessed princely order and the Muslim nobility and of a discontented army.'

With the suppression of the mutiny a Bill was introduced in Parliament providing for the assumption of the Government of India directly by the Crown. On August 2, 1858, the Royal assent was given to the Bill by which India was drawn into the vortex of a new Empire. She was placed under the control of the Secretary of State for India who was a member of the British Cabinet and responsible to Parliament. By the Royal Title Act of 1876 Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India. Though from a strictly legal point of view India was not regarded as a colony, still, as Lowell points out;

> "The method of administration is essentially similar to that of a Crown colony so far as the connection with the parent state is concerned."[4]

Thus, India was under the complete control of Great Britain both internally and externally. In the diplomatic field she completely merged her identity in the British Empire which was regarded as a single unit in international law. The India Office was established in London wherefrom her external relations were conducted. The complete subordination of a colony to the British Parliament was clear from the decision in *Campbell vs. Hall*: "Every colony, whether Crown colony or not, is subject to the paramount authorty of the Imperial Parliament."[5] In view of this fact Prof. Westlake rightly says:

> "It would be understating the case to say that the Empire of India is an international unit. The true international unit, for peace or war, neutrality or negotiation, is the United Kingdom and its dependencies, of which the Empire of India is one."[6]

Similar was the case of the Indian States. They had no official intercourse among themselves or with any foreign powers. The principles of international law had no bearing upon the relations between the British Government and the native princes of India. In international law these States were regarded as 'Indian Vassal States,' and, as such, had no international existence whatsoever. Their status in international law was summed up by Lee-Warner, thus:

> "The principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as expressing the Queen Empress on the one hand, and the native States under the suzerainty of Her Majesty on the other. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter."[7]

III

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 paved the way for India to acquire a status in the Comity of Nations. Two forces helped her: firstly, the movement launched by the Indian nationalists for the establishment of self-government in this country and for the attainment of an equality of status with the British Dominions; secondly, India's magnificent contribution in 'blood and treasure' and the remarkable part played by her forces in the various theatres of war. Eventually, a new policy of "the gradual development of self-governing institutions" in India was decided upon by the British Coalition Government on August 20, 1917, "with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Simultaneously with this pronouncement, she was admitted, at the instance of Mr. Lloyd George, into the Imperial War Conference in 1917 as 'the juniormost traveller on the high road to self-government.' As Mr. Lloyd George said, this marked "the first Imperial recognition of the altered status of India."[8] It should be noted that by virtue of the declaration of 1917 and also by her admittance into the Imperial Conference, "India," Dr. Nathan thinks, "has been recognised as having Dominion Status although it does not enjoy self-government."[9] Prof. Coupland also holds the same view.[10] But the correct view seems to be that India did not then acquire Dominion Status but was, as Mr. Srinivasa Sastri remarked,

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2. Quoted by A. N. Chakravarti: *Call It Politics*, p. 2.
3. Westlake: *Op. cit.*, p. 193.
4. Lowell: *The Government of England* (Vol. II), p. 391
5. Forrest: *Ridges' Constitutional Low*, p. 489
6. Westlake: *Op. cit.*, pp. 214-215
7. Sir William Lee-Warner: *The Protected Princes of India*, p. 373.
8. Quoted by Madan Gopal: *India as a World Power*, p. 3
9. Nathan: *Empire Government*, p. 67
10. Coupland: *India: A Re-statement*, p. 110.

"planted firmly on the road to the acquisition of that status."[11]

In the Imperial War Conference of 1917, the Imperial War Cabinet was established in which India was accorded a place with the representatives of other independent nations. After the collapse of the Central Powers at the end of 1918, the principle behind the War Cabinet system was made use of in the British Empire Peace Delegation at Paris. Indian representatives, the late Lord Sinha for British India and the Maharaja of Bikaner for the Indian States, signed the Peace Treaty at Versailles on June 28, 1919. Consequently, India became an original Member of the League of Nations.

Before evaluating her status in the League, we should understand the legal nature of the League Covenant. The members regarded it not only as an international convention but also a part of International Law. It was an International Convention to which different nations of the world were admitted as independent sovereign States. According to Oppenheim: "The Covenant of the League is an attempt to organise the hitherto unorganised community of States by a written constitution."[12] And, in view of this fact, Noel Baker observes: "The Covenant is a kind of *Constitutional* International Law."[13] India, being separately mentioned in the Covenant as an original Member of the League, was graduated to the status of a 'Person' in International Law. Thus her status was more enhanced by her membership of the League Assembly than by her presence at the Peace Conference. Prof. Keith is of opinion that at the Peace Conference "the essential authority rested with the British Empire delegation," but in the Assembly India did not "look to the British Empire delegation to express the views of the Empire as a whole."[14] Her independent policy was evidently revealed at the Opium Conference of 1925-26. Apart from this, her delegates signed, by their own right, various statutes concluded under the auspices of the League. She also signed in the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and adopted its Optional Clause. In this way she got a perfectly distinct place in the Organisation of this Court.

From the above observations it appears that India acquired international personality by reason of her membership in the League of Nations. But legal opinion still varies on this point. It has been argued by some international jurists (like Hall, Keith) that these marks of separate national existence did not raise her status outside the League arena. The reason is that "the principles of equality and simil appropriate to status, do not universally extend function."[15] In fact, from this angle, her inequality status was revealed in many cases. Firstly, there a legal inequality of status which was held to a from the form of the title of His Majesty the K who, under the Royal Title Act of 1901, was ca the 'Emperor of India'; secondly, as regards highest attribute of sovereignty' involving peace war, the power was formally vested in the King. T was demonstrated during the outbreak of the Sec World War on September 3, 1939, when the Gover General declared India a belligerent country by principle of 'automatic belligerency'; thirdly, Crown was still the 'constitutional linchpin' matters of the executive acts and legislation. T Governor-General was responsible to the Secretary State who in his turn was responsbile to the Bri Parliament. The Judicial Committee of the Pr Council stood as the highest legal bench in rela to India; fourthly, the bond of Union between In and Great Britain was based on a *common allegia* to the Crown.

These and other reasons stood in the way of attainment of full international personality outs the orbit of the League. The British Governme held that the Conventions concluded under t asuspices of the League were not intended "to gove relations *inter se* of various parts of the Comm wealth."[16] And, one of the reasons for upholding t *inter se* doctrine was the objection of the Domini to submit issues as to immigration and treatment Indians resident in their territory to an Internatio Court.[17]

Questions may be asked as to whether India w an 'International Person' in a strict legal sense of t term. Prof. Hall points out that India acquired so thing of an international personality by reason of h membership in the League but "how much is not evident."[18] Oppenheim also holds the same vi According to him: "It is apparently *sui generis*. a defies classification."[19] However, it is quite clear th India so obliquely admitted into the Family Nations, acquired international personality "to much smaller extent."[20] She was promoted to t status of a dependent *State* in the eye of Inte national Law.

After the war, Britain again began to tighten h control over India and like 'an arrogant and se centred mother she refused to see that her daught was attaining majority.' On various occasions Britain promised to offer Dominion Status but did not act up to these promises. These announcements were primarily directed to allay the growing distrust of the nationalists towards the British people who, in the words of Hampden Jackson, "had got into the habit of running the administration of India; it was unthinkable to them that Indians could manage their own affairs successfuly."[21] The Indo-British relations were further poisoned by the publication of the Simon Commission Report in June 1930, which said that "the Government of India is a subordinate official government under His Majesty's Government . . . ."

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[11] Quoted by S. M. Bose: *The Meaning of Dominion Status* (Oxford Pamphlets), p. 27

[12] Oppenheim: *Int. Law.* (3rd Edn.), Vol. I, p. 269

[13] Noel Baker: *The Present Juridical Status of the British Dominions in International Law*, p. 67

[14] Keith: *The Constitution, Administration and Laws of the Empire*, pp. 49-50

[15] Oppenheim: *International Law* (5th Edn.), Vol. I, p. 1

[16] Keith: *Speeches and Documents on the British Domini* 1918-31, p. 347

[17] *Ibid*, p. 416

[18] Hall: *International Law* (1924), p. 35.

[19] Oppenheim: *International Law* (5th Edn.), Vol. pp. 182-183

[20] *Ibid*, p. 181.

The outbreak of the Second World War on September 3, 1939, led the people to demand their freedom again. But the Governor-General declared India to be at war with Germany, without even the formality of a consultation with the Indian legislature. The status of India may be described in the following words of Dr. Ambedkar on September 12, 1939 :

> "As the position stands to-day, India is tied to the chariot-wheels of the British Cabinet. The British statesmen are free to pursue any kind of foreign policy and make any kind of international commitments. They are free to declare or not to declare war as they please and they are free to make any kind of peace they like. India has no voice in their foreign policy, in declaring war, or in the making of peace . . . India has no *locus standi* in the making of events that bring on war. She has no *locus standi* in the making of terms which often instead of ending war only adjourn war. Her duty is to be present only when war is on."[22]

On September 14, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee adopted a resolution demanding immediate freedom for India in return for full support of the war. The British Government rejected this demand outright. In response to this situation, the Civil Disobedience Movement broke out. Negotiations were resumed for a better Indo-British understanding but all prospects of settlement came to an end in August, 1941, when Mr. Churchill announced that the Atlantic Charter was not primarily intended to apply to India.

The critical phase appeared after the Japanese entry into war in 1942. India was turned into a base for allied operations. The British Government promised full independence to India after the termination of the war. The Congress rejected the offer, calling it a "post-dated cheque on a falling bank." In August 1942, the All-India Congress Committee adopted the "Quit India" resolution demanding the withdrawal of British power from India. Nationalist uprising broke out in different parts of India which for a brief period assumed—'war within a war.' With this the last hope for a better understanding was shattered and the question remained dormant till the end of the war.

In 1945, Lord Wavell took the initiative and began fresh negotiations for the settlement of the question. In the meantime the Muslim League voiced their demand for a separte state—Pakistan. Lord Wavell sought to effect a compromise between the demands of the two parties but it ended in a total failure. In March 1946, the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission into India to assist her "to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible." After negotiations with the two major parties, the Cabinet Mission suffered a lamentable failure owing to the bitter rivalries between the two parties. Civil war soon ensued in India.

One last effort for a settlement was made by Britain on February 20, 1947, when Mr. Attlee announced the intention of the British Government to withdraw from India by June 1948. In order to achieve this end Mr. Attlee sent Lord Louis Mountbatten to prepare the ground for the transfer of power to Indian hands. This hardly changed the mental climate of the two parties. Ultimately, Lord Mountbatten was convinced that partition was the only solution and on June 3, 1947, he produced his plan for the division of the country into "India" and "Pakistan." Finding no way out, the parties accepted the plan. The British Parliament lost no time to draft the Indian Independence Bill on the basis of the above agreement. The Bill was passed and placed in the Statute Book in July. 1947 with amazing speed and came into operation on August 15, 1947.

IV

The Indian Independence Act was a sign-post to Indian independence. From this day India became a fully self-governing Dominion and an independent country in the comity of free nations of the world. Before the termination of war in 1945, India had already exercised her treaty-making power at the San Francisco Conference and become an original member of the United Nations. But after attaining independence, she raised the status of her diplomatic missions to the rank of Embassies and exchanged ambassadors with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China, France, Turkey, etc. She also appointed High Commissioners in the countries within the British Commonwealth of Nations. After achieving the status of a Dominion, she still continued as a "State" with all her treaty rights and obligations particularly as a member of the U.N.O. But Pakistan, which broke off from undivided India, emerged as a new State in international law. On August 12, 1947, Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General, said on the status of India and Pakistan :

> "In international law the situation was analogous to the separation of the Irish Free State from Britain and of Belgium from the Netherlands.

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[21] H. Jackson : *The Between-War World*, p. 252

[22] P. R. Lele : *War and India's Freedom*, pp. 47-48

In these cases the portion which separated was considered a new State and the remaining portion continued as an existing State with all the rights and duties which it had before."[23]

Moreover, the Independence Act had effected a basic constitutional change in India. By investing her with the status of a 'Dominion,' a new status was accorded to her in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Statute of Westminster 1931, which is called 'the Magna Carta of the Dominions,' defines that status thus:

> "The Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It may be asked that if her status could be defined by the Statute of Westminster 1931, why was she not granted Dominion Status simply by the addition of her name to the list of Dominions in Sec. 1 of the same Statute? This would have involved a simple amendment of that Statute and made unnecessary the drafting of the fairly long Indian Independence Act. Prof. Wheare put forward three reasons why this device was not adopted.[24] First, unlike other Dominions, India was partitioned. Partition in India made special and complicated legislation necessary for the grant of complete autonomy to the new Dominions. Secondly, the mention of India's name in Sec. 1 of the Statute would have been inadequate because of the fact that the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 was never applied to India. Thirdly, India desired an immediate abolition of the powers of reservation and disallowance, a provision which the Statute did not embody.

But these reasons do not appear to us quite sufficient. Probably, there were other reasons for passing the Indian Independence Act. Be that as it may, India's case was, however, peculiar. In the case of other Dominions the British Parliament, have, by virtue of Sec. 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931, the power to legislate for those Dominions with the consent of their Parliaments. In the Indian Independence Act, there is no such provision for legislation by the British Parliament.

As regards the Indian States, Sec. 7 of the Indian Independence Act expressly provided that "the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements" lapsed from August 15, 1947. The Constituent Assembly of India was vested with full powers to make laws "having extra-territorial operation." Thus, the British Parliament unreservedly gave up its legislative supremacy to the Indian people. *In short, this Act was in line with that Treaty which terminated the British Sovereignty over the American Colonies.*

Though the jurisdiction of Parliament over India ended with the passing of this Act, there still remained a marked degree of subordination from a strictly legal point of view. Like the people of other Dominions Indians as British subjects owed allegiance to the British Crown. The Act did not effect any change in the status of Indian subjects. Prof. Banerjee argues that in between August 15, 1947, and January 26, 1950, the citizens of India could not be regarded as British subjects mainly for two reasons:[25] Firstly, the British Nationality Act of 1948, which amended the Sections 1 to 16 of the British Nationality and the Status of Aliens Act of 1914, could not be applied to India, as it was not extended by any law of the Legislature of the Indian Dominion as required by Sec. 6(4) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947; and, secondly, under the provisions of the British Nationality Act, 1948, the expression "India" did not refer to the territory of the Indian Dominion after the Act of Independence, but only to "British India" as defined by Sec. 311 of the original Government of India Act, 1935. It is difficult to maintain this position. It should be noted that, as the British Nationality Act of 1948, was not extended to India by a separate legislation, it had no existence in the eye of the Indian Dominion and consequently the British Nationality and the Status of Aliens Act of 1914 must be held applicable to India as before with the result that an Indian retained the status of a British subject. Moreover, in the British Nationality Act, 1948, the expression "India" meant the *territory* of British India in 1935, as distinguished from the *territory* of the Native States. Certain difficulties proceed, no doubt, from this connotation of the word "India," but that does not affect the status of the people of what were before the Act of Independence British Indian Provinces.

Indian leaders were pledged to make India a Republic. But at the same time political necessity required that India should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. A splendid opportunity to adjust the relations of India with the U.K. and the other Dominions occurred in April 1949 when in the Prime Ministers' Conference held in London the Indian Prime Minister presented that case for India. A compromise was effected between the republican status that India aspired for and the *British Commonwealth of Nations* at the top of which stood the British King to whom all British subjects owed allegiance. After deliberations for a few days a joint declaration was issued on April 27, 1949, which stated that India would "continue her full membership of the *Commonwealth of Nations* and her acceptance of the King as *the symbol of the free associations of the independent nations* and as such the Head of the Commonwealth." And, the Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth recognised "India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration."[26]

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[23] *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, August 15, 1947. See also *Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1947-48, pp. 39-40.

[24] Wheare: *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status* (4th Edn.), p. 327

[25] D. N. Banerjee: "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," *The Modern Review*, February, 1950. pp. 107-108

In this declaration two important points should be observed : Firstly, in the first paragraph of this declaration, reference had been made to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the subsequent paragraphs referred only to the "Commonwealth of Nations." This means that the allegiance which the citizens of India owed to the British Crown would not continue any longer after the achievement of her republican status within the Commonwealth of Nations; secondly, India desired to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations accepting the King as a *symbol* of the free associations of independent nations. It means that in relation to India the King would have no functions but a certain status. In the eye of the Indian Constitutional Law, the British Sovereign is absolutely non-existent.

On January 26, 1950, the new Constitution of India came into force and India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic. She is sovereign both externally and internally. In international law she is independent of the will of other States in the determination of her foreign relations. She is free to pursue any kind of foreign policy she likes. She acquires *full international personality* with her international rights and duties. Her constitution is drafted locally and not by the British Parliament. Her citizens are regarded as Indian citizens and not British subjects. The Supreme Court of India is bound by the Indian Constitution and the laws made by the Indian Parliament in pursuance thereof and no other. The Constitution opens with the words "We, the people of India" which emphasise "the ultimate sovereignty of the people" and the fact that "the Constitution itself is founded on the authority of the people."[27] Moreover, Article 51(c) of our Constitution says that the State shall endeavour to 'foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another.' Though this Article is incorporated in the Directive Principles of State Policy and cannot be enforced by the Courts, still it, as Prof. Alexander says, "aims at the inclusion of India in an international order in which the rule of law prevails.."[28] Moreover, this is a re-affirmation of India's allegiance to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially those that govern the admission of new members (Art. 4).

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao once wrongly argued that as the Indian Constitution Act received its Constitutional Sanction from the Indian Independence Act which was also a British Act like the Statute of Westminster 1931, "the Constitutional Sovereignty over India is still vested in the British Parliament."[29] But we should remember that though the Indian Independence Act was an Act of British Parliament, it had expressly renounced the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament in Sec. 6, and made the Indian legislature a sovereign law-making body in all respects. More important is the fact that this Act had empowered the Indian legislature to repeal or amend the same Act if it was repugnant to any law of the Indian Parliament.

V

So far we have traced the evolution of the status of India from her complete surbordination to a foreign power, to her complete independence. Controversy sometimes arises regarding the compatibility of the 'Sovereign' Status of India with her membership of the 'Commonwealth of Nations.' It should be noted that India's association with the Commonwealth is voluntary, and it is open to her to cut off that association if and when she so desires. It is, as Mr. Ramaswamy says, "only a courtesy arrangement devoid of any constitutional significance."[30] In the words of Pandit Nehru :

> "There is no law behind the Commonwealth. It has not even the formality which normally accompanies treaties. It is an agreement by free will, to be terminated by free will."[31]

There is no question of allegiance to the Crown. In International Law she is now a full-fledged sovereign State and an honourable Member of the U.N.O.

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[26] For full text, see Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 1948-1950, p. 9941.

[27] D. Bose : *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 24.

[28] C. H. Alexander : "International Law in India." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, July, 1952, p. 294

[29] *The Hindusthan Standard*, December 6, 1952.

[30] M. Ramaswamy. "The Commonwealth of Nations and India." *The Indian Law Review*, (Vol. III, No. 2), 1949, pp. 139-40

[31] *The Indian Law Review*, (Vol. III, No. 1), 1949, Appendix "A"

DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY COMMUNITY

Some Recent Trends Examined

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I

The object of this empirical study is to find out the principal trends in the distribution of industrial control by community. Such a factual survey is likely to throw considerable light on many aspects of industrial organization hitherto unanalysed, such as the rise, growth and decline of different entrepreneurial groups in Indian industrries, their principal fields of specialization; patterns of expansion and growth, nature and character of changes in the distribution of industrial control by community over a period of time, the influence of social, cultural and caste stratification on the rise and growth of the different entrepreneurial groups and their contribution to the industrial progress of the country.

II

PERIOD OF ANALYSIS

The study covers the period 1911-51. The year 1911 has been selected as a starting point for several reasons. The year 1911 was the first year for which factual data were available for such empirical study. The first edition of the *Investor's India Year Book* by Messrs. Place, Siddons and Gough, from which much of the factual data contained in this study have been compiled, was published in the year 1912, and which gave the complete figures of the year 1911. Secondly, the Census figures of the year 1911 were available for estimating the extent of total coverage and relative changes in the over-all position, and lastly, the data furnished by the Large Industrial Establishments in India for the year 1911 also provided very valuable supplementary information for estimating the range of coverage, and for the verification of some of the information contained in the Investor's Year Book. The year 1951 has been selected for the simple reason that it was the latest year for which complete information was available at the time this study was undertaken.

III

DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED

It is an extremely difficult task to attempt any classification of the business communities on a perfectly scientific and uniform basis. Generally speaking, three factors have played a dominant role in determining the homogeneity and entity of different entrepreneurial groups: religion, region and caste. Sometimes, the social divisions and stratifications are based on the basis of religion, *viz.*, the difference between the Hindu, Muslim and Parsi communities; sometimes the classification is on the b of region, as between Gujratis, Marwaris, Benga Maharastrians and Punjabis, and sometimes the c of classification in the caste or sub-caste which in t is the sub-division of the principal groups in the Hi community. The caste and sub-caste have played a important part in determining the pattern of behavi attitude and association between different enterprene groups. There is a considerable truth that the bulk the positions of vantage and administrative responsib and specially positions of profit and power in an Ind business are held by persons belonging to the s group, religion or sub-caste of its owner or manag agents. If a study like the *Rise and Growth of Busin Executives in the United States* (published by Harvard Research Center for Entrepreneurial Studi Cambridge, U.S.A.) is undertaken in India, one wo discover an interesting concentration and association sub-caste people in individual enterprises.

While this development has helped to a limited exte in the training of the business executive, it is also re ponsible for the "entreprenurial immobility" in Ind and for the lack of opportunities for those who poss the requisite business acumen, foresight and leadersh but who are not in any way connected with any of th entreprenurial groups by virtue of caste, religion or r gion. In this study the principal entreprencurial gro have been divided into the following categories: Briti Parsis, Gujratis, Jews, Muslims, Marwaris, Maharastri other Indians, other Europeans and Mixed Control. an outsider, this classification might look little unscie fic and at times unintelligible, but those who are fa acquainted with the working of the Indian society w have little difficulty in appreciating the fact that s social divisions and stratifications do exist in Indi society.

IV

PATTERN OF DISTRIBUTION IN 1911

Table I shows the distribution of industrial ent prises according to the caste and community of t Managing Agents. Where, however, a firm or comp is not managed through the institution of Manag Agency, classification of the firms or companies have be made on the basis of the composition of the Board Directors. In some cases, where the two entrepreneu groups have been equally represented on the Board Directors, or where it is difficult to find the rela dominance of any particular entrepreneurial group, firm or company has been classified under the group "Mixed Control."

The most striking fact which emerges from the observation of Table I, is the overwhelming predominance of British entrepreneurial class in 1911. As many as 282 companies out of the total of the 341 covered by our analysis, were under British control and management. These companies represented a total paid-up capital of Rs. 29,82,01,000. The Table also indicates the relative importance of other entrepreneurial groups in Indian industries. Next to British, the most dominant entrepreneurial group was that of Parsis who had substantial interests in the Cotton Textile Industry of Bombay. Indeed modern industrialism on the western coast owed its origin to the sagacity and foresight of enterprising Parsi industrialists who pioneered many important enterprises.

TABLE I

Distribution of Companies by Community

1911

	Number of companies	Percentage	Total paid-up capital (in Rs.)	Percentage of total paid-up capital (in Rs.)
British	282	82.7	2,98,201,000	66.9
Parsis	15	4.4	53,232,000	12.0
Gujratis	3	.9	2,945,000	.7
Jews	5	1.5	8,350,000	1.9
Muslims	..	..	..	..
Bengalis	8	2.3	7,802,000	1.8
Other Indians	19	5.5	54,582,000	12.3
Marwaris	..	..	..	..
Other Europeans	3	.9	5,975,000	1.3
Mixed control	6	1.8	14,000	3.1
Total	341	100.0	455,087,000	100.0

Particular mention must be made of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Hydro-electricity Works, both of which were floated by Messrs. Tata and Sons, Ltd. The total paid-up capital of Tata-managed concerns exceeded four crores of rupees in 1911. Another important entrepreneurial group of 1911 was that of Sassoons—a wealthy Jewish family of Bagdad, which migrated to Bombay in the thirties of the last century. Although they started with a rug factory, a banking establishment and opium trade with China, they went heavily into the textile industry, and by 1911, the Sassoon family was controlling five important textile mills of Bombay. The two other important groups which were just budding in were Gujratis and Bengalis, the former having confined themselves mostly to the textile industry of Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat, while the latter engaged themselves in a large number of miscellaneous enterprises mostly in the eastern sector. It is significant to note that none of the other groups, *viz.*, Marwaris, Maharastrians or Muslims had any significant interest in any sector of industrial economy, and Gujratis although just budding in, did not occupy that important place in the entrepreneurial history of India as they subsequently achieved in the thirties and forties of this century. In brief, the distribution of industrial control by community was extremely uneven in 1911, and with the exception of a few enterprising Parsi and Gujarti industrialists, the Indian businessmen exercised little, if any, control over the mangement of Indian industries.

V

TRENDS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY COMMUNITY

Table II shows some recent trends in the distribution of industrial control by community:

TABLE II

Distribution of Industrial Control by Community
(Frequency Distribution of Companies and Directorships by Community)
1911-51

	Frequency distribution of Companies			Frequency distribution of Directorships		
	1911	1931	1951	1911	1931	1951
British	282	416	382	652	1335	865
Parsis	15	25	19	96	261	149
Gujratis	3	11	17	71	166	232
Jews	5	9	3	17	13	...
Muslims	..	10	3	24	70	66
Bengalis	8	5	20	48	170	320
Marwaris	..	6	96	6	146	618
Mixed Control	28	28	79	102	121	372
Total	341	510	619	1016	4213	2622

Both the frequency distribution of Companies by community and the frequency distribution of directorships by community show the overwhelming predominance of British interests in 1911. Their principal fields of specialization were jute, tea and coal industries. According to the Report of the Indian Jute Mills Association, all the Jute companies before World War I were owned, controlled and managed by foreign enterprise, mainly British. Similar is true, though to a lesser extent, of coal and tea industries. Next in importance were Parsis, Bengalis, Jews and Gujratis. The Marwaris had not entered modern industry; they were just budding in as traders, bankers and stock-brokers. But unlike Gujratis and Parsis, they moved out to all the distant areas of the country wherever they could find opportunities for trade and commerce. The influence of Bengalis was confined wholly to the eastern sector, and the Muslims had not entered modern industry.

By 1951, many far-reaching changes have occurred in the distribution of industrial control by community. The British interests have lost their position of overwhelming predominance which they enjoyed four decades back. Though a substantial portion of industrial productivity is still under their control, ownership and management, the recent trends suggest a wider diffusion of ownership and control among different business communities. The most dominant elements in the Indian entrepreneurial groups have been the Marwaris and

Gujratis—both *Banias* by caste—who have expanded their spheres of industrial and commercial activities in almost every direction. It is indeed very intersting to observe the close association and integration of British and Marwari interests—the fusion of two entrepreneurial groups which are culturally and socially so different. The family of Jatias is now firmly tied with Messrs. Andrew Yule & Company; of Kanorias with Messrs. McLeod & Company; of Poddars with Messrs. Shaw Wallace & Company and of Bangurs with Messrs. & Company and Messrs. Gillander Arbuthnot & pany. The development is accompanied by floatati a large number of joint enterprises, representing financial intersts of both the Indian and foreign par These "New Deals" are spread almost all over the industries—automobiles, radio manufactures, plas agricultural machinery, chemical and synthetic artificial silk, etc.

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THE GENERAL BUDGET

By Prof. S. N. Agarwal

According to the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister for the year 1954-55, the estimated Revenue is Rs. 452.88 crores while the expenditure is expected to be Rs. 467.09 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 14.21 crores on revenue account. The Finance Minister has made provision for Rs. 145.75 crores for capital outlay, the estimates include Rs. 214 crores next year for loans to State Governments mostly for their development projects. The overall deficit next year is estimated at Rs. 250 crores. This is largely due to the substantial provision made for increased expenditure on development in both the revenue and capital budgets. Tax proposals for the next year include preferential duty on betel-nuts increased from 9½ annas to Re. 1 a pound, yielding Rs. 3 crores. Excise duty on superfine cotton cloth has been raised from 2 annas to 2½ annas per yard, on fine cloth from one anna and three pies to one anna and six pies per yard and on medium and coarse cloth from three pies to six pies per yard. Excise duty of one anna and six pies per yard has been levied on artificial silk fabrics and an additional three pies per yard for the benefit of the handloom industry. The present import duty on raw cotton has been abolished. The Finance Minister has levied a moderate duty on three commodities namely cement, soap and footwear. In the case of soap and footwear, the products of cottage industries will be exempted. Additional duties on mill cloth are also expected to benefit the handloom industry and Khadi. We welcome this bias towards small-scale and cottage industries in the next year's Budget.

We also welcome the announcement by the Finance Minister that although "continuous vigilance" in regard to nation's security is "being kept," "it is not the intention of the Government of India to halt or slow down the economic development of the country . . . . by entering into race for armaments." The inherent strength of a nation ultimately depends not merely on armaments but on its sound economic and social development. Realisation of the truth of this statement is all the more necessary in view of the U.S.-Paki Military Pact. Although there has been a substa increase in the budget for development projects, estim for Defence expenditure for the next year show increase of only about Rs. 5 crores.

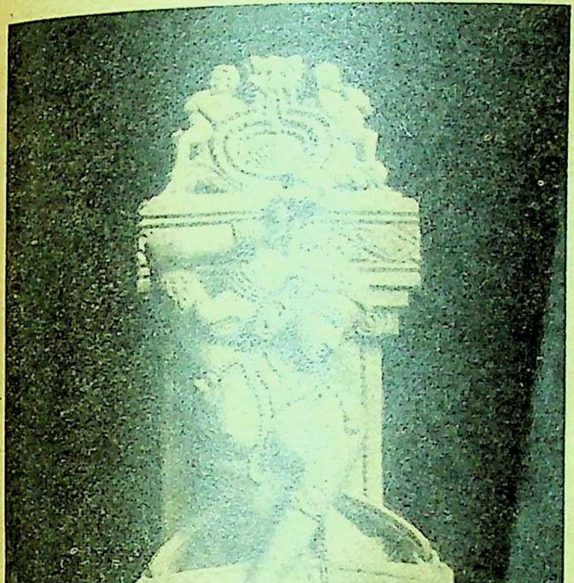
The Finance Minister drew the attention of Parliament towards the fact that sums provided development both in the revenue and in the capi budget during the current year have not been spent full. The Government have, therefore, asked a spe officer "to conduct a quick examination of the exi procedure in the drawing up, sanction and executio development schemes and to report on the causes lea to the present unsatisfactory position." The future India largely depends on the successful implementa of the National Plan and we are glad to know that Government are determined "to remove the proce and other impediments to the progress of the develop schemes." We have no doubt in our minds that ce far-reaching administrative reforms are absol necessary for speeding up social and economic progres this country. The administrative machinery must overhauled to make it an efficient instrument for achievement of a Welfare State.

As the Finance Minister rightly pointed out, we prone to indulge in too much criticism of our sh comings and apt "to obscure the sum of achievement." "The face of the country is chang and changing for the better." All of us know "much still remains to be done." "But we can b our energies to the tasks ahead fortified by the kn ledge that, in spite of mistakes and difficulties, we h made progress and, conscious that we are on the r road, however long and arduous it may be, we s persevere, with a stout heart, with the task of buil up a more prosperous India."

A CALCUTTA MUSEUM BRINGS ORISSA CLOSER

By AJIT KUMAR DUTTA

THE university museum in Calcutta, the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, is the first of its kind to come into existence in this sub-continent of ours. This museum, barely fifteen years old, is no doubt of a very humble origin having only a handful of exhibits to start with, but to-day due to its marked achievements and progress it can well have a modest claim to be ranked among the most well-equipped and modernised museums of our country. In the opinion of a former Director-General of Archaeology in India, this museum can now well be said to have attained a regional character representing the art and archaeology of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which from time immemorial have formed "a homogeneous political and cultural unit."



Dancing Nayika (*soapstone*). Puri
(D. P. Ghosh collection)

Asutosh Museum has to-day a collection of more than 10,000 items of sculpture, paintings, wood, ivory, bronze, coins, textiles and a wide variety of folk-art specimens. Of these, the Orissan objects, numbering 1,000 in all, leave a lasting impression on the mind both for its variety and because of the fact that the artistic tradition in the 'land of temples' is yet a living force. Here we too have to confine our discussion within certain limits.

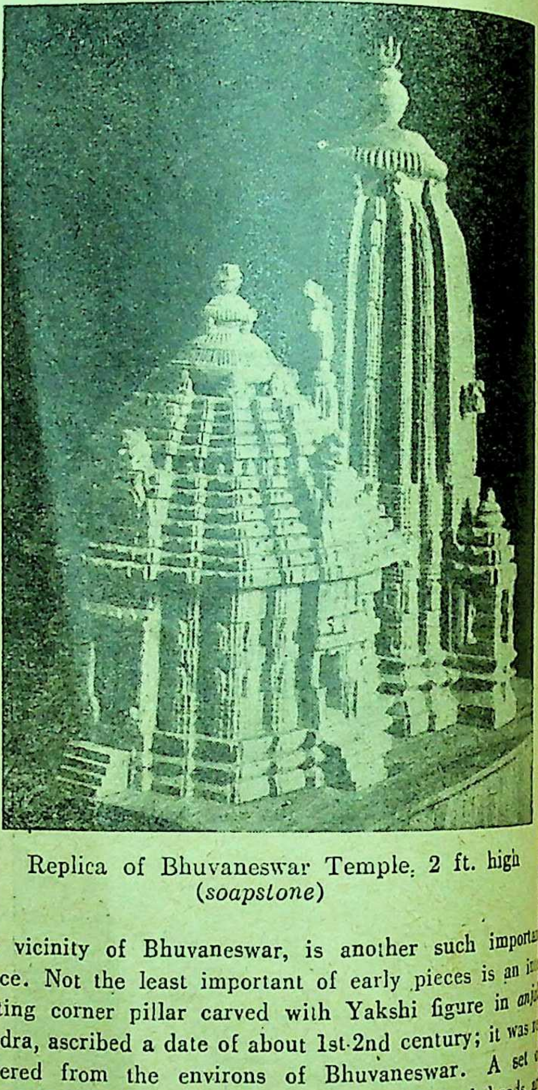
Hunting scene (*ivory*). Orissa
(C. 17th century A.D.)

The most significant point however of the two-thousand years old Orissan art tradition, is that it yet survives. It continues, but most unfortunately in an almost worn-out form, nearing its end from day to day. The geographical isolation of Orissa has been, of course, the vital factor in keeping the said traits of the land immune to any vandalism and cultural onslaught.

A cross-section of the Orissan objects in the museum, convinces one of the wide variety of materials and media through which Orissan artistic talent has found expression. It ranges from stone, metal and ivory to perishable materials like wood and soapstone. A thorough analysis of these materials only affirms the historical developments. Ages have rolled by, but the art activities, started under royal patronage and practised on stone and ivory, have survived, though in a multilated form, the chief materials used in later phases being wood, clay or soapstone. Strangely enough, canons and injunctions of the Silpa-sastras have ever been respected by the artists. Naturally therefore, the product, be it an architectural fragment, a piece of sculpture, a painting on an illustrated manuscript or a soapstone-craft, bears something in common—a stamp of a highly developed tradition.

Railing pillar with Yakshis
(From near Bhaskareswar Temple, Bhuvaneswar,
C. 1st century B.C.)

The Orissan archaeological finds, about 300 and odds altogether, in this museum, include several architectu fragments as well as numerous pieces of sculpture. (the early finds a highly polished coping stone, pres ably a part of a Stupa-railing, found in the vincinity Sisupalgarh, dates back to the time of the Maurya Incidentally, this has been claimed to be the earli Mauryan find in Eastern India. A turbaned mon mental head of about 1st century B.C., collected fro

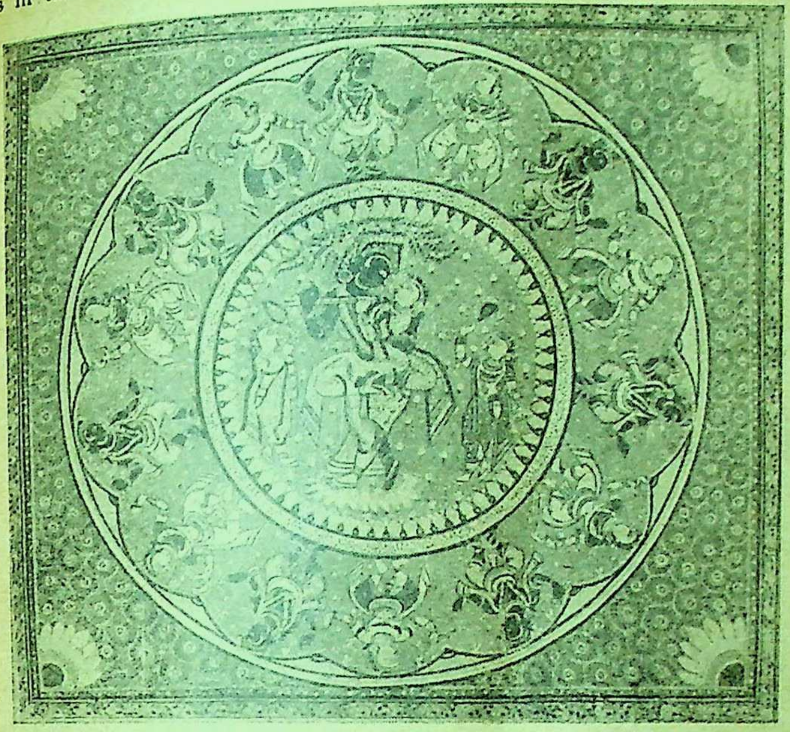


Replica of Bhuvaneswar Temple. 2 ft. high
(*soapstone*)

the vicinity of Bhuvaneswar, is another such importa piece. Not the least important of early pieces is an in resting corner pillar carved with Yakshi figure in anj mudra, ascribed a date of about 1st-2nd century; it was r covered from the environs of Bhuvaneswar. A set o terracotta medallions with royal portraits and heads a unique pieces of early Orissan art. These were collec by Prof. D. P. Ghose, curator of the museum, in co of his explorations in the Sisupalgarh area. He probably the first man to undertake the work there o a scientific basis. A few divine figures belonging b to the Buddhist and the Brahmanic pantheons, particula those related to Vishnu and Sakti cult, throw an intere ing light on the socio-religious conditions. A f friezes are there of a comparatively later date, which he one to understand a gradual development of the Oriss architectural tradition.

Museums now cease to be "the storehouses of t dead." Contrary to popular beliefs the attention is

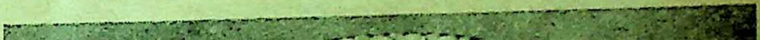
day equally focussed on "the present." A new cry is in the air: museums should be the "living registers" of national achievements and aspirations. Asutosh Museum has also responded to such an appeal. It has promptly come forward to discharge its new obligations. As a result the exhibits with a "living" appeal now occupy a good portion of the gallery.



Purna-Rasa (*pat* from Puri District). The central medallion shows entwined figures of Krishna and Radha surrounded by alternating dancing figures of Krishna and Gopini

Surviving Orissan arts and crafts are no exception. Orissan rural art and craft exhibits form a most fascinating study by themselves. In fact, those have no less an appeal to a visitor than that of their archaeological counterparts. The surviving tradition expresses itself in products like wood carvings, wooden articles, hornproducts, "patas" or paintings and decorative designs and soapstone carvings. Of several exquisite wood carvings, a miniature of a typical Orissa temple deserves special mention both for delicate workmanship and for neatness. In the sphere of Orissan crafts, cheap soapstone products more than anything else command a high degree of popularity and prominence. It is brittle but for abundance of raw material and aesthetic quality, a ready market is pre-assured. Asutosh Museum can rightly feel proud of having been a pioneer institution in revitalising the dying craft. Besides a few independent and highly decorated *Nayika* figures, the musem exhibits include a soapstone replica of the famous Lingaraj Temple at Bhuvaneswar—the first ever to be made, to scale, retaining all the architectural deails of this great landmark of Indian Art.

Orissan paintings in all variety and richness have been very ably exhibited in the museum. It is worthwhile to mention here that one of these paintings, an 18th century Git-Govinda manuscript-drawing, received universal applause and was declared "probably the best exhibit" in the London Exhibition of 1948. It was acclaimed by some British art-critics as an "Oriental masterpiece." But the Orissan artists, particularly, the modern village painters have been in their best in *patas*, painted *petikas*, etc. Rural paintings yet carry all the signs of an age-old tradition, not only in the use of indigenous colours and media but in composition and technique also.



Painted wooden caskets and vase, decorated with floral and foliage patterns and Krishna-lila scenes. Districts Khandpara and Puri

With all this a word more is to be added and should

A general view of the Orissa-sculpture gallery of Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University

be added emphatically—the once glorious tradition of Orissan art is nearing total extinction. The reason is not far to seek. It is a clear case of cold neglect and lack of patronage. Royal patronage and feudal hey-days are long gone by and the brazen-faced society of to-day is out to throw the artists out to their graves. A few stray references help one have a clear picture of the prevailing situation. A survey report by Prof. D. P. Ghose is most illuminating. Prof. Ghose, who has made Orissa almost his second home, narrates, how in the course of the last ten years the number of the artist-families have been dwindling. The new generation has no charm for the hereditary profession and the old members are literally starving. Very rarely they get a chance-employment when for repair works the Archaeological Survey employ them on a daily-wage basis. An eminent educationist and art-critic recalls the incident of such an artist he came across. The artist was similarly employed to carve out lattices for a window, and he was requisitioned and sent to some Maharaja's palace by a contractor at a fabulous price. It is no wonder the artists and architects whose forefathers built the great temples of Konarak and Bhuvaneswar, are turning brick-layers and masons.

The question of revitalizing effectively this great tradition of Orissan art deserves undoubtedly a serious and immediate attention. Due to economic pressure the buying capacity of the average man has been greatly affected, it is quite true. But the root of the trouble is somewhere deeper. The average man to-day horribly lacks aesthetic sense. Taste must be created, a steady demand of the product must be guaranteed to avert the impending tragedy. Publicity and marketing are the two important instruments in that respect. But the problem must be tackled in a higher level, if it is to be solved radically. Foreign markets must be explored at any cost and that will not really be a very difficult task. It will ensure the survival of the tradition as well as help the national exchequer to earn more foreign currency, particularly the much-needed dollar.

(Photographs by courtesy of Asutosh Museum)

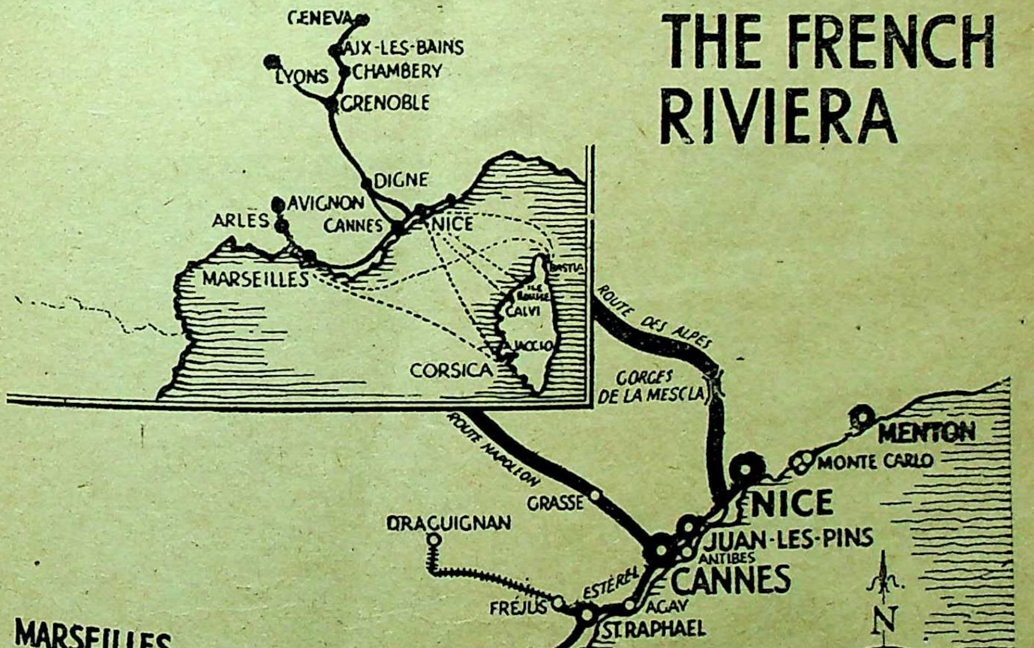
THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

Marseilles to Geneva

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

In the south of France, the countryside of the plains of Provence is barren and rocky. We motored through it from Avignon to Marseilles. This place had traded with distant and strange lands long before there was any nation called the French. Now it is the most important port in France and one of the largest in the world, where ships bring people from all countries of the globe, speaking all the languages of the earth. The breakwater on the west, the biggest barrier raised by men for protection of the quays against the sea, is a great engineering feat and affords marvellous porting facilities. The Cathedral, one of the largest in the world, just stands on the side.

An unforgettable sight is of the unique and imposing transhipping *bridge* which lies alongside the old port where Canebiere, the finest street in Marseilles with cafes, cinemas and shops, terminates. Close by the port, to its east stands the old Abbey of historic associations with catacombs or underground galleries of burials dating from the Christian era. The Notre Dame De la Garde further east, on an eminence, is reached by funicular ascension. A delightful promenade (Cornice, which is a road cut on the side of a steep hill over a precipice) towards east, to the Riviera, winds along the seaport on the slope of a rocky hill, falling sharply to the sea. The celebrated Chateau D'ef, immortalised by Duma's story, *The Count of Monte Cristo,* is visible at a short distance to the south-west. The


THE FRENCH RIVIERA
GENEVA
AIX-LES-BAINS
LYONS
CHAMBERY
GRENOBLE
DIGNE
AVIGNON
ARLES
CANNES
NICE
MARSEILLES
BASTIA
ILE ROUSSE
CALVI
AJACCIO
CORSICA
ROUTE DES ALPES
GORGES DE LA MESCLA
ROUTE NAPOLEON
MENTON
MONTE CARLO
NICE
GRASSE
DRAGUIGNAN
JUAN-LES-PINS
ANTIBES
CANNES
ESTEREL
FREJUS
AGAY
ST. RAPHAEL
MARSEILLES
ST. MAXIME
ST. TROPEZ
CASSIS
LA CIOTAT
LA CROIX
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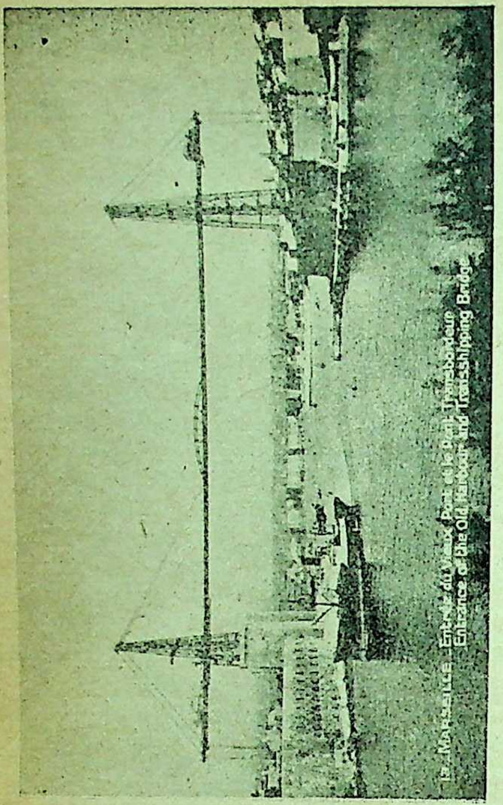
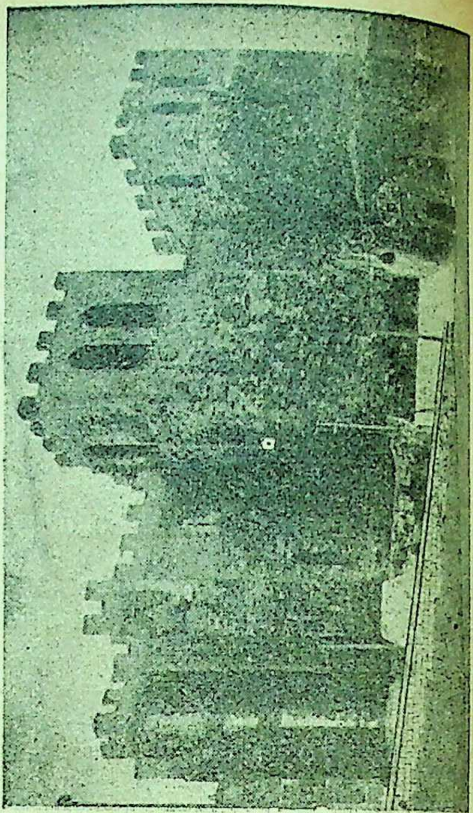
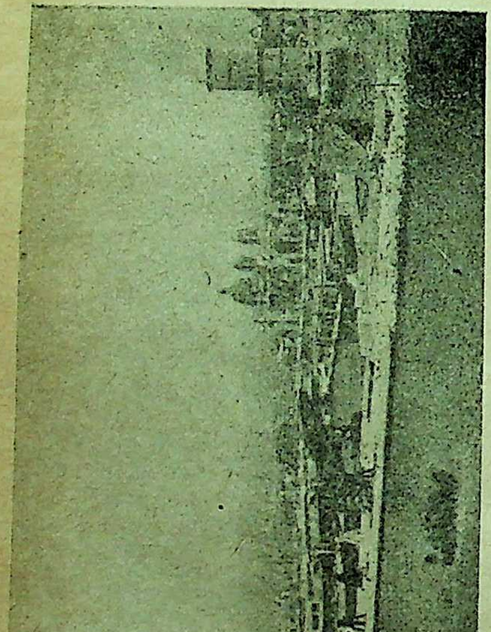
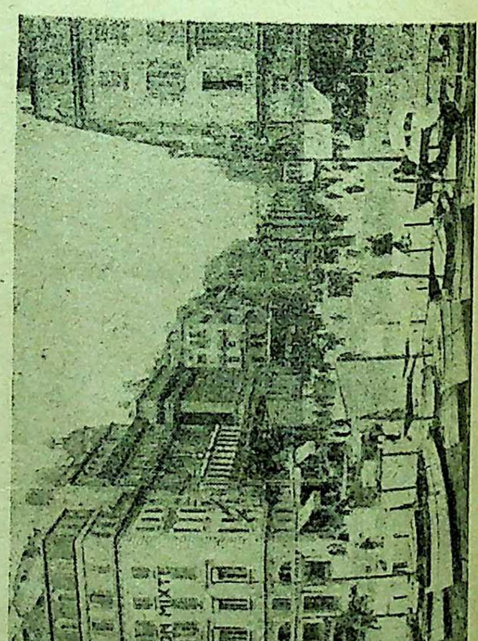

13 Marseille. Entrée du vieux Port et le Pont Transbordeur
Entrance of the Old Harbour and Transhipping Bridge

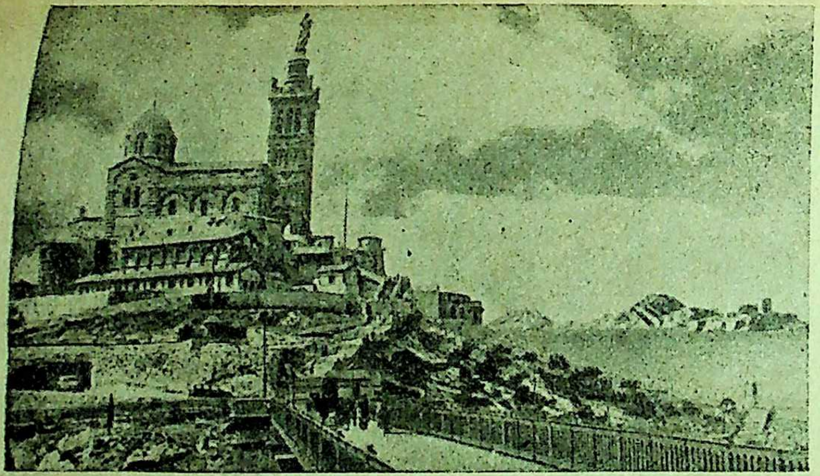
Marseilles. Entrance to the old Harbour and transhipping bridge



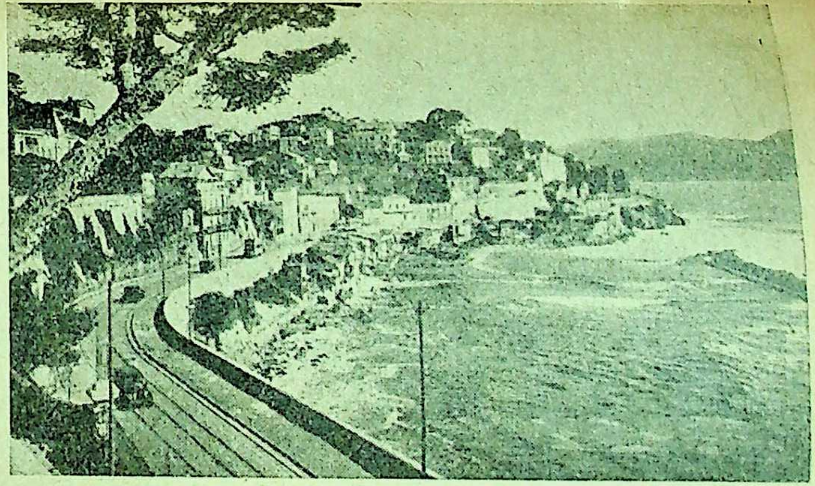


Quay Joliette, Fort St. Jean and the Cathedral, Marseilles

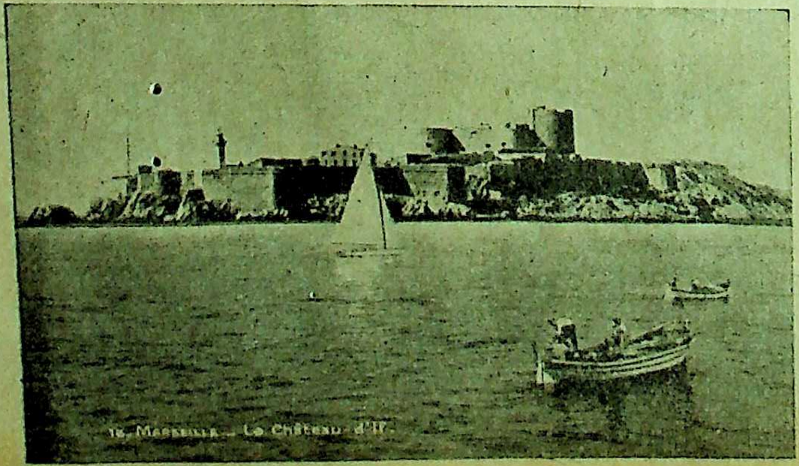

CIE DE NAVIGATION MIXTE



Notre Dame De la Garde



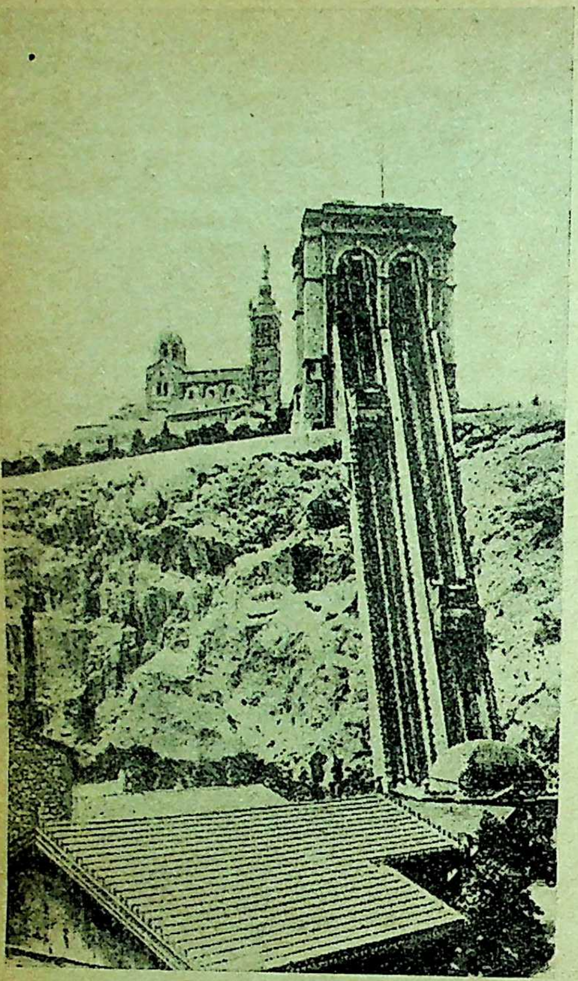
Cornice at Marseilles



15. MARSEILLE — Le Château d'If.

Le Chateau D'ef

Palais De Long Champ



Ascension to Notre Dame De la Garde

Port was built in the 16th century for defenc France against Spaniards and as a state prison the later confined many German spies during the Wa its cells and dungeons. The Cornice leads to the ma ficient avenue of splendid mansions with gardens either side (Prada), linking it with the to Museums and parks surround its round-about (R Port). Between the Old Port, Cornice and Prada, on the northern side of the town, is remarkable Palace Longchamp, one of the finest the world, used as a museum, picture gallery a zoo in its gardens. Below lies the Rail Station with a most imposing flight of stairs l ing to it. There is also the Arch De Triom below the station, not far from the Quays.

The Riviera is a veritable little fairy tucked in between 90 miles of scenic Alpine Ra in the north, of white or red rocks, rugged wild crags and gorges, as well as snow-capped p (which protect it from the harsh cold north wi and the vast expanse of the blue waters of Mediterranian in the south. From here comes many fruits, flowers, perfumes, etc. It is stud with date palms, olive groves, banana and ora trees, eucalyptus, fig and pine forests, vineya rose gardens, violets and hyacinths, a mixture tropical and cold country vegetation. It has t best available weather in Europe. Credit for t discovery, a century ago, of its hidden beaut belongs to an Englishman.

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THE ICONS OF OHRID

By R. P. SINGH

Among several Yugoslav paintings which for long have held a place in world art are some of the icons of Ohrid. Their exceptional quality is discernible even in photographs. Firm lines drawn with extraordinary ease, the ingenuity of composition and the consistency of style, all this bespeaks the marvellous ability of the iconographers of Ohrid.

Craftsmanship, painting and similar other branches of art flourished during the middle ages. However, it was only after the fall of Constantinople to Rome in 1204 that the Balkan province strengthened and steadily gained independence not only economic and political but also, cultural, and expressions of art began to come to the fore among the ethnical, geographical and economic groups. Ohrid, once the political centre of th Macedonian State of Czar Samuilo, and the religio centre of the Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans, agai assumed a leading role in the political, religious, econom and cultural life of this part of the Balkan Peninsula The great painters; Entihijc and Mihailo, the creators o the rare paintings in St. Nikita's Church near Kumano (1313-1317) began to paint at Ohrid, as far as know in 1295 and did the wonderful pictures in the Chur now known as St. Kliment's Church.

Icon from Ohrid portraying the Virgin Mary an Christ are works well-known to art-circles. There are, i addition, numerous icons dating between the thirteen century and the fourteenth. They are so numerous that b their style they may be divided into two great groups —those of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in which the Byzantine school prevails; and those of the middle fourteenth century, in which the hand of local master and influence of the Serbian school is felt.

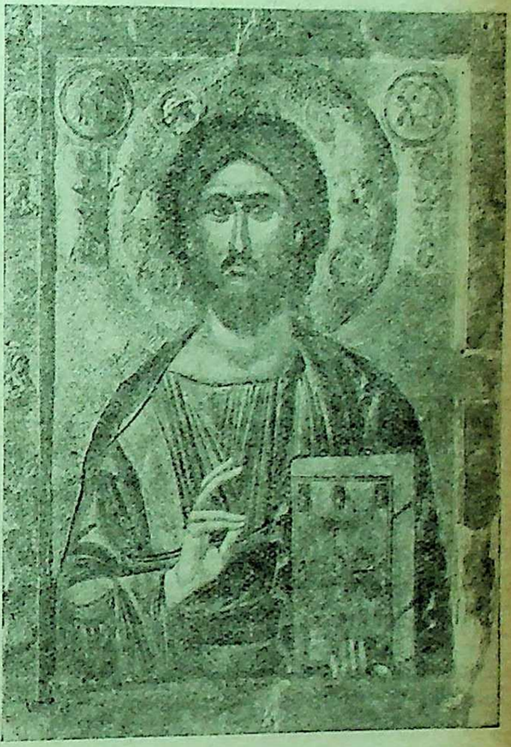
The Ohrid icons of Byzantine school, whether they portray Virgin Mary or Christ, are impressive, balanced, unobtrusive, abstract as a religious symbol and concrete as a work of art. In all of them Virgin Mary devoid of any sign of carefree youth or happiness of motherhood, is calm and majestic; she holds her child in a gesture of adoration. In none of them does she regard the child with the eyes of a mother; she adores in an attitude of obedience, apprehensive of the sacrifie to come.

The frames and backs of the icons are incased in silver plates, stamped with an enamel-incrustated geometrical floral design. Typical of these frames is the purity and regularity of the abstract geometrical designs with highly stylised miniature floral motifs. The icon frames have complex arabesques interwoven between the medallions in relief, which are considered to be of Seljuk origin. The background of the icons Christ the Psychosoter and the Virgin Psychosoteria is filled out with the palmettes so typical of the ornamentation of the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries.

In addiion to the long famous icons of Ohrid depicting Virgin Mary and Christ, there are several compositional icons belonging to the Byzantine group; namely the two icons of the Annunciation belonging to the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Every stroke of the brush is concise and rendered with minimum means. Without indulging in unnecessary decorations, the painter has succeeded in expressing himself briefly and the value of his expression is irresistible in its eloquence. Their frames are generally of beaten silver; they contain figures and busts of saints in relief with a rectangular or circular background. They are adorned with angels or with prophets and have rather regular floriated surfaces.

The icon of Crucifixion belonging to the mid-thirteenth century is more impressive. The painter still appears under the influence of that age-old concept that the crucifixion is irrefutable proof of Christ's divinity. The beautiful torso gives no suggestion of suffering nor does it portray Christ as a human being not immune to bodily pain. Here the Virgin's pose also follows the old pattern of depicting Her as a divine person. She is neither an ordinary woman nor an ordinary mother. Standing alone and tearless, head slightly bent, extended but unimploring hands, transported in a quiet Byzantine gesture, She meditates and adores Her Child. True to older conceptions, the painter has not failed in portraying St. John as a witness of Christ's triumph. But it is in St. John that one notices the great change which the older conception has undergone. No longer with a book in his hand, he now holds his robe drawn close around him, downcast and endeavouring to endure his pain. Broken by suffering, this deeply affected, deeply grieved man has not the strength to make any broader gesture even. His slightly bent head rested on the palm of one hand and the other hand emerging from the sleeve of his robe is magnificiently rendered. Play of light gives perspective and accent to the entire movement.

Full of the abstract as it was, the Byzantine school confronted the painter with unusually complex tasks. He had to interpret religious doctrines and to create masterpieces of art exclusively through his own medium. And to-day the whole Byzantine world, although so remote, speaks to us clearly from these icons, with their quality of execution. The eloquence of the Byzantine painter is still effective, though his theological language is long forgotten.



Christ the Psychosoter

With respect to the second group of the Ohrid icons, one feels the elements of new artistic ideas and execution due to the tendencies of the native masters and the growing influence of Serbian art. The icon of the Presentation shows the new features of style. Like frescoes the figures on this icon are executed with broad movements. The colouring is light and light effects are strongly accentuated. A new spirit emanates from the painting. The figures have shed the influence of the antique; the girls have a more primitive elegance. Slimness of the girls is brought out on the one hand by painting larger and stouter figures of the High Priests on the right and left, and on the other hand, by the exceptionally slender columns of the building in the background. Drawing, although cruder, the brush strokes are resolute. Figures have been executed in such a novel manner that they appear as an inseparable part of the group, every individual as a figure subordinate to the whole. All these features of style are directly connected with the contemporary Serbian fresco paint.

The third icon of Virgin is far more interesting, being detached from the Balkan School as a whole by reasons of its artistic conception. It was most probably painted in Czar Dusan's time and bears the traces of western influence. In this icon the child Christ is in the arms, not of an unwordly tragic Byzantine virgin, but in the arms of a beautiful young woman, who holds him with unusual ease, her right hand between his legs. Here the whole basic idea is changed, the painter wants to paint a young mother with her healthy child. The colours are exceptional, unusually intense and bold and constitute a bold novelty unique in Balkan iconography as the execution of the image itself. For the first time a Balkan icon of the Virgin is given in detail, realistica even to the eye-lashes. Actually it does not depict t change in some other form but the changes in t painter's attitude towards the image, towards the ba problems. It is no longer a dogmatic and rig representation of an unreal deity, but of a living figu which shows life and lives.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the painte of Ohrid themselves. Ohrid was a very famous a important cultural centre not only of medieval Macedo but of all the South Slavs. Of these relics and rema of the glorious past, with the exception of a few wh may be ascribed to outsider hands, the remainder m undoubtedly have been the work of Ohrid's master Periodical influence of Constantinople and Serbia in way diminishes their value. They occupy their pla in the world art and represent the glorious traditions Ohrid iconographers.

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MRS. MARGARET E. COUSINS

An Obituary Tribute

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The death of Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins at the ripe old age of 76, on the 11th March, at Madras, removes from the rich gallery of European women one of the most talented and liberal-minded souls who had not only made India their home, but identified themselves with Indians in their struggle for political and spiritual freedom. She was one of the great galaxy of stars, who illuminated the Indian sky with the brilliance of their great service to India in various phases of life and living. For her sympathies with Indian culture and her great sacrifices for the cause of Indian liberty in all its phases, her name is recorded with the same string of names as Sister Nivedita, Maud McCarthy, Nora Richards, Mirrah Richards and others who have devoted their lives to the regeneration of Indian spiritual life.

Born of musical parents on 7th November, 1878 at Boyle in the County of Roscommon (Ireland), she grew up under religious impulses, determined to live a life dedicated to the service of God and humanity.

She much loved her only brother Surgeon Major Lougheed who had served in the Crimean and Chinese Wars and brought back pieces of carved ivory and embroidered silk costumes, which stirred in Margaret's young heart the longing to see the Far East and particularly India. She got a good sound elementary education in a co-educational "National School," where French and piano lessons were given. She passed her matriculation in the Derry Boarding School, and specialized in study for the Bachelor of Music degree a the Royal University of Ireland, usually standing secon in music competitions.

Before qualifying for the Music Degree in 1902, sh was engaged to Dr. James H. Cousins, attracted b his poetry and dramas and also by his love of t beautiful things, but she disliked his vegetarianism, y was reluctantly made to meet him at a vegeta restaurant, a rendezvous for the literary set led by th poet AE, where she also met a number of Hin vegetarians who had come to Dublin on medical a legal studies. Married in 1903, she announced her v for vegetarianism at the wedding breakfast. Broug to a lecture by Mrs. Annie Besant she was not mu impressed by her subject-matter or presonality, but w overwhelmed by Paderewski, when she heard his fi recital in Dublin. Her married life began with dra and music and she collaborated in the production o Dr. Cousins' first play *The Sword of Dermot*, sponsore by the Irish Literary Theatre.

Joining the agitation for votes for women under th Irish Women's Franchise League, she broke the window of Dublin Castle, and was sentenced to a month imprisonment. Released on 27th February, 1913, s joined her husband, leaving Ireland for Liverpool e *route* to India. Arriving at Madras on 1st Novemb 1915, she was taken with her husband and lodged at th Theosophical Society at Adyar. Joining the Women Indian Association, she drafted the Memorial for Vo for Indian Women, and joined the Deputation on the Viceroy and Secretary of State at Madras on 18th December, 1917. Later she toured in Northern India, winning support for Women's Rights and strengthened the movement.

For a year during the absence of her husband, she joined as Head Mistress of a Girl's School in Mangalore, where "she had to live from hand to mouth, sans piano, sans home, sans spiritual friendship, and deprived of a sight of herself, as no mirror was provided for her."

Between school activities, and the editing of *Stri Dharma* and suffragette agitations, her husband returned from Japan and they came to Adyar. To this time belongs the staging of Tagore's play, *King of the Dark Chamber*, got up by Mrs. Cousins "with the help of a big jolly Mohammedan, a hearty Indian Christian, two Hindu widows, a re-married Hindu widow, and a western woman who ate together and enjoyed unrestrained laughter during the rehearsals."

Intense agitation for Votes for Women and the publication of her book on *The Awakening of India Womanhood* (1923) were followed by her appointment as the first woman Magistrate in Madras and, a year after, she published her experiences as a Magistrate in the *Times of India*. This was followed by more hectic activities for starting branches of Women's Indian Association throughout India by means of lecture-tours, which brought victory, the Government conferring the voting right on women (31st October, 1923).

A vacation in Europe (1923-25) was followed by continuous activities for development of Women's Movement, culminating in an All-India Women's Conference (organized by her) at Poona, with 5492 members and 59 elected delegates.

In April 1928, she left Madres for a tour round the world with her husband, sharing his work in preaching Indian Culture abroad. She frequently lectured on "The Awakening of Asian Women," culminating in a magnificent sermon at Geneva on "The World Mother," the Indian conception of *Jagadamba*, winding with a Women's Deputation on Disarmament to the League of Nations. Crossing over to America in 1929, she began to keep the American Press informed of the Advance of Women, meeting and talking to the press-men at the custom-barriers. Her Lectures at the Theosophical Lodge at New York and Philadelphia won her a present of an overcoat. She lectured frequently at meetings of women of the Jewish Council and the Pennsylvania College for Women and at other places; everywhere, the call on her was for first-hand information about India, especially about the conditions of life and status of Indian women, on which she spoke at the Women's International League and at the Women's Republican Club.

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins

Returning to India she resumed her activities in the cause of Indian Women, frequently travelling to the North and South, during the absence of Dr. Cousins on a second visit to the States in 1930. She worked for several months and organized the Session of the First All-Asia Women's Conference with Sarojini Naidu as the President-Elect (then in jail). She had to leave India in 1932 to join her husband in America, where she organized and spoke at several protest meetings held against the imprisonment of the Mahatma, Mrs. Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Malaviya and others. Leaving America in October 1932, she came back to India by the overland route, stopping at Jaffa, Telaviv, Jerusalem and Baghdad, making intimate contact with the Jewish Women's Association. Returning to India, she interviewed the Mahatma and Kamala Chattopadhyaya in jail and planned to make organized public protests against the prevailing official ordinances against public speech in support of Freedom Movement. Addressing several such meetings, she was warned and then prosecuted and on 10th December, 1932 she was sentenced to simple imprisonment for one year. An extract from her statement at the trial is very interesting reading: "The fact that I am in this Court today is no accident. It is the result of seventeen years of intimate living and working with my Indian sisters and brothers. In moving freely with them in attempting to do constructive work, I and my husband learned how exploitation and injustice through foreign rule is crushing them down." In prison she used to sing with other prisoners Mrs. Besant's song, "God save our Motherland," in place of "God save the

King"—though set to the same tune. On the day she was set free she was given an ovation and smothered in garlands and flowers, and, ever since she came out of prison she took to wearing *Khaddar* frocks. She did not think that the time she spent in prison was lost, for she knew that influences and thoughts had been released that would have an enormous effect on the future of India.

The year after the jail she was made to preside at the annual meeting of the Women's Indian Association at Madras and took part in the Calcutta Session, doing her share of proposings and secondings at the delegates' meetings; the most important of the resolutions that she sponsored was one protesting against Capital Punishment on Women. In the following months, inspired by Gandhi, she joined the workers for the backward classes, visiting scavengers' and smiths' Settlements at Kotagiri and improving their life by providing pure water for drinking purposes. At Madanpalli College she continued her social works, admitting Harijan students in the College Hostel of which she was the Honorary Superintendent. Her interest in music made the Madras University appoint her Chairman of the Board of Studies in Music. In 1935 she worked for the election of Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipati to the Madras Legislative Council, addre mass meetings, leading processions and house to h canvassing, assisting the first Congress Woman to at a Parliamentary seat. The next few years were b with work of the All-India Women's Conferences, A India Congress Committees and Music Conferences, a many of which she presided. Her part in the Wome Movement was deep and sincere, as she passionat believed that the future of humanity was with womanho Her musical accomplishments stood her in good ste and she had frequently collected money for work for t All-India Women's Conferences by giving piano reci She had frequently addressed mass-meetings of Wom Mill-Workers at Coimbatore and other places. H literary work has varied from time to time, chi confined to reviews for the press and to the contin editing of the *Stri-Dharma*, regularly published f several years. Her book *The Music of Orient a Occident* has passed through two editions and deals wi many technical musical problems.

Since 1943 she had an attack of paralysis which h curtailed her activities. Her death, a few days ago, h rung down the curtain on a life full of dramatic activit in the services of India and her culture.

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DR. MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR

By NARENDRA NATH BASU,

Life Member, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science

JUST half a century ago Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar breathed his last on the 23rd February, 1904. In the *Indian Nation* its editor Principal N. N. Ghosh wrote:

> "There could not have passed away a more distinguished representative of the intellectual life of modern Bengal. For about forty years he had not only been a conspicuous figure in society but an earnest and assiduous worker in many fields."

After setting forth the life-work of Dr. Sircar, he concluded:

> "This insatiable seeker of knowledge, this untiring worker, this heroic champion of so many good causes, this priest of science, whose loss we mourn today, will undoubtedly occupy one of the highest places in the category of the children that Bengal has borne in the English regime. And it will be long before the place is filled of one so richly endowed by nature and so trained by self-discipline, so versatile, so discriminating, so valiant, so true to the ideal and so firm in his convictions."

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar is known throughout India and abroad as the Founder of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Eighty-five years ago Dr. Sircar realised that without the aid of science India could not really advance. The *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* was started January, 1868. In its number for August, 1869, published an article "On the Desirability of National Institution for the Cultivation of t Physical Sciences by the Natives of India," wh was the starting point of the Indian Association f the Cultivation of Science. After six years of cease efforts, with the help he received from his rich frie and from some native princes, he was able to fo this Science Association. Even in some countries Europe no such national institution had yet be established.

It was in the laboratory of this Association th Sir C. V. Raman worked, and the success he achie in his experiments brought him world-wide fame a the Nobel Prize.

At present the Indian Association for the Cu vation of Science has been removed from the crow quarters of Bowbazar to a spacious building built f the purpose at Jadavpur. The two great scienti Sir Jnanchandra Ghosh, D.Sc., who has been rece appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calc University and Prof. Meghnath Saha, D.Sc., of in national fame and now its directors.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar was born on the 2nd November, 1833, in Paikpara, a village 18 miles west of Howrah. At the age of 5, he was brought by his mother with an infant brother of 6 months to the house of her brothers in Calcutta (Sankaritola).

Shortly after arrival at Calcutta, his father died at Paikpara, when only 32 years old. His mother survived her husband's death about 4 years, and died of cholera when she was about 32 years of age.

The rudiments of his vernacular education was in a neighbouring *pathshala* under a *Gurumahasay*, and shortly after, the rudiments of his English education was under Thakurdas Dey, to whom he remained attached to the last.

After about a year under Thakurdas Dey, his youngest uncle, Mahesh Chunder Ghosh, got him admitted in David Hare's school, in which pupils were all free. About a year and a half after his admission, Hare died in June 1842. Owing to his illness after Hare's death, he was absent for a long time from the school, and his name was struck off the roll. He was re-admitted by the kindness of Uma Charan Mitter, then headmaster of the school, whose memory he held in the greatest reverence and gratitude.

He remained in Hare's school till 1849, when he obtained a junior scholarship and was promoted to the Hindu College. He remained in this College till the beginning of 1854, where he became a favourite of Mr. Sutcliffe, Principal and Professor of Mathematics, and of Mr. Jones, Professor of Literature and Philosophy. He could have remained a year or two longer at the College, which then became the Presidency College, enjoying his senior scholarship. But his ardour for Science had become so great, especially after reading Mill's Logic and other similar books, which, he saw, could only be understood after a practical study of the Sciences, and there being no other institution except the Calcutta Medical College where some of the most important sciences were practically taught, determined to leave the Presidency College to get admission into the Medical College.

He had to remain 6 years in the Medical College from the session 1854-55 to 1859-60 when he passed the L.M.S. examination. At the Medical College he became a pet of all the Professors, especially of Dr. Archer, Professor of Diseases of the Eye. It was in this wise that he attracted the attention of Dr. Archer. When in his second year he had to take a relative (a young boy) of his to the Out-door Dispensary for some eye disease. Dr. Archer was in the habit of testing the knowledge of the students (5th year) who used to attend his clinique, by asking them to answer rather difficult questions on the anatomy and physiology of the eye and on the laws of light. It happened one day that none of the students could answer a question that was put to them about a particular point in the anatomy of the eye. Sircar, who was at a distance taking medicine from the compounder, answered the question in a rather loud voice. "Who is that fellow?" asked Dr. Archer. His students, who knew Sircar, told the Professor that he was a second year student of the College. "A second year student answering my questions—call him here." On approaching him, Sircar was literally smothered with various questions about the eye, and the answers being satisfactory, he was asked to attend his clinique every day, though the case for which he had been attending the Dispensary had become nearly well.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar
(four months before his death)

At the request of the senior students and with the permission of the Professors and the Principal, he delivered a course of lectures on optics, in order to enable the students to better understand the mechanism of the eye as an optical instrument. In this year he delivered a lecture at a meeting of the Bethune Society on the Adaptation of the Human Eye to Distance.

His career in the Medical College was a pretty satisfactory one. He obtained medals, prizes and scholarships in Botany, Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery.

At the insistence of Dr. Fayrer he went up to the M.D. examination in 1863, and came out first, the other candidate, the late Dr. Juggobundoo Bose, being second. Dr. Sircar was the second M.D. of the University, the late Dr. Kali Kumar Dey being the first.

In this year the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association was established through the exertions of the late Dr. Chukerbutty. At the inaugural meeting he made a speech denouncing homœopathy. He was at first elected its Secretary and, after three years, one of its Vice-Presidents.

His speech at the inaugural meeting of the Association attracted the attention of the late Babu Rajinder Dutt, who thought he saw in him one who, if converted, would advance the cause of Homœopathy. But his arguments were of no avail. He did not deny the cures he effected, but attributed them to the strict regimen enjoined. One day a friend asking him to review Morgan's Philosophy of Homœopathy for the *Indian Field*, he readily agreed, for, he thought he would now have an opportunity of exposing the absurdity of the system. The first perusal of the pamphlet convinced him, however, that it could not be properly reveiwed without a previous practical acquaintance with the system. The author appeals to facts, and they must be observed and scrutinized before they can be proved to be false. This led him to observe cases under Babu Rajinder Dutt, and it was not long before he saw that there was truth in the system and that the profession was doing a gross injustice to it by ostracising those who adopted it. This led him to deliver the address in Medicine under the title of the "Supposed Uncertainty in Medical Science, etc."

He was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1870 (December 3), and was placed on the Faculty of Arts. Eight years after, in 1878, by a resolution of the Senate at its annual meeting, he was placed on the Faculty of Medicine. The members of the Faculty protested and objected to associate with one who professed and practised the absurd and unscientific system of Homœopathy. This drew forth a letter from Dr. Sircar to which they replied. This drew forth a second letter in which the cardinal doctrines of Homœopathy were set forth with indisputable facts and authoritative opinions from the best men of the profession, from Hippocrates downwards, making it clear to any one who would take the trouble of reading it that Homœopathy was really the only scientific system of medicine as yet established, and not the absurd and irrational system of transcendental nonsense as misrepresented by the Faculty. This gained him a signal triumph in the Senate who upheld their resolution nominating him to the Faculty of Medicine.

It was not till six years after its first idea was put forth that the Science Association was established in 1876. Dr. Sircar was made a C.I.E. in 1883, appointed Member of the Bengal Council on January, 1887, and was re-elected for the fourth But he soon retired after his last election in 18

Appointed Sheriff in December, 1887. Obt the Honorary D.L. of the Calcutta University 1898. Was President of the Faculty of Arts for years (1893-97). For ten years member of the S cate, and, generally in the absence of the Chancellor, used to preside at its meetings.

For several years Member of Council of Asiatic Society of Bengal. Till his death a Tr of the Indian Museum, as a representative of Asiatic Society. Life-Member, British Association Cultivation of Science. Corresponding Mem American Institute of Homœopathy, and of British Homœopathic Society. Life-Member, A nomical Society of France.

Dr. Sircar had four serious attacks of fever, first was septic fever from dissection wound in second year at the Medical College, from which suffered for six months and was only cured aft change. The second was an attack of malarious f contracted in a village between Dumurdah Balagar where he had gone to treat the mal stricken villagers. This lasted four years. He was till 1874 when from continuous observations of heavens with a telescope then recently purchased, contracted bronchitic asthma which never ceased trouble him.

The second attack of malarious fever was c tracted in 1875 at Pandua where he had gone to tr a patient. This was so serious as to bring him death's door. It lasted three years. The two att of malarious fever and the asthma gradually co pelled him to reduce his dietary considerably.

The last attack of malarious fever was contrac at Tallyganj where he had gone in November, 1 to treat the late Prince Ferokh Shah at the insiste of a friend against his will, knowing that the pl had become deadly malarious. On the day of fourth visit he got the fever which clung to him the last.

His last ailment, prostatic dysuria from gravel the prostate gland, which began when he first w to Baidyanath-Deoghar in 1891, culminated in co plete retention of urine on January 2, 1901, si when he was confined to his home.

He raised his fee from Rs. 4 to 10 after pass his M.D.; from 10 to 16 from the 1st Septemb 1874 after his breakdown from asthma; from 16 32 from 1897. Shortly after that he had to raise it 100 to avoid repeated calls. Since January, 1901, was unable to go out visiting patients. Patients ca to him for consultation at home.

On the 2nd November, 1903, Dr. Sircar ent into his 71st year. His friends, relatives and d pupils celebrated the completion of his 70th year the following Sunday the 8th November. Bengali and English verses were recited and songs composed to mark the occasion were sung. Everyone present prayed for Dr. Sircar's long life and relief of his sufferings. Dr. Sircar replied with feeling. Tears flowed from his eyes. Those present were very much moved by his utterance.

Within four months of the above function and after ten days of great suffering from the retention of urine the great son of Bengal, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar passed away on Tuesday, 23rd February, 1904, at 5-10 a.m.

His firm faith in truth which converted him to homœopathy based on a rational and scientific principle lost him the approbation of his medical colleagues in his practice of medicine and the seat in the Medical Faculty of the Calcutta University. The prejudices in Calcutta of the practitioners of the old school of medicine sent him to the Engineering Faculty of the University of which he was a member to the last. They would bear his being an Engineer without any engineering qualifications, but they could not tolerate his brilliance in his own profession because of his faith in Homœopathy. Any other man with less distinctions in many spheres of life, would have succumbed to their tyranny. Yet Dr. Sircar had been the only medical man in Calcutta who had been a Sheriff and a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. His facility in English composition and energetic faultless elocution—rare in Indian medicos, added to his other qualifications, were more than a match to his old school colleagues. He soared aloft keeping them at a distance.

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HAROLD LASKI AND THE IDEAL OF NATIONALISM

BY RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA,

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"NATIONALISM," as Christopher Lloyd has rightly said, "is the religion of the modern world," as "it is rooted in the deepest instincts in man."[1]

It is a condition of mind, according to Hayes, "in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its 'mission' are integral parts . . . . It is this nationalism which colours thought and conditions action in political, social and cultural spheres, in our domestic politics and in our foreign relations."[2]

This spiritual sentiment is one of the most significant emotional factors for which men "have died and conquered." It has since the time of Joan of Arc inspired many persons to make great sacrifices. It has been directly and indirectly responsible for the liberation of many countries from the foreign yoke. It has particularly since the partition of Poland in 1772 acted, as Laski has said, as a powerful "political dynamite" in many lands and caused subversive movements there. The German philosopher Fichte and the Italian patriot Mazzini have, amongst others, been the high priests of the cult of nationalism. Fichte's inspiring "Addresses to the German Nation" are one of the causes which led to the emergence of modern Germany. And addressing the Italian workingmen Mazzini declared:[3]

> "Your country should be your Temple. God at the summit, a People of equals at the base. Do not accept any other formula, any other moral law, if you do not want to dishonour your country and yourselves."

The effect of Mazzini's call to "Young Italy" need not be retold. Thus this spiritual sentiment of nationalism has not only guided political thought and action in different countries but has also helped the progress of civilization.

> "Humanity at large," says Burns,[4] "is benefited by the preservation of . . . . many distinct types. For the human race is not at its best when every man or every group is a copy of every other. Civilization progresses by differentiation as well as by assimilation of interests and character."

Yet, Prof. Harold Laski is one of those persons, who in their anxiety for the welfare of mankind offer a direct challenge to the cult of nationalism as it has developed since the last quarter of the 18th century. In spite of its great influence Laski does not accept this time-honoured political principle as an unmixed blessing for humanity and shows its dangerous implications. He does not, however, deny the fact that nationalism has been a strong political force.

> "I do not deny," he says,[5] "the strength of the national claim; the evidence is too fiercely strong on every side of us. I admit, gladly and willingly, that

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[1] See Lloyd, *Democracy and Its Rivals*, p. 1.

[2] Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 6.

[3] See Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 57.

[4] See Burns, *Political Ideals*, p. 194.

[5] See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 16.

> people charged with the care of its own destiny achieves thereby a spaciousness not otherwise capable of being attained. Self-respect, exhilaration, creativeness—all these seem to be the definite outcome of self-government."

But he emphatically concludes that the sooner this political principle is discarded the better it is for the progress of humanity. In a creative civilization, nationalism has no place.

> "We must," he unequivocally declares,[6] "learn to think internationally or we perish—that, I suggest, is the clear alternative before us."

Laski regards nationalism as a quality making for separateness and holds that it is "builded, doubtless, upon the basis of gregariousness."

> "At bottom," he says,[7] "it seems a genuinely instinctive expression of kinship with a chosen group that is deliberately exclusive in temper. And because it is exclusive, it seeks autonomy, even if autonomy involves economic sacrifice." And "it is at the point where nationalism invokes autonomy as its right that the needs of civilisation begin to emerge. For to demand autonomy in the modern world is, in effect, to demand the whole panoply of the soverign State."

He challenges the idea developed by Hegel and Mazzini[8] that the nation-State is the ultimate unit in human organization and, therefore, the ultimate unit in human allegiance.

> "A nationalism," he remarks,[9] "that implies the sovereign right of self-determination is, therefore, a principle of which the consequences are far different from those envisaged by men like Mazzini and Mill. It involves the politics of prestige, and these, in their turn, involve a world so ordered that relationships between nations cannot become matters to be determined by justice. It is not necessary to deny the reality, even the validity, of national feeling to realise that it is built on emotions which are, in the atmosphere of contemporary civilization, fraught with grave danger."
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> "It is . . . . idle to deny," he maintains,[10] "that there is an egoism in the national state which bodes ill for mankind . . . . The nation-state, having c to be, yearns to be strong . . . . It seeks sec from attack, and there comes the probl armaments and strategic frontiers. It seeks an o for its surplus population; and there are re experiments in colonization. Its merchants r anxiety about their markets, and we are plunged i imperialist and mercantilist adventures about wh the spirit of nationality throws a dengerous glam

The character of modern industrialism, Laski fur holds[11] "has created a world-market and a world ma implies foreign competition." "No nation can consume all that it produces" and it is "compelle find markets for its surplus goods" and "to minimise competition of its rivals in that trade."

> "Domestically the form taken by that minimi is a protective tariff; abroad, it takes the form colonization, of concessions in undeveloped coun of favoured-nation clauses in commercial treaties, the like. Freedom of international trade, in o words becomes limited by the demands of nationa It is found, in the classic phrase, that trade fo the flag. The power of the nation-State may exerted to obtain a market dominated by s special national group."* And "as power exte nationalism becomes transformed into imperiali The romantic penumbra of patriotism is expl . . . . to consolidate the interests of some spe group."

And the result of any hindrance to national inte and national prestige is war.

> "The character of modern warfare," he rema "implies further difficulties for civilization. destructiveness is so great that the nation-State m direct the organization of its resources to safeguar itself from the dangers involved in war."

But each nation-state will do the same; "and t is engendered a competition in the armament of p which acts so as to jeopardise the maintenance of pe to provoke an atmosphere of nervous hostility, and induce the smaller States into alliance with powe neighbours that they may win security by that multip strength. So organised, the distribution of nation-S resembles nothing so much as a powder-magazine w as in 1914, a single chance may suffice to provoke conflagration."[12] Laski, therefore, suggests that the solution of the world problem is the establishment a 'cosmopolitan law-making' body. The present unfette discretion of a single nation-state to will war must replaced by the law of an international community prevent it. This means "the end of the sovereignty the state in international affairs," and "compels us think of the *civitas maxima* first, and of the nation-s as a mere province in that wider community."†

> "In a creative civilisation," he insists,[13] "wha important is not the historical accident of sep

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[6] *Ibid*, p. 27.

[7] See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 221.

[8] It is difficult to agree with the view which Laski has taken about Mazzini here. Mazzini was both a nationalist and an internationalist. Thus we find him saying to the Italian workingmen, "You fall to the level of the brutes and violate God's Law whenever you suppress, or allow to be suppressed, one of the faculties which constitute human nature in yourself or in others . . . Life . . . was given you by God that you might use it for the benefit of humanity . . . Love humanity. Ask yourselves whenever you do an action in the sphere of your country, or your family, *If what I am doing were done by all and for all, would it advantage or injure Humanity ?* and if your conscience answers, *It would injure Humanity*, desist; desist, even if it seem to you that an immediate advantage for your country or your family would ensue from your action. Be apostles of this faith, apostles of the brotherhood of nations, and of the unity of the human race." "Your first duties," he continues, "first, at least in importance—are, as I have told you, to Humanity. You are men before you are *citizens* or *fathers*." (See Mazzini, *The Duties of Man, etc.*, Chs. IV and V, Everyman's Library).

[9] See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 225.

[10] See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 17.

[11] See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, Ch. VI.

* See *ibid*.

[12] See *ibid*.

† See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p

[13] See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 64.

States, but the scientific fact of world-interdependence. The real unit of allegiance is the world. The real obligation of obedience is to the total interest of our fellow-men . . . . Our problem is not to reconcile the interest of humanity with the interest of England; our problem is so to act that the policy of England naturally implies the well-being of humanity."

"Nor," he adds,[14] "can we, in the sphere of international facts, leave England or France to decide in an absolute fashion upon the way in which each should live. There are problems of which the impact upon humanity is too vital for any State to be left to determine by itself what solution it will adopt. The notion of independent sovereignty, for example, leaves France free to invade Germany when and how she pleases; and the only retort that can be made is either a dissent which does not alter the fact, or a war which destroys civilisation. Once we realise that the well-being of the world is, in all large issues, one and indivisible, the co-ordinate determination of them is the primary condition of social peace."

On the other hand,

> "The notion of an independent sovereign State is, on the international side, fatal to the well-being of humanity. The way in which a State should live its life in relation to other States is clearly not a matter in which that State is entitled to be the sole judge. That way lies the long avenue of disastrous warfare of which the rape of Belgium is the supreme moral result in modern times. The common life of States is a matter for common agreement between States. International government is, therefore, axiomatic in any plan for international well-being."[15]

The only alternative to the acceptance of this view is disaster.

"World community and the sovereign-state," he emphatically concludes,[16] "are incompatible terms. We must choose between the one and the other; we cannot have both. We must recognize that international law has a claim superior to municipal . . . . Nationalism emerging into statehood results, in a word, in an egoism we have discovered to be intolerable. Either we must curb its excesses—which means the end of the soverign-state—or they will destroy civilization."

It is worthy of note here that Laski's view on nationalism is essentially in agreement with that of Rabindranath Tagore, according to whom also[17] "nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, and eating into its moral vitality."

"The Nation," he further says,[18] "with all its paraphernalia of power and prosperity, its flags and pious hymns, its blasphemous prayers in the churches, and the literary mock thunders of its patriotic bragging, cannot hide the fact that the Nation is the greatest evil for the Nation, that all its precautions are against it, and any new birth of its fellow in the world is always followed in its mind by the dread of a new peril. Its one wish is to trade on the feebleness of the rest of the world, like some insects that are bred in the paralysed flesh of victims kept just enough alive to make them toothsome and nutritious."

"Those who can see," he continues,[19] "know that men are so closely knit that when you strike others the blow comes back to yourself. The moral law, which is the greatest discovery of man, is the discovery of this wonderful truth, that man becomes all the truer the more he realizes himself in others. The truth has not only a subjective value, but is manifested in every department of our life. And nations who sedulously cultivate moral blindness as the cult of patriotism will end their existence in a sudden and violent death."

And "where the spirit of the Western nationalism prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means—by the manufacture of half-truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavourable sentiments towards them, by setting up memorials of events, very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbours and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountainhead of humanity. It is discrediting the ideals, which were born of the lives of men who were our greatest and best. It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the one universal religion for all nations of the world."[20]

So far as Tagore's own creed is concerned, he says:[21]

> "Even though from childhood I had been taught that idolatry of the Nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countrymen will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity."

Thus it is evident that both the thinkers are of opinion that in a progressive civilization the concept of nationalism, as it has developed particularly in Western countries, ought to be discarded, since it lies at the root of all present international animosities. The view of Laski is a genuine break from the idea that the principle of nationalism is conducive to the welfare of humanity.

But a simple study of the twentieth century political developments proves that the concept of nationalism is too strong a political force to-day to be discarded without an instinctive change in human nature. It is this concept which has inspired the people of India in its struggle for political freedom. It was at the root of the revival of Germany after the First World War. It has led to the freedom of the Irish people. Even in the communistic State of the U.S.S.R. the spirit of nationalism has influenced political thought and action.

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[14] *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 65.

[16] See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 43.

[17] See Tagore, *Nationalism*, 1950, p. 16.

[18] *Ibid*, pp. 29-30.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 78.

[20] *Ibid*, p. 79.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 106.

"Even Marxian Socialism," says Hayes,[22] "despite its international programme and its cosmopolitan slogans, is essentially national; it propagates its doctrine within the framework of the national state; it co-operates with nationalists in the destruction of imperial states; and when it ascends to political power, as in Russia, it exalts, rather than abases, the national state."

Thus we find that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. explicitly states:

> "The defence of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the homeland: violation of the oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military might of the state, espionage: shall be punished with the full severity of the law as the gravest crime" (Article 133).

In the Second World War we have noticed the tremendous influence of the doctrine of nationalism on the U.S.S.R. We also see its influence on current international politics. Thus we find that nationalism as a product of the gregarious instinct of man still manifests itself as a strong political force. It can never be totally suppressed either for the sake of civilization or for humanity. At the same time, there is no doubt that perverted and aggressive nationalism is a menace to civilization.

There is another point to which we should like to make reference here. Laski discards the doctrine of nationalism and wants to reduce the nation-State to a mere province in a wider community—*'the civitas maxima.'* He would permit the world community as he contemplates to control the nation-State, but he does not clearly explain what should be the relationship between the two. Perhaps, a clearer and a more balanced view has been taken by Sri Aurobindo. Though the latter feels the need of a new world order based upon some form of unification, he prefers, "a world-union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity" to "a World-State founded upon the principle of centralisation and uniformity, a mechanical and formal unity."[23]

This question "of the form of a World-State," he says, "is beset with doubts and difficulties that ar the moment insoluble."[24]

> "A free world union," he observes, "must i very nature be a complex unity based on a dive and that diversity must be based on free determination."[25]

The most desirable form of world-union would he says again,

> "A federation of free nationalities in which subjection or forced inequality and subordinatio one to another would have disappeared and, th some might preserve a greater natural influence, would have an equal status. A confederacy give the greatest freedom to the nations constit the World-State, but this might give too much for fissiparous or centrifugal tendencies to ope a federal order would then be the most desir All else would be determined by the cours events and by general agreement or the shape by the ideas and necessities that may grow up in future. A world-union of this kind would have greatest chances of long survival or perm existence."[26]

Sri Aurobindo adds, however, that this formatio a world-union cannot be possible unless men of diffe nationalities are imbued with the sense of a "religio humanity," for, "an inner change could alone give chance of durability to the unification."[27]

> "There would be needed," he suggests,[28] "to the change persist, a religion of humanity or equivalent sentiment much more powerful, expl self-conscious, universal in its appeal than nationalist's religion of country; the clear recogn by man in all his thought and life of a single in humanity of which each man and each people an incarnation and soul-form; an ascension of beyond the principle of ego which lives separativeness,—and yet there must be no destruct of individuality, for without that man would stagn

This seems to be a more rational view. No union can survive long unless it is based on consciousness of the unity of mankind and its comm of purpose and interests.

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[22] See Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 253.

[23] See Sri Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, p. 234.

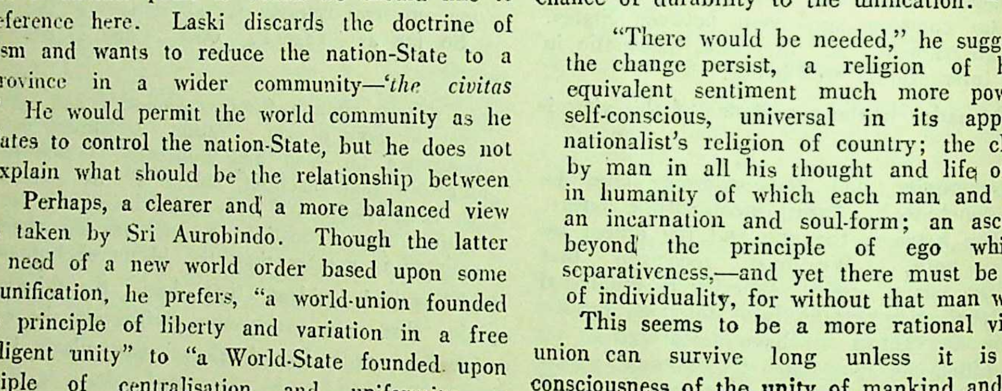
[24] *Ibid*, p. 246.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 331.

[26] *Ibid*, p. 400.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 340.

[28] *Ibid*, p. 360.



SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

How A "Pure and Manly Life" Took Shape

By S. N. DUTT, M.A., B.L.

"There is one thing grander than the sea; that is the sky. There is one thing grander than the sky; that is the human soul."—VICTOR HUGO.

IN Syama Prasad Mookerjee's passing India has lost such a soul. A great man with a great soul. He was Mother India's one of the most beloved—a patriot of patriots and a giant among men. Much has been written and spoken about his life and works; much more remain to come to light. A master-mind's portrait that undoubtedly Syama Prasad was can be drawn only by a master-artist. My humble endeavour is just to present to our readers a few hitherto unknown but highly remarkable snapshots of the departed leader's early career. They point to a rising star: young Syama Prasad's burning zeal and earnest preparations to evolve his manhood following in the footsteps of his illustrious father Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the 'infinite galaxies' of the contemporary times. The eminent writer and publicist St. Nihal Singh in narrating an intimate impression of Syama Prasad in his younger days (1921-23) recollects:

> "Adoration was writ large upon his face. Eyes, ears, hands and feet were all eagerly devoted to the service of that embodiment of erudition he evidently loved more than life." (*The Modern Review*, September, 1953).

Here I come to my points:

While just passing his teens, Syama Prasad addressed a few notable letters to the late lamented Professor H. M. Percival whom Sir Asutosh regarded as a "foremost of the teachers of his youth" and to whom he "owed very much his success in life." For thirty years (1880-1911) a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, Percival was an intellectual giant of encyclopaedic knowledge in every branch of arts and literature at whose sacred feet sat for learning and enlightenment a galaxy of Bengal's youngmen in the last quarter of the nineteenth and first decade of the present century. Out to drink deep in that unfathomable fountain of genius, Syama Prasad wrote to this saintly teacher of his father, and his writings bristled with a young aspirant's vision of life indicative of an unmistakable promise of the great future that was in the offing.

I reproduce below the three gems of his precious letters (from my collections) which I had the pleasure to remind him of, in one of my many meetings with Dr. Mookerjee. I had the proud privilege of knowing him intimately, loving him dearly, respecting him deeply. He wished me to carefully preserve the series of valuable correspondence between Professor Percival and his distinguished pupils and admirers for appropriate use in time. I could hardly dream that the following would have to be released in the dark shadow of the tragic loss of Syama Prasad:

77, Russa Road North,
Bhowanipur, Calcutta, 2nd September, 1920

Sir,

From the very beginning of my College career it has almost been an ambition of mine to get myself introduced to you and I have all along been looking out for an opportunity to do so.

I may state at once that I am a student of the Presidency College. Mr. Wordsworth, our present Principal, has just appointed me the General Secretary to the Presidency College Magazine; and it is a most pleasant duty,—nay, a privilege—on my part to approach you on behalf of the members of the Presidency College with a request to contribute an article to the magazine.

I shall not trouble you, Sir, with elaborate arguments, but shall be content with saying that the Presidency College will feel it an honour to take this opportunity of associating with its magazine, the name of one who had ungrudgingly dedicated the best part of his life to the responsible task of imparting education to the youths of Bengal. Perhaps, you do not know, Sir, that although a considerable number of years has elapsed since you left Bengal, although the present generation of students had not the privilege of coming into your contact, yet your memory is cherished by the Student Community here with feelings of admiration, reverence and affection. Your reputation as a Shakespearean Scholar spreads far and wide and indeed when we go through the books, so ably edited by you, we feel proud that they are the productions of an Indian brain.

To us personally more weighty perhaps is what follows: it is, in a word, your proverbial love for your pupils. To many this may seem to be of minor importance; but to us, sensitive Bengalis, this is everything. We crave for gentle treatment; we crave for sympathetic assurances: and those who give us these, have us at their service. This particular trait in your character has been urged upon us mainly by Prof. Praphulla Chandra Ghosh, coupled with lively illustrations.

I, for one, have greater reasons to think of you and revere you than any of my fellow students. And that is due to the anecdotes I so often hear from my father, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who is proud to be one of your devoted pupils. From him I have come to know how wonderfully punctual you were ; it is said that if you were required to be present at a certain place at 3 o'clock, you would be there not a moment earlier, not a moment later ; but just as the clock struck three, you would make your appearance. That was splendid indeed.

It was from Praphulla Babu—another of your devoted pupils—that I have heard of the incidents that took place on the day you had left our College,—how greatly moved you were on account of the pathetic manner in which your students, while bidding you farewell, paid their everlasting homage to you, their beloved *guru*.

I shall not trouble you with a longer letter during the days of your well-merited retirement. But, Sir, while sending me the article for the magazine, you will not perhaps grudge me the honour of receiving from your pen a letter that I shall treasure with pride and satisfaction.

Though circumstances have compelled you to live far from your College, far from the band of your loving pupils and enthusiastic admirers, far from the land of your birth, yet our good wishes are always with you. May you live yet long and enjoy a happy and peaceful life, the fruits of the labour of a silent and contented workers.

Respectfully
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

20th November, 1920.

My dear Sir,

I was away to Benares during the Poojah Holidays and returned to Calcutta only a week ago.

I have got your letter and I cannot say how proud I do feel. Such a letter is indeed worthy of you and you alone. From its very beginning to its end, it is couched in terms, which I cannot but describe as *affectionate*. They say—the writing shows the man—it is really so. Sir, in your case.

We all deeply regret to find you are unable to write something for our magazine. May I request you to kindly accept a copy of the first issue of the magazine for this session, which I am sending to you in a separate cover.

I deem myself fortunate for having been able to get myself acquainted with you and I cannot but express the hope that you will bless me from your inmost heart that *I may live a pure and manly life*.

I beg to remain, Sir, with profound respects,

Yours affectionately,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

May 3rd, 1

My dear Sir,

About three years ago I wrote to you in capacity as editor of the Presidency College Maga inviting you to contribute an article to it. You c not comply with my request but you sent me a le in reply that was worth preserving, characteristic as was of him who penned it.

Today I am sending you a copy of the correspond that has lately passed between Lord Lytton and father, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Father is proud of b one of the first batch of your pupils and I am sure will read the enclosed with pleasure and interest. Bill, which, if I may say so, was the subject-matter the dispute, has been rejected by the Government India. You will be further pleased to learn that fa has made up his mind to resign his Judgeship and "politics." He will stand for election as a memb the Bengal Legislative Council in November next. only thing which stands in his way is his health w of late has been poorer than it was before on acc of a most severe loss that he has sustained. My e sister died on January 4th. Hers was a life of and misfortune. She became a widow at the early of 11 and father remarried her at the age of 13. know fully well what sacrifice he made while he t this step. She however again became a widow, a y and a half after her remarriage. She was all in to father and her death at the age of 28 has seve told on his health.

I hope, Sir, you are still keeping fit. I shall t my final law examination in January 1924 and I ex to be in England a few months after that. If I come will be a duty on my part to call on you and pay my respects.

With deep regards,

Believe me, My dear Sir,
Obediently yours,
Syamaprasad Mookerjee

Eventually Syama Prasad met his father's 'G Percival in due course in the latter's retirement i London Home and received the old veteran's he blessings for his much cherished aspirations for a "P *and manly life.*" He did live the life of his ambiti He grew up fully in the legacy of the herioc co that brought forth his father's historic utteran 'Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always defiance of the alien ruler impeding the path of progressive development of the Alma Mater.

If public memory will not be very short, I m further recall that on the proposal of erecting a befit memorial to Asutosh, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan ros the peak of his feeling eloquence at both the condol meetings at the Calcutta Corporation and in the b gathering in the Senate Hall (July, 1924) in al indentical words : " . . . His heart was with nation. He was a builder. He tried to build this g

Indian nation and honour it by his activities and I know many were his plans he formed of work after his retirement* . . He was a dynamic personality. We want something living, something growing, to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of today to the fullness tomorrow." Was not Syama Prasad at once the natural and spiritual heir to this tradition? Evidently the first phase of the struggle envisaged by the Prince of Patriots ended in the country's independence, and in the next phase of its consolidation Syama Prasad was among the few foremost in the vanguard—a builder, a fighter, and last—a martyr!

Alas! "The country knows not yet, or in the least part, how great a son it has lost"—in a tragic suddenness, in man's "absolute power that corrupts absolutely," in 'malice and jealousy of persons in authority,' in a prison house 'locked by his country's Swadeshi Government by persons with whom he shared power' not long ago. Gone in vain all cries for an enquiry into the vital questions of his questionable death—cries that were wet in the tears of millions of his countrymen mingled with the unbearable tears of his dearly beloved Mother—none other than Mother India! Shall not out of these tears emerge the Future that shall redeem Justice denied and Truth trampled today?

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* *Vide* Ref : in Syama Prasad's third letter to Percival.

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THE VEDANTIC APPROACH TO COMMUNISM

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

MODERN communism owing its origin to Karl Marx starts with the equality of man as its basic postulate. It looks upon birth as an accident, reposes faith in the dignity and potentiality of the common man, advocates equality of opportunity for all, and condemns all discrimination, economic, social or political. Being a staunch supporter of the Labour Theory of Value, Marx held that the value of a commodity which is determined by labour and wholly belongs to labour is confiscated by the capitalists in the shape of rent, interest and profit. Hence the capitalist system is based upon a foundation of injustice and oppression by the rich over the poor, and must, therefore, go. Marx was a materialist, and interpreted history in terms of the conflict of economic classes which would ultimately lead to a violent revolution and end with the victory of the proletariat.

In ancient India a different approach was made to communistic ideal. The Hindu philosophy of Vedanta views the thing from a different angle of vision. It discards the materialistic view of life preached by the Marxian communists, goes deeper to the root, and approaches the problem from the spiritual plane. It declares that all men are spiritually equal, the individual soul substance (*Atma*) deriving its entity from a common root, the universal spirit (*Paramatma*) or Brahma (*Sarvam Khalu Idam Brahma*).

Two fundamental principles of Hindu philosophy are the Theory of Rebirth and the Doctrine of Karma, according to which man's mundane existence is determined by his deeds in the previous birth. The soul's attachment to the worldly pleasures arising from Karma through Maya or cosmic illusion causes its repeated rebirth which would ultimately end with the emancipation of the spirit.

Thus although Hindu philosophy by its doctrine of Karma offers a spiritual interpretation of the differences in the strata of society it never advocates any discrimination between man and man and holds out as its norm or ideal a casteless and classless society because to a true Vedantist there is no difference between man and man. This is also the ideal of modern communism.

The caste system or Barnasram Dharma which is found in the Vedas stands in apparent contradiction with the above ideal, but when we read into the true meaning of the caste system in which it is used in the Vedic scriptures, the above contradiction seems to be more apparent than real. In the Vedic literature the term "caste" has been used in a special sense, namely, a functional group, and society is divided into four castes on a functional basis. No hard and fast difference is prescribed between one caste and another on the basis of birth in a given strata of society, and there is full autonomy for a member born in one caste or functional group to follow the avocation of the other caste according to his calibre and capacity. The caste system as mentioned in the Vedas has nothing to do with heredity, and the division of society into water-tight compartments on the hereditary caste basis came as a subsequent historical development during the decadent state of Hindu society which was responsible for the oppression of one caste over another, and brought about the rupture of the bond of unity which held all castes together during the Vedic era. The functional segregation of society into economic groups is found even in the highly industrialised economy of modern states, and must be accepted as a fundamental truth if society is to survive.

Thus we find in the Upanisadic teachings of ancient India a new light of communism on the spiritual plane and a prescription of the rules of conduct as to how to achieve this. The Vedanta states that

"Every soul is endowed with a material body according to its Karma. Bondage of the soul means its confinement to this body. Liberation is the complete dissociation of the soul from the body. The cause of the bondage is Karma springing from Maya or ignorance. The soul identifies itself with the body through ignorance of its real nature, and behaves as though it were the body. It hankers after sensuous pleasures, and thus becomes attached to the world and the force of this attachment causes its repeated rebirth. Thus ignorance is removed by the study of Vedanta and man comes to know that his soul is distinct from the body, and that is really a part of God or Brahma. The disinterested performance of the obligatory duties enjoined by the Vedas destroys the accumulated forces of attachment or Karma, and helps the perfection of knowledge."

Thus according to the Vedantic view of life it would be unwise to look at the differences between man and man. When we focus our attention on the aspect of spiritual oneness a distinct change in our outlook is attained. One who is rich feels himself to be in no way superior to the one, who is poor, and one who is poor feels himself to be in no way inferior to the rich one. Thus jealousy and greed, haughtiness and meanness lose their importance, and are much reduced freeing the dynamics of money circulation from the rule of individual dictators. The Upanisadic teachings condemn the profit motive and substitute for it the principle of sacrifice and service to society which constitute its Dharma or binding force. The same note of service and sacrifice we find in the modern theory of communism according to which the basis of remuneration in society should follow the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Gandhian socialism is also based upon the Vedantic view of life, and takes as its goal, a casteless society. It is essentially spiritual, theistic and non-violent. It abjures violent revolution as a method for the desired transformation of society, and reposes faith in the change of heart for the realisation of the ideal of Ram Rajya.

Before discussing the essentials of modern communism, we may add a few words on the theory of communism as enunciated by Plato in his *Republic*. Plato conceived the highest good of the state to be the supreme goal of a citizen, and identified the well-being of the individual with the well-being of the state. It is in this state alone that man attains his perfect realisation and its nature finds its fullest scope of development in society. This idea is typical with all ancient Greek philosophers. To achieve this objective Plato advocated communism. The two great hurdles to the complete allegiance of the individual to the state he found in family attachment and financial worries. Accordingly, he advocated abolition of a permanent monogamous sexual relationship, and prohibition of private property. Plato thought that his republic should be governed by statesmen philosophers, and accordingly his communism applied only to the Guardian class *i.e.* soldiers and rulers. As Prof. Sabine observes in *History of Political Theory*:

> "Plato was not in the least concerned to do a with the inequalities of wealth because they are just to the individual concerned. His purpose w to produce the highest unity of the State."

Philosophically and politically modern commun differs widely from the Gandhian socialism and th Upanisadic ideal, and one is as far off from the oth as the two poles asunder. As compared with t Vedantic ideal and the Gandhian socialism which i essentially spiritual, modern communism associ with the writings of Marx and Engels who publish their famous thesis on the subject in the Communi Manifesto in 1848, is basically materialistic, godle violent and revolutionary. The foundations of Mar analysis lay in his theory of Economic determinism Materialistic interpretation of history. Marx appl Hegel's dialectic method in the material world a explained historical events in terms of thesis and a thesis. According to him, the system of producti obtaining in a country at a particular time gives rise certain economic classes whose interests are bound clash and all history, social, political and religious, the resultant of the conflict of these classes. As t system of production changes, and there follows change in the distribution of wealth in the commun there takes place a transfer of political power to th who now wield the economic power. Thus with the o set of the Industrial Revolution towards the close of th 18th century in England and other Western countri which completely changed the whole complex of p duction, a new capitalist class, namely, the Bourgeois came into power, and overthrew the feudal lords wh wielded the political power during the Middle Ag The French Revolution of 1789 which has been righ characterized as a Bourgeoisie Revolution brought ab the ethanasia of the fedual regime, and ushered in t new capitalist era. As a result of the introduction the factory system with the use of machinery replaci human labour, another class, namely, the proletari emerged whose interests were in apparent conflict w that of the Bourgeoisie. According to Marx, the gr dual pauperisation of the wage-earning class broug about by the devouring greed of the capitalists for pr fit will accentuate the class-conflict and lead to a vi lent revolution. This will end with the dictatorship o the Proletariat which would stay for some time af which the State will wither away leading to a classl society. The communism in Russia is still in an exp mental stage, and how far the above prediction of Ma comes true is yet to be seen.

The *modus operandi* of the Marxist Communism the accentuation of class-conflict leading to strikes a violent revolution to facilitate the forcible seizure power by the labouring class.

It differs primarily from the Indian approach by lack of insight into the nature of forces at work whi tend to eliminate class and caste distinction. Aboliti of class distinction is a blind affair in the Marxist Communism and this abolition of class by itself is considered as a goal, whereas in the Indian philosophy the goal is the achievement of an insight which abolishes all distinctions automatically as a corollary to its realisation. Obviously the former has to be enforced by violence on account of its nature, *i.e.*, the blindness about the goal. In the latter case the co-operation obtained varies according to the degree of insight achieved by each member of the Society and since the goal is in sight, whatever abolition of class distinction happens is achieved as a result of voluntary co-operation. Admittedly the progress in the latter is slower, but on account of voluntary element it is more sustained.

The second difference between the Marxist and Indian approaches lies in the nature of means employed to achieve their respective ends. Violence is believed to be a brute necessity in the Marxist logic. Its counterpart lies in the Gandhian Socialism which is dogmatic about non-violence. As a matter of fact, Indian philosophy considers both the paths or any mixing of the two, *viz.*, violence tempered with love, can serve the purpose provided there is an insight in the application of the means, and it eventually helps everybody to achieve his own insight. Vedanta philosophy believes that a man with complete insight can lead his society along the most suitable path to a requisite goal, and the choice of his path will not depend upon any intrinsic merit of the path, as there is no such intrinsic merit, but upon the expediency of the existing circumstances.

To conclude, Modern Communism based upon atheism and the creed of violence is antithetical to the spiritual tradition of India, the key-note of which is tolerance and faith in the God-head. The Communists advocate establishment of socialism by forcible expropriation of wealth from the rich, and its equal distribution in the community. Indian philosophy, on the other hand, which is based upon the doctrine of Karma and the immortality of the human soul starts with the fundamental postulate that man is a spiritual entity, a part and parcel of Brahma, and advocates socialism through the conquest of our baser self by development of perception and insight.

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THE LATE DR. SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMY IYER

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

The passing away of Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer after completing the biblical age of three scores and ten marks the end of an epoch of eminent lawyers of the stature of Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour. Law as a profession is a luxury ordinarily meant for the well-to-do in society. The poor and the helpless can ill afford to wait at its portals for long. But curiously enough some of the topmen in the legal profession happen to be those that have fought their way up inch by inch.

In Madras Dr. Alladi fought his way to the top against heavy odds. Born of poor parents, he had to struggle hard to complete his education. Probably this experience made him alive in later life, to the needs of the poor students. After a brief period of service as a tutor in the Christian College, he chose the legal profession, though the Mysore Civil Service was thrown open to him,—a service that was indeed tempting in those days. Situated as he was the choice must have appeared to one and all as short-sighted and foolhardy.

By untiring industry he mastered the intricacies of law in its varied aspects quite early in his career. Besides, he studied the case law of other countries as well and acquired an immense knowledge of law and practice of other countries. He was reputed to be capable of taking instructions even in complicated cases at a very short interval. Success came to him as it ought to with the elevation of his master and senior Sir P. R. Sundara Iyer to the Bench in 1911. He soon came into contact with Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar and their association lasted till 1915 when the latter was elevated to the Bench. From then onwards Mr. Alladi became one of the leading Members of the Bar. In the legal profession there are two types of advocacy, *i.e.*, the persuasive and the tornado-flourishing on parallel lines. Dr. Alladi belonged to the latter category and besieged his opponent with his massive arguments, ruthless logic and profound learning. Naturally he created a great impression on every Judge. He spoke with the confidence of a law-giver. He combined a grasp of general principles with a profound and detailed knowledge—a rare and noteworthy combination. His memory was phenomenal. He was justly regarded as an acknowledged authority on case law and codified law, customary law and constitutional law in their historical as well as comparative aspects. He successfully held his own against almost all the eminent lawyers of India in a number of inter-provincial cases.

He was Advocate-General in Madras continuously for over fifteen years during which period he was equally a *persona grata* under Dyarchy interim regime, Provincial autonomy and the Advisor's Government. The reason for his continuance in that capacity during all the vicissitudes was not that he was subservient but that he was indispensable. He guided the respective regimes on sound and safe lines in the light of their policy and programme without projecting his personality or imposing his likes and dslikes. Hence he was regarded in every quarter as a sincere and safe ally. But his talents did not receive the recognition that they richly deserved. The portfolio of law in the Government of India till the dawn of freedom was practically the monopoly of Bengal. His elevation to the Federal Bench which many took for granted did not materialise. When Sir B. L. Mitter retired as the Advocate-General of India, Alladi was convalescing at Bangalore and Sir N. P. Engineer of Bombay stole a march over him. But his personal loss was indeed the positive gain for the public. His chambers in the words of the present Chief Justice of India came to be regarded as a Seminar for the higher study of law.

He played his part in the public life as a non-party nationalist most unostentatiously. He was intimately connected with the three Universities of Madras, Andhra and Annamalai. Besides, he was a member of the Court of the Banaras Hindu University for over 25 years. According to him, a University should be the reservoir of the intellectual forces of the nation and the clearing house of ideas. The State too had its responsibility. It must unreservedly place its resources at the disposal of a University without in any way impairing the academic freedom which is the life-breath of a University.

In a multi-lingual province like Madras he mixed with all classes and communities freely and intimately without taking sides or antagonising any section. He was a typical Madrasi, a nomenclature current in Northern India, in the best sense of the word and as such was qualified to be ranked among the great Indians. But on momentous occasions he did not hesitate to come out of his academic grove and take the lead. He extended his support for the creation of the Andhra State and pleaded that the City of Madras should be centrally administered. When the I.N.A. personnel were stranded and persecuted in Malaya, he organised a strong committee and arranged for their defence. He personally argued Captain Bahranuddin's appeal in the Federal Court. After the dawn of freedom he renounced his Knighthood to keep pace with the spirit of the times.

His real greatness was displayed when he became the member of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution and to this work he brought to bear his vast learning and wide knowledge of constitutional law and practice. He was in fact one of the most significant architects of our Constitution. He was subsequently nominated as a member of Council of States. The Universities of Delhi Andhra conferred on him the Degree of Doctor Law. Though a conservative and intensely relig in his outlook and habits he had progressive v and he was convinced that a large-scale reform of Hindu Law was an imperative necessity at the sent day in order to bring the law in line with social consciousness of the community and "to vent courts of law from becoming the battle-gro for the settlement of simple questions of succe and family law."

He was unassuming, simple and genial. Th we are accustomed to see many an upstart bloo into a blue-blooded aristocrat there was no ting vanity or arrogance in him. He was easily acces frank to a fault and kind and considerate to and all. In spite of striking disparity in age, ab experience and status in life I enjoyed the prev of his friendship. When I met him in last at Madras, where I had been to deliver Eardley Norton Memorial Endowment Lecture the High Court, he received me with great war though he was confined to bed. We talked at le and in detail about every matter of importance. this connection I wish to publicise an incid narrated by him, which speaks volumes about tremendous personal integrity and character. son Dr. Ramakrishna who is now a Reader in Madras University was originally selected for I.A.S. Then Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was Deputy Prime Minister congratulated Dr. Al on the succes of his son. Later he was disquali by the Medical Board and had to join the Ma University. Sometime after when Sardar P enquired Dr. Alladi as to where his son was serv Dr. Alladi quietly replied that he joined the Ma University. The Sardar felt uneasy and enquired did he resign from the I.A.S. Then Alladi told about the fact of his being disqualified by the M cal Board. Immediately Sardar Patel in his inf goodwill and sympathy flared up and took Allad task for not bringing that fact to his knowl earlier. Then Dr. Alladi replied that in his long he stood in the queue and took his chance in normal course and never misused his position influence to serve his personal ends and similarly did not like the idea of his son's exploiting his na and fame. Evidently this attitude of Dr. Al came as a pleasant surpise to Sardar Patel whe was pestered with requests from every quarter. I possible to write much and for long about Dr. Al But I shall content myself in saluting Dr. Al Krishnaswamy, the great jurist, eminent adv a noted philanthropist and a non-party natio of personal integrity and unimpeachable chara whose life and work can serve as a model to ge tions yet unborn.

Book Reviews

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Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NEW LIGHTS ON INDUS CIVILISATION: *By Rev. Heras. Published by the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. Illustrations 24 pages, Bibliography 70 pages. Index pp. 495-542. Price Rs. 175.*

Over thirty years ago, in 1922, the late lamented Prof. Rakhal Das Banerjee discovered in Mohenjo-Daro, the remains of Indus Valley civilisation, later on found linked with Harappa culture. Sir John Marshall and Earnest Mackay, Waddel and Hunter published books on that culture even attempting the decipherment of the seals and inscriptions which may supply the real *keys* to the solution of the many problems. Thus a new world of epigraphy and glyptic arts was opened, as it were, by these important documents of 3rd millennium B.C. and Rev. Heras, S.J., applied twenty years of his life to the systematic elucidation of the many baffling problems.

From the study of the Indus Valley cities, Rev. Heras began studying the system of deciphering the inscriptions and the historical foundations of the early migrations westwards. He hopes (as he wrote in his learned Introduction) that "once all these problems are solved, India will be acknowledged as the cradle of human civilisation." It is a bold book of rare erudition and encyclopædic in character deserving the close attention of the scholarly world.

In Chapter I, the author discusses the stages in the Decipherment of the Mohenjo-Daro Script, with appendices on the language of the proto-Indians (lexical and grammatical).

Chapter II compares Mohenjo-Daro and Sumer (Iraq) and discusses the probable date of the two cultures.

Chapter III describes the Hamitic migrations into Egypt showing the so-far-unsuspected relations of the Nilotic with the Indus Valley civilisation. The Indian legend of the Makara country is compared with the Egyptian Serpent Tales—as conserved in the Greek and the western Mediterranian traditions. In an Appendix, Rev. Heras discusses the points of contact between India and Egypt.

Chapter IV is devoted to the analysis of the Legends of the Great Fish and the Flood, as reflected in Indian, Babylonian, Egyptian and Cretan (Minoan) antiquities.

Chapter V summarises the author's conclusions regarding (*a*) the Hamitic or Indo-Mediterranian Race, (*b*) the Migrations of the Dravidians, (*c*) the Racial relations of the Dravidians. The last appendix is on the original names of the proto-Indo-Mediterranians.

The mere list of illustrations—excellently reproduced—run over 24 pages; and the Bibliography cover about 70 pages. The Index (pp. 495-542) is quite exhaustive and very helpful to general readers who may find the price Rs. 175 pretty prohibitive; but it is a book to pe treasured by book-lovers and librarians. The book is printed at Vakil & Sons, Ltd., Bombay, and it is a veritable monument to the Indian Historical Research Institute (Bombay) and its learned Director, Rev. Heras.

Kalidas Nag

RAMAYANA (Parts I and II): *By Sudha Mazumdar. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1953. Part I: pp. 221; Part II: pp. 279. Price Rs. 1-12 each.*

The *Ramayana* is justly regarded as one of the world's classics. It was therefore a happy idea of the general editors of the Bhavan's Book University to include an English translation of this immortal epic in their series. It is well known that the *Ramayana* has come down to us in numerous recensions, for, not to speak of the original work of Valmiki (which itself has been handed down in at least three different recensions, the *Gaudiya,* the North-Western and the Southern), it has been rendered into all the important regional languages of our land. The present translation, which has been completed after years of toil by a cultured Bengali lady claims to "have mostly followed the version of Krittivas" (*read* Krittivasa). But the authoress has exercised her own judgment in deleting "much that was considered not essential to the life and teachings of Rama" (Authoress's note, p. xii). In the result she has incorporated into the book many episodes unknown to Valmiki, such as those of the fight of Mahiravana and Taruni Sen (*sic*) with Rama and Rama's worship of Durga accompanied with the offer of one of his own eyes for making up the full list of 108 blue lotuses in honour of the goddess. The authoress would have been well advised in sticking to the original version of Valmiki instead of embellishing it with such later narratives. Further she might have taken better care in the rendering of proper names so as to avoid such strange forms as 'Sukha' (minister of Ravana)., 'Dhumrakhya,' 'Gobakhya,' 'Mokarakhya,' and 'Atikai' (warriors of Ravana) not to speak of 'Krittivas' and 'Taruni Sen' above mentioned. It is also strange that she calls Queen Kaikeyi's humpbacked maid repeatedly by the name of Kunji. On the other hand, it is but fair to state that the authoress has succeeded in her principal aim, that of interpreting the message and the meaning of the Great Epic to the people of the West so as to enable them to form a real understanding of our ideas and thoughts (Authoress's note *loc. cit.*). Written in the simplest English prose without any straining after effect, she has been able to reproduce much of the spirit of the poem with the dramatic interest of many of its incidents and the picture of many of its heroic characters. The paper, print and get-up are good and the price is cheap for the size of the volumes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE DIARY OF MAHADEV DESAI, Vol. I : *Yeravda-Pact Eve, 1932. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1953. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a record of the life in prison of Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's disciple and Secretary, from March 10 to September 4, 1932, from the day when Mahadev Desai was taken to Yeravda to keep company with Gandhiji and Sardar Patel to a fortnight before the memorable fast against a proposed separate electorate for the Harijans.

That the recognised forms of literature break down in particular cases is nowhere better illustrated than in this present instance; the Diary of Mahadev Desai is virtually an epic, with Mahatma Gandhi as its protagonist, and it has its lyric components in the pronouncements of Mahatmaji on various crises in individual life, *e.g.*, the question of self-control. Such lyric components never blur the central figures moving in this epic, the life of one man controlling the destinies of millions even from within the prison. This rebounds to the credit of the author, the diarist.

There are many refreshing scenes which open themselves before us—Vallabhbhai learning Sanskrit and preparing envelopes from waste material, Mahadebbhai almost ashamed at his good luck in having been granted the privilege of being with Gandhiji, Gandhiji himself giving out his comments on books that he has read, his own confession that his reading has been odd and by the way, a look at the list is itself illuminating—and his views on the relation between husband and wife. It is a valuable document and Gandhiji's mind stands here more revealed than in his own writings, in the warmth of the affectionate but none the less truthful record of his devoted companion.

But the interest that is roused in Mahadev Desai's own inner life is by no means a slight one. He is here an active agent, and by no means a mere copyist, *e.g.*, his comparison of Drummond and Keyserling.

Gandhiji's opinion on Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda will be read with interest, and also his comment on Sumitranandan Pant and Upton Sinclair. But above all there is the overshadowing prospect of the Epic Fast which evidently has not paralysed but only intensified the activity of Gandhiji's camp—we realise how it served as an electric spring letting the usual functions of a great man full play.

P. R. SEN

SRI AUROBINDO ON HIMSELF AND ON THE MOTHER (Vol. I) : *By Sri Aurobindo. Published by the Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry. Pp. 782. 7 ins. × 5 ins. Cloth-bound with dust cover. Price Rs. 12.*

This is the first volume of a work on the life and thoughts of Sri Aurobindo based on his letters and notes. The book is written in a dialogue form, free from technical terms of philosophy, years and dates are given where necessary.

"But why write my biography at all " says Sri Aurobindo. "In my view, a man's value does not depend on what he learns, or his position or what he does, but on what he is and in becomes" (p. 352). Reprimanding a group of for writing myths, he says, "His memory is so strong that he not only recollects, very rately, what actually happened, but recalls also gives body to what never happened at all" (p. The following mistakes have been pointed *Yogic Sadhan* and *Aurobindo Prasange* do no present him, articles in the *Karmayogin* from Fe ary, 1910, are not his but Sister Nivedita's, his nections with her were purely political and spiritual, his departure to Chandannagore was on the strength of an *adesh* from above and no the advice of anyone, he had no *guru*, he did take initiation or *diksha* from Sarada Devi or one, he never approached Swami Brahmananda Belurmath for admission and so on.

The first portion of the book gives the ground of his education, his decision to de himself to the service of India and her liber His connections with the papers, *Indu-Prakas* Bombay, *Yugantar* of Calcutta, *Bandemat* *Karmayogin*, *Dharma* and *Arya*, his relations differences with some of the political and gious leaders of his time and his colleagues, introduction by him of the idea of complete inde dence and revolutionary movement are narrated t in. Yoga covers the greater part of the book.

As for his reason for leaving politics, he says came away because I did not want anything to in fere with my Yoga and because I got a very dis *adesh* in the matter" (p. 314). What was his Yoga? rely wholly on the Divine and His guidance a both for *sadhana* and for outward action" (p. It was not founded on books but on personal e rience. It is not identical with the Yoga of the The Vedantic and Patanjali Yoga systems de entirely on the Purushakara. But in his Yoga is inflow of the life of the Divine from above. He that the purpose of the old is to get away from to the Divine, and the purpose of the new is reach the Divine and bring the fulness of wh gained into life for the transformation of hum "By transformation I do not mean change of na I do not mean sainthood or Yogic *siddhis* (like Tantrik's) or a transcendental (*chinmaya*) (p. 162-65) but change in the frame of the pr humanity by bringing down a higher spiritual and power of a higher character" (p. 218). "We to deliver the self-involved in the lower natur the self rising to freedom in the higher na (p. 196). Emergence of this ethical foundation humanity in his Yoga is very important.

The Ashrama and the cultivation of ps nearness and oneness, the place of the Mother new *Guruvada* denouncing *life* by proxy and fu mentally different from the *gurugiri* in vogue in country are delineated. Belief in some symbols, are mentioned which appear to be crude; they however, personal and do not form part of sadh

For man existence is a continued process of fabrication and self-transcendence. The more g our powers the more demonic our applications of power. Why? Because the transformation of remains incomplete until it is directed primarily the fulfilment of the human person. A new re is evolving towards this end. Sri Aurobindo's s and activities form part of it.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Bra nanda Keshub Chunder Sen developed a new God-Vision. It was the Infinite Personality at once revealed and ever-to-be-revealed. In Him our *bhakti* and meditation mingle. The Divine descends transforming the life on earth. *Yoga* with its *ally* Jnan represents one half of the composite human nature, and need its other complementary half *Bhakti* with its ally *Karma* which hungers and thirsts for companionship and co-operative social service (*seva*). This four-fold functioning concentrates on the upbuilding and regenerative functions, in both the personality and community of man, embodying his wholeness. This new faith harmonises revelation and science, outgrowing credal and ritualistic religions, metaphysical abstractions and materialistic sciences. Automatically different churches are merging into One Universal Church. Keshub Chunder Sen in his inimitable simple style intelligible to the common man, put his experiences in his famous discourses on the *Jeevana Veda* and the *Brahmagitopanishad*, and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar in his immortal book, the *Spirit of God*. A perusal of these books makes it easier to understand Aurobindo's philosophy. Sri Aurobindo played an important part in 'setting forth the overmind view of things in mental terms, mediating between the intellectual and the Supramental,' harmonising spiritual experiences both Western and Eastern and interpreting the whole experience in terms of philosophy.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE EXPERIENCE OF DEATH (The Moral Problem of Suicide): *By Paul-Louis Landsberg. Published by Rockliff, Salisbury Square, London. 1953. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

Landsberg, a brilliant and highly intellectual young professor of Philosophy had to spend a harassed life during the Hitlerian regime, continually fleeing from one place to another till he was finally arrested by the Gestapo and died of exhaustion at a camp near Berlin. We can only regret the circumstances that were responsible for the abrupt termination of a promising career.

It has been mentioned in the preface that Landsberg died more from 'psychical inadaptation' than from physical disability. Indeed, evidence of this psychic inadaptation are noticeable in the two essays which constitute the contents of the volume. The style, the thoughts, the almost morbid seriousness with which the questions are discussed testify to the deeply introverted nature of the writer. Apparently the attempt to escape from the extremely grim realities of life which it was his tragic lot to face filled his mind constantly with thoughts of death and suicide. As a Christian should he commit suicide—has he the right to do it? What after all is death itself? These problems overwhelm him almost obsessively. In the end he seemed to convince himself somehow that it was only the right Christian conceptions that gave satisfactory solution to the problems of death and suicide. In that faith the author ended his life. May his soul rest in peace! That is the sentiment which spontaneously arises in the mind of the reader who knows the conditions under which the author lived and died.

The reviewer thoroughly agrees with Martin Jarrett-Kerr that the essay on suicide cannot call for our unqualified admiration though we find in it the same honesty of exposition and concern for the human person as in the other essay on death. He feels, however, that even the essay on death considered as an academic discussion of the problem suffers from great defects of omissions. Buddhism to which references have been made here and there is not the only Indian system of thought. The conceptions of death in the other Indian metaphysical systems which reveal the real meaning of life here on earth and show the ways of attaining that state of Bliss which transcends death itself have not been mentioned even. The essays are the linguistic expressions of the conflicts that had been terribly agitating the mind of the author just before he died. Let us take them as such and not mar the genuineness and sincerity of the feelings experienced by the author by (now unnecessary) critical observations.

S. C. MITRA

ESTATE DUTY MANUAL, 1954: *By Shri R. Bhargava. Published by Taxation Publishing Co. (India) Limited, 3, Daryaganj, Delhi-7. Part I: pp. i-v and 1-380, Part II: i-x and 1-102, Part III: i-clxxix. Price Rs. 17-8.*

The Estate Duty Act, 1953, has been passed with a good deal of support from all sections of the legislature and the opposition was mainly directed towards the rates of duty and the exemption limit regarding the minimum property belonging to an individual. In some form or other the duty has been in practice in almost all the civilized countries of the world, India being almost a solitary exception in this respect. It is true that the Duty will remove inequality in wealth in a certain degree but the objective will remain an unattainable reality so long as the masses are not raised from their present low level of income and consequent low standard of living with opportunities arising out of their own resources and individual and collective efforts. The Duty realised with the aid of the Act is so incommensurate with the enormous amount necessary for the purpose, that it can possibly be ignored. Moreover, it is likely to affect investment of capital in the private sector of industries which is one of the greatest needs of the present day.

These points have already been discussed threadbare in the press and the legislatures and the Act is an accomplished fact. What is necessary now is to make it intelligible to the public, especially those who will be required to interpret it for the tax-collector as well as the inheritors and/or representative in interest of the deceased. The *Estate Duty Manual, 1954*, will remove a genuine want of such persons as Estate Duty Advisers, whether Advocates or Chartered Accountants, of the property-owners who will have to leave the world with the uncomfortable idea of a large portion of his estate being "devoured" by the State. The examinees required to have a thorough knowledge for professional or departmental examinations will find the book very helpful for their purpose.

While the Estate Duty Bill was on the legislative anvil, a good number of the veteran legislators complained about the language of most of its sections which are admittedly stiff and technical and does not lend itself to an easy understanding even after repeated readings. Perhaps this difficulty is patent in a taxing statute and the present Act is no exception. It is known that the "fundamental principle of construction of a taxing statute is that it must be interpreted strictly by reference to the words of the Act, and the onus is on the Revenue to show that there are clear (unambiguous) words which impose the tax or duty on the subject." But in the practice of estate duty additional difficulties are more likely to crop up in the interpretation of transactions than in the interpretation of the language of the various sections of the Act.

There is a chance for the unwary to stumble at every step. One may rest content with the idea that the burden of proof that duty is payable is on the State and any benefit of doubt must go in favour of the party. But the position at once changes when he puts a claim on exemption from duty. The law holds the subject in its grip once he has been brought within the charge of duty, and the onus at once shifts on him to prove that the claim falls within the words of the Statute. Such difficulty also arises regarding the definition of 'property' which has been kept so wide as to cover all possible rights and interests that may pass on death. The law does not rest here inasmuch as it includes property which is *deemed* to pass on death.

It is needless to say that the operation of the Act will result in protracted and costly litigations at least for the first few years of its application as the Government will be exclusively confronted with the 'propertied class.' In anticipation of such a contingency measures have been adopted to minimise litigation as far as possible but the effectiveness or otherwise of the provisions will have to be assessed by the result.

Before an array of almost insoluble complications the appearance of the book under reference is thrice welcome. The various chapters of the book have been divided not according to the several chapters and sections of the Act but on the merits of co-related factors taken together. It is gratifying to find that every possible matter has been dealt with under different sub-heads in each chapter. But the authors have not overlooked the necessity of a busy practitioner and has very judiciously given the entire Act in Part II of the book with such notes as have been found necessary.

A number of very useful charts carefully arranged and dealing with all the charging sections as well as all exemptions from duty, points on estate duty on selected items; insurance policies and their dutiability, policy moneys and estate duty, location and nature of assets, notes showing the utility of various certificates, etc., have been given at appropriate places. A fiscal enactment can best be understood with the help of illustrations (rather than by interpretation of technical words). With this end in view and to make the law more easily understandable, copious illustrations have been appended to every important section explaining the practical application thereof. The most important reported cases, especially of the U. K. have been given and these will save considerable labour and time of the legal practitioners.

In addition, all the topics of practical utility have been taken one by one and discussed at considerable length. A large number of the sections of the Act are based on the different sections of the U.K. Finance Acts and one would find the relevant extracts of the said Acts in appendix A. The other two appendices, B and C, contain relevant extracts from the Indian Trusts Act, 1882, Transfer of Property Act, 1882, Married Women's Property Act, 1874, Indian Court Fees Act, 1870, Indian Stamp Act, 1874, Indian Registration Act, 1908 and Indian Succession Act, 1925. Everybody will admit that these are germane to a proper understanding of the Estate Duty Act, 1953, which stands out from other Acts for rigidity and popular concern.

The author has been remarkably successful presenting the law in a simple, lucid and as far possible in non-technical language and it is surprising that the *Manual* has been booked per cent in advance.

KALI CHARAN GHOS

SANSKRIT

PARAMANANDAKAVYA OF KAVINDR PARAMANANDA: *Edited by Govind Sakh Sardesai. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CX Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 10.*

We have here an edition of fragments of Sanskrit work (or possibly of more than one wo narrating the history of the family of Sivaji. It is welcome addition to the comparatively small amo of historical literature in Sanskrit published so The edition is based on a solitary defective ma cript belonging to the Baroda Oriental Institute. a portion of Section IV of the five sections into w the leaves of the manuscript have been arranged the learned editor the text of another fragment manuscript as printed in the pages of the *Annals the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (V XVIII and XIX) has been compared for record variants. We have reference to the name of work and the author in the colophons of Secti III-V and once in a cryptic manner in Section The name of the work is given as *Anupurana* a p of which has already been published under the t *Sivabharata.* The title of the volume under review evidently the coining of the editor. Section III, appears, is the work of Kavindra Paramananda Sections IV and V of Govinda, his grandson. It however, curious that they are usually mentioned publishers and not as authors. The most intere parts of the fragments are stated to be Sections and V where Tantric practices are referred to. It stated that one Siva-yogin came to Bengal to initiated into the Tantric form of worship by a g spiritual adept of the place. It has been supposed this story refers to the introduction of Tantri into Maharashtra from Bengal. It requires to be if the available data are quite sufficient to warr the conclusion.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVART

BENGALI

NARI: *By Manojmohan Ray, M.A., B.L. P lished by the author from 130, Kasundia R Howrah. Price Re. 1.*

A sketch of a Bengali woman's life, mainly dra from experience, presented in a simple, hom manner. The note of sincerity is particul refreshing.

D. N. MOOKERJE

HINDI

SAHITYALOCHAN KE SIDDHANTA: *Ram Narain Yadavendu. Published by Lak Narain Agrawal, Agra. Pp. 298. Price Rs. 3.*

The Principles of literary criticism are discussed in the light of Sanskrit or Indian as well as Europ schools of authors and artists. The discussion helpfully hedged round with a treatment of such the as 'Literature,' 'Art,' 'Poetry,' 'Drama,' 'Art of S writing,' 'Prose-Poem,' 'Realism,' 'Mysticism,' 'Progre School,' etc., and is amply illustrated with examp Shri Yadavendu is, indeed, a reliable guide to a lite pilgrim, desirous of admiring and assessing the bea and beatitudes of Literature. Such books as the one u review are not at all common in the specific sph Dr. Dhirendra Verma has contributed a brief Forew

G. M

GUJARATI

PARSI SAHITYANO ITIHAS: *By Miss Pilan Bhikhaji Makati, Navsari. Printed at the Massi Printing Press, Navsari. 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 1063 + 52. Price Rs. 15.*

Miss Pilan Makati has already won her spurs as a Parsi writer, writing excellent Gujarati. About thirteen works on various philosophical and humanitarian subjects, like Rearing Animals, Mystery of Death and Re-birth, Search after Happiness, Rama-Sita, Mercy and Prohibiting the Eating of Flesh, Life on a Higher Level, etc., have already been written by her, but this substantial volume of eleven hundred pages, is the crown of them all. This sort of a consolidated history of the contributions of Parsi writers to the literature of their adopted country is the first of its kind and to make it perfect and up-to-date, she seems to have undergone immense trouble in reading, digesting and reproducing the colossal material gathered by her. She has tried to adopt a historical and methodical procedure in her work, but in spite of it, critics consider it a hotch-potch. Well, it is an unkind cut. Prof. Vijayani Vaidya, noted as a keen critic, has contributed an appreciative Foreword and Mr. Phirozshah Mehta of Karachi, known as an able Parsi writer, has introduced Miss Pilan Makati to the reader. We think it would take much and take long to beat her pioneer work.

SAHITYAKAR AKHO: *By Prof. Dr. Manjulal R. Majumder, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Baroda. Published by the Premanand Sahitya Sabha, Baroda. 1949. Cardboard cover. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 4.*

Akho, the well-known poet of the seventeenth century, has left an abiding name and fame as the exposer of hypocrites masquarading under the name of spiritual Gurus, and lashing with bitter but plain words, the sordid deeds of worldly men and women. He preached that the world was an Illusion—*Maya*—and must be so regarded. This is a compilation of the writings of many writers, Gujarati and European, (Rev. Dr. W. R. Scott), who have written the various aspects of his life, and it makes itself out as a worthy companion of two former such compilations, *Shahityakar Premanand* and *Shahityakar Shamal*. Both the Sabha and the compiler are to be congratulated on their useful performance.

SAHITYANE CHARANE: *By the late Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai, Ahmedabad. Published by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalay Mandal, Baroda. 1950. Thick cardboard. Illustrated cover. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Dr. Hariprasad, who died a couple of months after this book was published, was a devout follower of Gandhiji ever since the latter came to Ahmedabad to found his Ashram there. As such, he had courted jail many times and utilised the time passed therein in producing literature. Although a medical man by profession, he did not allow profession to monopolise him. Literature, social reform, civic reform, physical culture were some of his main occupations and his services in those directions have won him name and immense gratitude of those whom he inspired by his personal example and perseverance. Ahmedabad will not readily forget him. As President of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, with which he was connected from A.D. 1905 to his death, he had delivered a number of addresses on purely literary as well as other subjects. Eighteen of them have been collected here and published by a Mandal, the forerunner of which, Mrs. Motibhai Ansari, was a great friend of Dr. Desai. It is a suitable tribute paid to his memory.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The ensuing March issue of the **PRABUDDHA BHARATA**, will be a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It will contain a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Sri Sarada Devi—The Holy Mother

The following extract from Sister Nivedita's article on Sri Sarada Devi has been quoted in The Holy Mother Birth Centenary Number of *Prabuddha Bharata* :

I arrived in Calcutta, alone, in the beginning of November (1898) . . . The widow of Sri Ramakrishna —Sarada Devi, or 'the Holy Mother,' as she is called —was living close by, with her community amongst us—was living close by. with her community of ladies; and in the course of the day, I was accorded possession of an empty room in her house. . . .

Of the head of our little community, it seems almost presumptuous to speak. Her history is well known. How she was wedded at five, and forgotten by her husband till she was eighteen; how she then, with her mother's permission, made her way on foot from her village-home to the temple of Dakshineswar on the Ganges-side, and appeared before him; how he remembered the bond, but spoke of the ideals of the life he had adopted; and how she responded by bidding him God-speed in that life, and asking only to be taught by him as the Guru—all these things have been told of her many times over. From that time she lived faithfully by his side for many years, in a building in the same garden, at once nun and wife, and always chief of his disciples. . . .

To me it has always appeared that she is Sri Ramakrishna's final word as to the ideal of Indian womanhood. But is she the last of an old order, or the beginning of a new? In her, one sees realized that wisdom and sweetness to which the simplest of women, may attain. And yet, to myself the stateliness of her courtesy and her great open mind are almost as wonderful as her sainthood. I have never known her hesitate, in giving utterance to large and generous judgment, however new or complex might be the question put before her. Her life is one long stillness of prayer. Her whole experience is of theocratic civilization. Yet she rises to the height of every situation. Is she tortured by the perversity of any about her? The only sign is a strange quiet and intensity that comes upon her. Does one carry to her some perplexity or mortification born of social developments beyond her ken? With unerring intuition she goes straight to the heart of the matter, and sets the questioner in the true attitude to the difficulty. Or is there need for severity. No foolish sentimentality causes her to waver. The novice whom she may condemn for so many years to beg his bread, will leave the place within the hour. He who has transgressed her code of delicacy and honour, will never enter her presence again.

And yet is she, as one of her spiritual children said of her, speaking literally of her gift of song, 'full of music,' all gentleness, all playfulness. And the room wherein she worships, withal, is filled with sweetness.

The Mother can read, and much of her time is passed with her Ramayana. But she does not write. Yet it is not to be supposed that she is an uneducated woman. Not only has she had long and arduous experience in administration, secular, and religious; but she has also travelled over a great part of India, visiting most of the chief places of pilgrimage. And it must be remembered that as the wife of Sri Ramakrishna she has had the highest opportunity of personal development that it is possible to enjoy. At every moment, she bears unconscious witness to this association with the great. But in nothing perhaps does it speak more loudly than in her instant power to penetrate a new religious feeling or idea.

I first realized this gift in the Holy Mother, on the occasion of a visit that she paid us in recent years, on the afternoon of a certain Easter-Day. Before that, probably, I had always been too much absorbed, when with her, in striving to learn what she represented, to think of observing her in the contrary position. On this particular occasion, however, after going over our whole house, the Mother and her party expressed a desire to rest in the chapel, and hear something of the meaning of the Christian festival. This was followed by Easter music, and singing, with our small French organ. And in the swiftness of her comprehension, and the depth of her sympathy with these resurrection-hymns, unimpeded by any foreignness or unfamiliarity in them, we saw revealed for the first time, one of the most impressive aspects of the great religious culture of Sarada Devi. The same power is seen to a certain extent, in all the women about her, who were touched by the hand of Sri Ramakrishna. But in her, it has all the strength and certainty of some high and arduous form of scholarship.

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India and the Commonwealth

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Janki Nath Bhat discusses why India decided to retain her membership in the Commonwealth and the good that has resulted from the special status given to the Republic of India :

In 1947 when the partition of the Indian sub-continet into two dominions, India and Pakistan, was made it was believed by many that India would definitely break away from Britain and the Commonwealth. But strangely enough, every year since then has seen her more and more closely wedded to the Commonwealth countries in spite of the fundamental differences she has with some of them, like South Africa. The change in India's attitude after winning indepedence becomes less surprising if one keeps in mind the history of the policy of the Indian National Congress, the ruling party now and the predominant political force before independence. The Congress, for a time, had been asking Britain for Dominion Status for India. Unfortunately the reluctance of the British Government to grant it, the long time it took to part with power and its repressive measures, made the Congress leaders very bitter. A resolution was passed by the All-India Congress Committee in 1929 which was solely directed towards *Purna Swaraj*, complete independence, and which envisaged no link with the Commonwealth. But even then, under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was prepared to accept Dominion Status. In 1931, while addressing the second session of the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi said :

> "I have aspired—I still aspire—to be a citizen, not in an Empire, but in a Commonwealth; in a partnership if possible . . . but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another. Hence you find here that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever the connexion, to dissolve the partnership.—R. Copeland, *The Indian Problem* : 1833-1935 (p. 126).

This was later followed, however, by a period of opposition to even Dominion Status by the Congress. On December 13th, 1946, Pandit Nehru moved a resolution in the Indian Constituent Assembly which stated that the Constituent Assembly declared its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign Republic. After independence it became, therefore, uncertain as to whether she would or would not continue to be a member of the Commonwealth.

In April 1949, the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions held a Conference at London to decide the position of India which was about to declare herself a Republic. At the Conference India made her position clear. First, she was firmly resolved to have a Republican Constitution. Secondly, and this was what was rather unexpected, she desired to retain her association with the other nations of the British Commonwealth.

It would be interesting to discuss here the considerations which must have caused India to somewhat unexpectedly express the wish to retain membership in the Commonwealth. There were both advantages and disadvantages involved. The disadvantages being, perhaps, more obvious than the advantages. First of all, it was commonly believed at that time that membership in the Commonwealth would entail a curtailment of sovereignty, in spite of the Balfour declaration which acknowledged the complete independence of the Dominions. Second, it seemed to be going against the definitely declared "neutral" Foreign Policy of India, for it was assumed that the link with the British C wealth would mean India's leaning towards the A American bloc. Third, Britain was still a colonial and such connection would imply a countenanc her colonial control over Malaya and other co at a time when most of these were looking to India leadership. Fourth, Britain's racial policy in S Africa and her discrimination against South Af of Indian origin had been a sore point since the Gandhiji had led his non-violent movement against South African Government. Finally, considering bitter relations between India and Pakistan and Bri chilly attitude towards India in Kashmir (for this was time when the British delegation in the UNO did to side-track the complaint of India against Pak for the latter's complicity with the raiders in Kash was not encouraging. Added to all this, Mr. Churc open partiality for Pakistan and his vehement spe in the House of Commons in favour of British interve in Hyderabad, after having asserted that he had become the King's first minister to preside over liquidation of the British Empire," did a great towards making the position of the Indian leaders difficult.

On the other hand, there were many advan which the people in India, who were strongly dec membership in the Commonwealth, were apt to over India was dependent, to a great extent, on Br personnel in the Indian Navy and the Indian Air Fo Britain was then, as it is now, the chief country which India had foreign trade. Also Britain's war to India tended to tie India to the sterling bloc; British shipping, banking, marine insurance, and in ments were important factors in Indian economic

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
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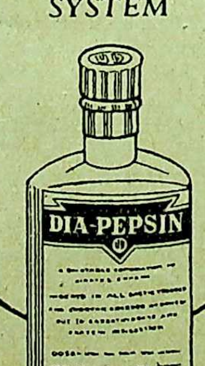

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Above all, India was afraid that severing her relations with the Commonwealth would enhance the economic position of Pakistan with Britain to the detriment of India.

The feeling of some that association in the Commonwealth would mean curtailment of sovereignty for India was dispelled by the reassuring statement that had been made by Britain in June 1947, that the Indian Constituent Assembly was free to decide whether India wanted to remain in the Commonwealth or leave it. And it was finally felt that, on the whole, the balance of advantage was on the side of India's continued membership in the Commonwealth.

It should not be forgotten that although Britain, for various reasons, was intent upon persuading India to continue membership, she had also to face an anxious time. It was not without hesitation that she agreed to the special status given to India in the Commonwealth. Commenting on this *The New Statesman and Nation*, (April 23, 1949), asserted that there were two difficulties likely to be created by the decision :

"The first is that of stretching an already tenuous constitution until it dissipated itself into thin air. The second is that of creating a special status for India which might lead first to a special status for Pakistan and Ceylon, and then to a special status for South Africa, until finally the Commonwealth was nothing but a congeries of special cases."

This opinion was shared by a number of people in England, and, among the members of the Commonwealth, Australia was not particularly well-disposed towards the new arrangement. But, on the whole, the decision was approved by most of those concerned. It received strong support from one most unexpected source, Mr. Churchill, who commenting on the decision said :

"I feel that the tides of the world are favourable to our voyage. The pressure of dangers and duties that are shared in common by all of us in these days may well make new harmonies in India and, indeed, with large parts of Asia. We may also see coming into view an even large synthesis of states and nattions.—*New Lanka,* Vol. III, No. 2, p. 14 : "Commonwealth Unity."

Time has proved, we think, that the special status given to India has made the Commonwealth all the stronger; and India has been realizing how wise it was not to break her connection with it, even in the face of great provocation from within and wihout. The great message of Smuts—that grand old man of South Africa—is growing clearer with the passage of time. He is reported to have said that the Commonwealth's contribution of human qualities, such as balance, moderation, good sense, good humour and fair-play, is of a very special character. They are worth more than scores of divisions.

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Democracy in British Guiana

H. N. Varma writes in *Careers and Courses* :

On October 9 the British Government suspended the Constitution of British Guiana on the plea of checking the subversion of communist activities in the colony. Certain charges were levelled against the cabinet headed by Dr. Cheddi Jagan and a statement was issued specifying reasons that led the British Government to take such a step. Suspending constitution is the most drastic measure and one naturally asks whether the existing conditions in the colony could not but be met otherwise than by such an action? Was no other alternative left for them? The gravity of the action can be appreciated by keeping in view that Dr. Jagan's Government was duly formed after elections and through the constitutional procedure.

The statement carried these charges against the Cabinet :

(i) Their words and actions had shown that they had no intention of making the constitution work; that their sole object had been to seize control of the whole line of the territory and to run it on totalitarian lines; and that, to achieve their end, they were prepared to use violence and to plunge the State into economic and social chaos.

(ii) The "ringleaders" among the elected Ministers and their Party (the People's Progress Party) were "closely associated" with international Communist organisations. These "extremists" had been planning "to turn British Guiana into a totalitarian state subordinate to Moscow, and a dangerous platform for extending communist influence in the Western hemisphere."

(iii) The Ministers had used their official positions "to provoke and encourage a stoppage of work in the sugar industry . . . . and to spread the stoppage to essential services." for political purposes.

(iv) The Ministers had conducted "an assiduous campaign to undermine the loyalty and discipline of the police force," and had "proposed to establish what they term People's Police." They had also "intruded into the sphere of the public service."

(v) They had promoted a communist "Pioneer Youth League" and sought to undermine the position of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. They had also sponsored a local branch of the Peace Committee and a Committee supporting the Communist terrorists in Malaya, while "personally and through their agents" they had initiated "subversive propaganda and subversive activity."

(vi) They were intending to secularise all schools and revise the curriculum "with the evident objective" of subjecting children to communist indoctrination.

The Governor announced that the Colony's conditions had very much deteriorated and to improve the lot, shortly a revised constitution would be introduced.

Before we discuss the constitutional portion it will be better if we know something more about the colony.

BACKGROUND

Guiana is a small country on the Caribean sea in South America. After the ruling powers, divided into three parts, it is named as British, Dutch and French. British Guiana was ceded to Britain by the Dutch in 1814.

Geographically the British colony is divided three parts: remote barren hinterland composed of per cent of the land; below it is the thick ju consisting of 85 per cent and the remaining 5 per consists of a rich but low-lying coastal belt about miles deep. The colony has a number of good riv but because of their rapid flow and falls they are helpful for communication purposes. On the other hand, because of their floods, they have proved a drain on the country's finances.

The colony is rich in minerals, specially iron and manganese. American companies are exploit colony's natural resources. Timber also forms a source for the colony's business.

POPULATION

The slave population by 1830 in the colony over a lakh. Slaves were imported to work on fie But after abolition of slavery in 1834 the conditi changed. The slaves took to peasantry. The plan then tried with indentured lobour. Up to the first Wor War about 240,000 labourers were imported from Ind Many of them were required to be back to their origi country after the expiry of the period of indentu labour, but others settled there.

The present population is 440,000 (1950 census):

Indians	190880
Africans	156061
Coloured	44975
Amerindians	17004
Portuguese	8818
Other Europeans	3855
Chinese	3537

Of the population one fourth lives in George To the capital of the colony. Thus the density of population is on coastal belt. The population of whole interior in only 30,000.

The population can be tablized in the following f on occupational lines :

Rice Peasants	13000
Employees in rice mills	400—900
Mineral	3000
Timber	6500
Sugar	28000

Sugar industry is in the hands of a few compani In 1952 it exported 200,000 tons of sugar. In 194 made a profit of £400,000. The working conditions not good. The working hours are also long. Wher the average earning, counting that work is not avail throughout the year, is very low. The housing condit is equally in a had plight. The various commis appointed by the British Government criticised the pre conditions and pointed out that the bad conditions due to the sugar interests.

Sugar is the main crop of the land. The ve interests have ever attempted that no other crop may produced. Thus though rice could be produced no paid any heed to it. Nor the development of the co was ever taken in hand. The sugar monopolists ra proved a hindrance in its way.

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ADMINISTRATION

Till 1891 the country was governed by a Council of the Governor, a 'court of policy' and a 'combined court.' The last was demanded by the planters' representatives. It had exclusive power to impose taxes and vote supply. Thus it is clear, the planters had a say in the country's administration whereas the people had no voting power.

A Commission was appointed in 1927 to suggest constitutional amendments. It found that "the Power weilded by the elected members had produced hand to mouth finance to haphazard and ill-considered taxation. The budget had been consistently in deficit; and the administration of the health and educational services and agriculture was stagnant."

The two courts were abolished in 1928 and their powers were given to a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor and a few officials and non-official members. There were minor changes in 1943. After that the Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 24 members (3 officials, 7 nominated, 14 elected). But even then the Governor had the wide executive powers.

World War II affected British Guiana as well. Guianese had contacts with Europeans on the field and as such their outlooks changed. This the British Government realised and therefore a Commission, known as *Washington Commission* was appointed in 1951 to suggest amendments to constitution. The Commission recommended :

(i) Introduction of universal adult suffrage at the age of 21 (and abolition of the criticism of literary and material possession yard-strikes).

(ii) The executive should consist of the (a) Governor; (b) three appointed ministers—chief secretary (head of civil service, foreign and commonwealth affairs, defence including police and information), financial secretary and attorney general; (c) one nominated minister without portfolio; (d) 6 ministers chosen by ballot from the Legislative in charge of Government departments. One of them was to be the 'First' minister.

Law, order and finance could not be transferred to elected members.

(iii) The Governor was to have powers of dissent, reservation and declaration—"to be used only in matters of grave public concern."

(iv) There should be a House or Assembly (consisting of 24 elected members and 3 official ministers) and a revisionary chamber of 9 members (6 nominated by Governor and 3 on recommendation). The revisionary chamber had a suspensary veto of 3 months on money bills and one year for other bills passed by the House.

These proposals were accepted and also promulgated by the British Government.

LAST ELECTIONS

Four parties participated in the elections. P.P.P., United Farmers and Workers party, National Democratic Party and United Guiana Party. The last two merged and formed United Democratic Party.

P.P.P. programme included a social security scheme, a free health service. Secular (government controlled) education, drainage irrigation schemes, distribution of reclaimed land and nationalisation of sugar plantations.

The P.P.P. won 18 out of the 24 seats in the assembly with 6 ministerial seats in the council. Dr. Jagan became the first Minister.

But after taking the office Dr. Jagan did nothing very revolutionary to be labeled as a communist. Before election, *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent reported, "The P.P.P. is better supplied with thoughtful Indian leaders than the left organisations and are not likely to behave in an irresponsible manner even if they get an absolute majority." After assuming the office, Dr. Jagan said, "We are conscious of the role of the private capital. We will take steps as will encourage and attract private capital for the development of the country and above all we will guarantee that the government will fulfil all its obligations and undertakings."

The trouble arose at the issue of trade union recognition, when the P. P. P. supported G. I. W. U. a militant labour organisation. It called for strike. The Government passed a Trade Union Bill. This infuriated the employers. And then came the suspension of the constitution, and arrests of P. P. P. leaders.

JAGAN'S MOVE ABROAD

Jagan along with Bornham moved to England to put up his grievances before the British people. Though he very well refuted the charges but no justice came from the reactionary Government. Even the Labour Party extended no sympathy to the just cause of the people of British Guiana.

Dr. Jagan, who had great hopes to receive justice at the hands of the British came to India to seek help. Here he pointed out that the best help the Indians could give them is to provide them with monetary, legal and other assistance. What counts more is the moral support that India is giving to them. As Dr. Jagan said, it is democracy that is on trial in Guiana, for why should not the people be allowed to elect the persons they like?

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Highlights of Unesco's Activities in 1953

Unesco's activities, particularly in the fields of education and science , were considerably developed in 1953. Among the major projects undertaken by the Organization this year were the following :

A European Organization for Nuclear Research, planned and organized by Unesco, came into being in 1953. The purpose of this Organization is to proceed with the construction of a modern laboratory for nuclear research and to develop co-operation between existing laboratories in theoretical studies already in progress in various countries. The research will be of a non-military character; and the laboratory will also serve to train scientists in this field.

The Convention establishing the Organization on a permanent basis was approved by the official representatives of 12 Member States—Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and Yugoslavia—on 1st July, 1953. It has already been signed by 11 Member States and will enter into force when ratified by 7 States, with a total percentage contribution amounting to 75 per cent. headquarters of the Organization will be near Ge Switzerland, where a site has been offered by the S Government and unanimously accepted by the Me States.

An Arab States Centre, designed to train tea in the techniques of fundamental education, opened Sirs-el-Layyan (Egypt) early this year. It is the se such centre to be set up by Unesco as part of its w campaign against ignorance, poverty and disease, first being at Patzcuaro (Mexico). Fifty "stud from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi-Ar and Palestine Arab refugees are being trained theoretical and practical work. A second course about 50 students is due to start this month.

The Centre is a co-operative enterprise bet Unesco, the Egyptian Government as well as the U Nations, WHO, FAO, and ILO, and is aimed at trai leaders for fundamental education in the Arab world producing educational material and carrying ou programme of research of rural problems in the A States.

The Delhi Public Library, a pilot pro organized by the Government of India and Une was greatly developed during 1953.

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It served 70,000 men, women and children from all strata of life each month and lent 1,000 books a day. The Library's film showings, discussions, lectures and story hours for children drew several thousand people a month. Small collections of books were set up in literary centres as part of the Library's programme for new literates, and since the beginning of 1953 a mobile unit carrying 3,000 volumes took service to outlying sections of Delhi and nearby villages. During the past two years, the Library has served a total of 1,370,278 persons and issued 533,737 books. This unusually successful project is now exerting a strong influence on the development of public libraries in association with fundamental education throughout India and in other countries of the region.

A seminar held in July and August at Ibadan, Nigeria, on the development of public library services in Africa considered the professional training of librarians and the organization both of stationary libraries and of a network of free public libraries equipped with mobile units.

Unesco has organized, in co-operation with Europeans labour groups, a number of tours for workers in our country to see and study the work and way of life of their counterparts in another. About 850 workers benefited from such visits in 1953, in addition to some 750 in 1952.

A seminar on the production and use of visual aids in fundamental education was held at Messina, Sicily, in August and September. It was the first world seminar of its kind and was designed to bring together the experiences of educators and technicians from all the continents and from international organizations actively concerned with fundamental education. Twenty-eight countries and territories from all parts of the world were represented.

The recommendations made by the seminar were directed toward discovering the errors as well as the virtues of materials already produced, and toward recommending steps to be taken to encourage creative development in the future. Emphasis was placed on teaching methods and on the adaptation of materials for use in areas other than those in which they were originally produced.

Teacher training ranked high in the list of priority projects carried out by Unesco in the Technical Assistance programme during 1953. It is the premanent solution of an important educational problem in many countries and one of the prerequisites of their development.

In Libya, an educational and production centre was set up in Tripoli. It has become a well-integrated teachers' college, a women's teachers' group including five units, a men's college with two model primary schools attached, and a centre for the production of educational materials.

level

Teacher training is also one of the major activities of the educational organization mission sent by Unesco to Costa Rica. This project is a comprehensive one, including rural education, primary education, vocational education, teacher training, and school administration, with special reference to secondary education. After a survey of the general situation, two pilot projects were carried out in the field of rural and fundamental education. Teachers were trained in the techniques of rural education.

Unesco's efforts to help improve the living conditions of mankind in the world's arid and semi-arid zones, inaugurated in 1951 when the Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research was created, were intensified in 1953. Every year the Committee holds two meetings, considers research on one of the major aspects of the arid zones problems; and the following year, an international symposium on this subject is held. The

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subjects in 1951 and 1952 were hydrology and plant ecology, while in 1953 it was energy sources. Meetings were held in May 1953 in Paris, and in November at Montpellier, France, in conjunction with an international symposium of plant ecology, organized by Unesco, with the participation of experts from 15 Member States. *Reviews of Research on Arid Zone Hydrology* was published in May, and a directory of institutions engaged in arid zone research was issued in November. The Government of India invited Unesco to organize in India in the autumn of 1954, a symposium on wind and solar energy of the arid zones.

At the suggestion of the United Nations, and more specially, of the Commission on the Status of Women, Unesco carried out this year in a selected number of countries, a study on the political role of women, the way in which women play this role and the factors which promote or hinder their participation in public life. It was decided, in agreement with the National Commissions for Unesco in Norway, France, Yugoslavia and the German Federal Republic to carry out intensive research in these four countries in which women have secured equal political rights at different stages in economic and social development.

The study based upon information gathered from some 15 countries in all, casts light on sociological phenomena which had hardly been studied before, such as the influence of age, social and educational background, rural or urban environment, family ties, professional status, etc. on the political interest and participation of both men and women.

An international seminar on the contribution of the teaching of modern languages toward education for living in a world community was organized by Unesco at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, in August 1953, and was attended by delegations from 18 Member States.

Round table discussions were held on such topics as : he cultural aspect of modern language teaching; language teaching as aid to understanding foreign peoples and civilizations; psychological problems of language teaching and language learning; the training of modern language teachers. In addition, there were discussions of the specially urgent language problems confronting certain countries in Asia and certain territories in Africa.

Problems of musical education were reviewed by music teachers from all over the world at meetings in Belgium and Austria. The first studied all aspects of music teaching and called for an international enquiry into musical education. The creation of an International Society for Music Education was also decided. The second meeting considered the exchange of pupils and teachers, the foundation of secondary schools for musicians, and the establishment of an international competition for conservatory graduates. Conservatory directors agreed to form an international association.

A Unesco film, "World Without End," a one-hour study of the creative work undertaken by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the social and economic fields, was directed for Unesco by Basil Wright and Paul Rotha, of the United Kingdom. It was shot in Thailand and Mexico, two countries which illustrate effectively the co-operation of national governments and international agencies in social and economic activities. The film was first released at the Edinburgh Festival in August 1953 where it received warm acclaim, and was then televised throughout the United Kingdom. French and Spanish versions are now ready, and arrangements are being made for distribution in all Unesco Member States.

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Of the 73 Technical Assistance projects now being operated in 33 countries, many are concerned with fundamental education, technical education, special educational services, scientific teaching, scientific research, scientific and technical documentation.

An example of the assistance in the field of science teaching is provided by the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur.

The teaching of theoretical science in India was on an adequate level but the students who were trained needed guidance in order to apply their knowledge to industrial and other practial problems. Unesco sent experts in mechanical engineering, civil engineering and hydraulics. Equipment came from Unesco, the United Kingdom and Australia, through the Colombo Plan from Point IV Programme, and from the United States Technical Co-operation Administration. Under-graduate and postgraduate instruction in production technology was given during the year. The

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India's Raw Materials Aid Science and Industry

In its International Section the *American Chemical Society Journal* of June 8, 1953, summarizes India's efforts in the field of scientific and industrial research as follows:

India's latest five-year plan for the development of science and industry will affect every sector of the country's economy—agriculture, forestry, minerals, medicine, and industry. Financial provision has been made for completion of buildings and installation of equipment to enable the existing chain of 10 laboratories to turn out the maximum of work, and three new research institutes will be set up. They are the Radio and Electronic Research Institute, the Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, and the Central Salt Research Station.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) which was established in 1942, has been active in the development of processes for producing essential articles from indigenous materials. The function of the national laboratories is to bring the fruits of research within reach of medium and small-scale enterprises and enable them to reduce costs and improve the quality of products. The CSIR contributes to the advancement of fundamental and applied research at a number of institutions and schools and makes surveys of resources, organizes symposia and conferences, and advises industry on specific problems. Among its completed projects are the compilation and publication of *The Wealth of India*, an encyclopedic record of Indian raw materials and industrial products, and the sponsoring of the monthly *Journal of Indian Scientific and Industrial Research*.

The National Physical Laboratory is planning research, in collaboration with the Bureau of Mines, on the properties of Indian mica from different areas. The National Chemical Laboratory is investigating the production of tobacco seed oil, extraction of nicotine from tobacco waste, development of kamla seed oil (as substitute for tung oil) for use in paints and varnishes, improvements in the extraction of oils from oil seeds, processes for utilizing chlorine, manufacture of phosphatic fertilizers, utilization of lime sludge from the Sindri factory, sulfur production by microbiological processes, causitc soda and sulfuric acide from sodium sulfate, sulfur from magnesium sulfate, recovery of gypsum from salt pans, and manufacture of calcium lactate, *p*-aminosalicylic acid, paints, varnishes, and pigments. Fundamental research is being carried out in all branches of chemistry.

The main work of the National Metallurgical Laboratory is on the beneficiation of ores. One of the proposed projects is the recovery of manganese ore dumps; an ore dressing section has been org and the manufacture of zirconium, titanium, studies of their alloys are included in the labora magnesium and program.

The Fuel Research Institute is making a physical chemical survey of Indian coals. Work is also done on the manufacture of synthetic liquid fuels.

Improvement of the Indian glass and ceramic in tries is the goal of the Central Glass and Cera Research Institute, which is improving the quality glass containers and developing containers not lo made at present. A survey of raw materials for industry is in progress in co-operation with Geological Survey.

The Central Drug Research Institute has compiled Indian Pharmaceutical Codex as companion volume the Indian Pharmaceutical list. It is undertaking systematic cultivation of such flora.

The Central Food Technological Research Inst assists in the solution of food problems by technolog as distinct from biological and agricultural meth It is making a series of studies on the nutritive of local foods and the possibilities of substitution cereals by processed and fortified tubers. It is surveying the dietary habits and deficiencies of pe inhabiting different regions of the subcontinent. institute's other lines of work embrace problems of var food processing industries, utilization of food agricultural wastes, storage of cereals and perish foods, and preservation of fruits and vegetables.

The Central Leather Research Institute is making study of indigenous tanning materials and is also inve gating materials like wattle bark which are produced in any significant quantity in In improvement of tanning processes, and developmen suitable leathers for specialized needs.

The Central Building Research Institute is research on building materials and construction techni so as to bring down costs. Researches on standardiz of building components, utilization of raw mater problems of design and functional needs of build basic studies of structures, nature, and properties clay minerals and soils are in progress.

The Central Electrochemical Research Institute as its aim an increase of the productive capacity efficiency of existing electrochemical enterprises and fostering of new ones. The country has ample for manufacturing calcium carbide, carbon bisul potassium permanganate, potassium chlorate, phosph and phosphatic fertilizers, abrasives, and refractories.

Most of the laboratories have pilot plant equip or financial provision for it. The laboratories and research institutes are co-operating with the In Standards for various raw materials and finis products within their respective spheres. The gov ment is aiding private industry in promoting res by making substantial contributions and offering facilities.—*India Today.*

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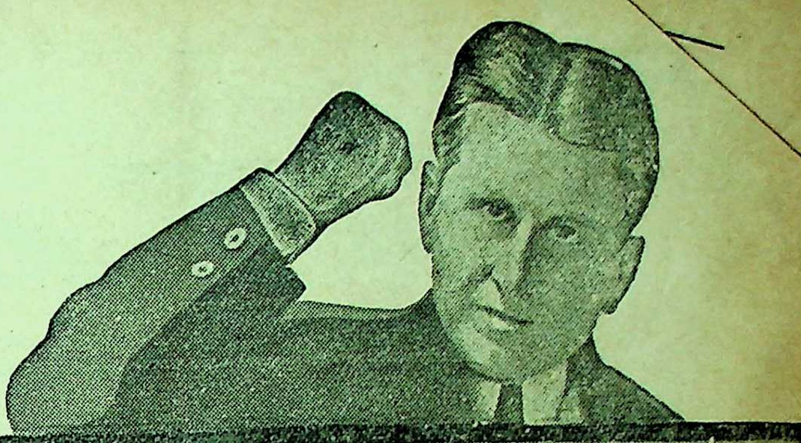

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VOL. LXXXXV, No. 6 WHOLE No. 570

CONTENTS FOR JUNE 1954.

PAGE

FRONTISPIECE—SRI CHAITANYA AND BASUDEB SARBABHAUMA (*in colours*)— Bireswar Ganguly

NOTES : 421—440

THE MENACE OF THE "H"-BOMB—C. L. R. Sastri 441

BHOODAN AND ECONOMIC REVOLUTION—Prof. S. N. Agarwal 444

STATE LEGISLATURES IN INDIA—THEIR POWERS AND PRIVILEGES— Prof. K. V. Rao 446

CHINA IN RETROSPECT Prof. D. P. Shrivastava 450

INTERNATIONAL REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS Prof N. Subrahmanian 453

ONWARD MARCH—INDIA—Rathindra Ray 455

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

P

SALIHUNDAM—A BUDDHIST STUPA IN THE ANDHRA COUNTRY (*illust.*)—
Sisir Kumar Mitra 4

A TRIP TO THE NILGIRIS (*illust.*)—Maniklal Mukherji 4

LIFE IN KULU VALLEY (*illust.*)—G. Srinivas Rao 47

PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN INDIA (*illust*)—Dr. H. L. Saxena 47

MUNICH UNIVERSITY HONORS DR. TARAKNATH DAS (*illust.*)— 4

WHITE-COLLAR' UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA Prof. G. P. Gupta 4

IMPRESSIONS OF SEVAGRAM AND SOME REFLECTIONS—
Chandos Reid Rice and Theodore D. Rice 4

COMMENT AND CRITICISM— 4

BOOK REVIEWS: 489–4

INDIAN PERIODICALS: 494–49

FOREIGN PERIODICALS: 500–50

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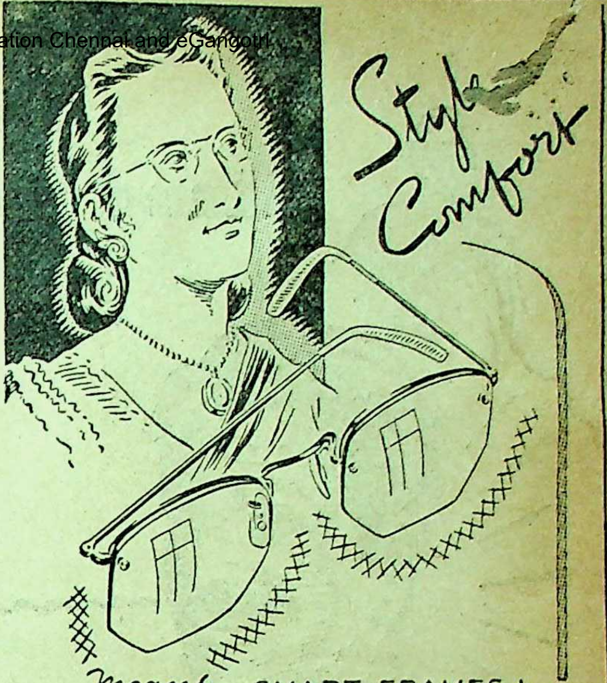

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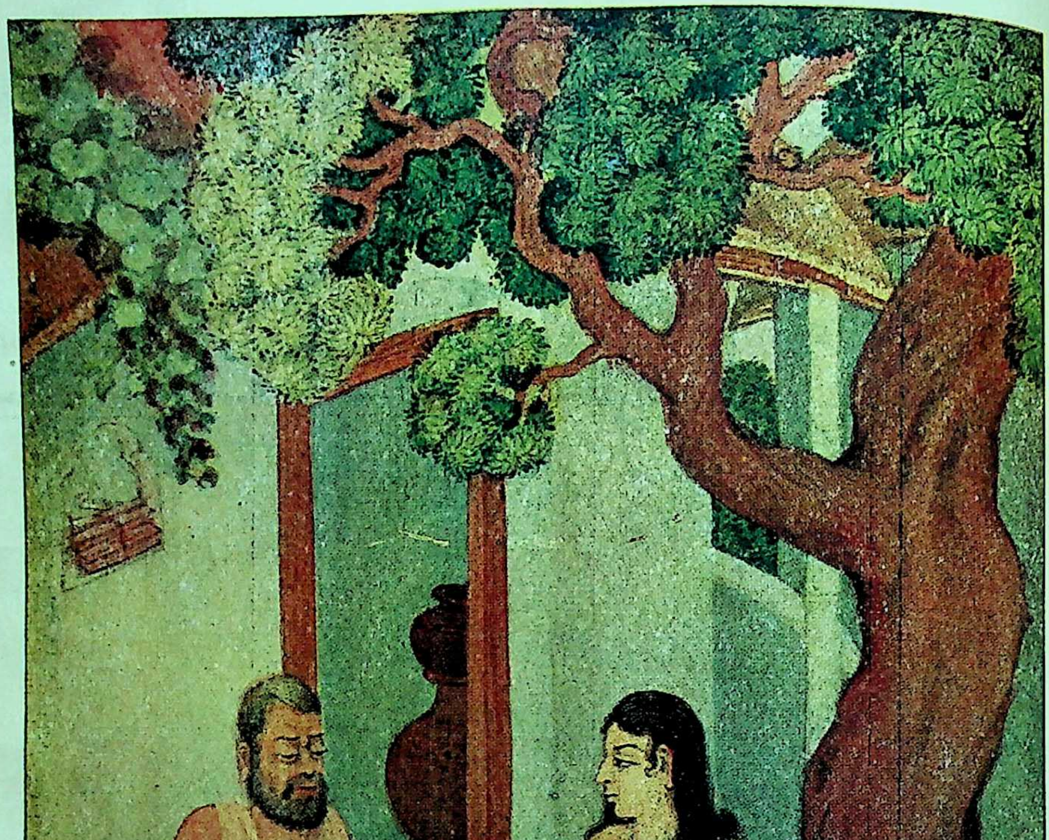

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1954

WHOLE No. 570

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NOTES

Crisis in East Pakistan

At the time of our going to press comes the news that the Pakistan Ministry of Interior had issued a statement, in a *Gazette Extraordinary*, to the effect that "a grave emergency had arisen in East Pakistan threatening its security." The Pakistan Governor-General Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had, therefore, dismissed the Fazlul Huq Ministry of East Pakistan and imposed Governor's rule on that province.

The resultant situation, in so far as Indo-Pakistan relations are concerned, are likely to be of extreme delicacy. Indeed, if the unofficial and unconfirmed news regarding the role played by the American Ambassador at Karachi, has any substance in it, then matters are likely to take a grave and sinister turn. It is difficult to believe that the representative of the world's leading democracy should thus follow the traditions of Hitler, Heidrich and Himmler, but it is best to be prepared for the worst, without losing sight of realities.

In the past there has been a tendency, in Calcutta, to treat all matters concerning East Pakistan on a purely emotional basis. This is particularly true of the Indian-owned section of the Calcutta daily press. The West Bengal Government also has followed in line, without considering for a moment the consequences of such an unrealistic procedure. In particular there has been a tendency to consider all matters regarding East Pakistan solely on the basis of the confused and wishful thoughts of the emigrants and uprooted Hindus from East Pakistan.

This very same wishful thinking led to the reading of imaginary meanings, in the statements of Mr. Fazlul Huq at Calcutta. To a large measure this has led to the undoing of the Fazlul Huq Ministry. And now we have to face the consequences.

"The Goose that Laid Golden Eggs"

We all know the fable of the avaricious man who had a goose that laid golden eggs. We know the conclusion also, as to how he killed the goose and lost all.

There is an ultra-modern version to that fable, that is being enacted before our eyes, which we relate here in the hopes that it would catch the eyes of our gods-that-be.

The Jute Enquiry Commission has submitted its report and recommendations, on which we give our comments elsewhere in this issue. But the tale we have to unfold is not contained in that report.

Twenty years ago the Jute Mills of India consumed, on an average, about 6.5 million bales of jute, another 3.5 million bales being exported. During the last World War, about 1941, jute exports had to stop and the existing mills abroad closed down due to lack of raw material. Indian mills made gigantic profits thereafter, and the Government being desirous of sharing therein, the export duty went up higher and higher, finally reaching the peak of Rs. 1,500 per ton, on jute products, at a later day.

When raw jute became available abroad, this combination of high duty and colossal profits put the price of manufactured jute at such a high level that many newcomers, such as, Iran, Egypt, Philippines and South Africa entered the promising field and established a large number of jute mills with highly modernised machinery. Old European entrepreneurs in Dundee, France, Belgium and Italy re-equipped their mills with high speed and high efficie[illegible] machinery.

This was the position in 1[illegible]0. Our Ju[illegible] a which was then largely do[illegible] [illegible]an absolute [illegible] India speculative elements, whose sole motive force was greed for immediate gain, took no steps for modernisation. They had neither the brains nor the experience for industrial advancement and preparedness.

In 1950-51, the jute crop was small and insufficient. The India Government of that period took the advice of the self-same intrusive speculative elements in the Indian Jute Mills Association, for reasons best known to the then Ministers in charge of the relevant portfolios and their adroit secretaries, and fixed Rs. 35 per maund as the maximum price of bottoms. Mills made soaring profits, mostly in illicit (black) dollars while the Government lost both in taxes and in dollar exchange. Needless to say, no investigation was initiated regarding the action of the ministers that had involved the nation thus in loss, by their acts of either omission or commission. Abroad Pak jute was being bought at Rs. 38 but although the Pakistan Government offered jute at that price to India, India refused to buy, relying on the advice of the same nefarious group of speculators who predicted that Pakistan would be forced to lower the price to Rs. 35.

The Mills, on the one hand, wrongly assured the Indian Government, that there was a sufficiency of jute in India. On the other hand, they rapidly bought, in enormous quantities, all stocks in secret, both in India and Pakistan, that they could lay their hands on. By their pressure the Reserve Bank was forced to stop money advances on jute. This sealed the fate of all middlemen and small stock-holding sellers in India, who were forced to sell to the mills at low prices dictated by the mill-owners.

By February, 1951, Indian Mills got together enormous stocks. Then they told the Indian Government that jute stocks were much lower than they had estimated and that the mills would have to close down unless the ceiling was raised. The controls were broken and prices rose to Rs. 110 per maund!

Hessian sold at soaring prices on the basis of the latter price for jute. "Black" dollars piled in tens of millions in the hands of those unscrupulous mill-owners. Sellers were beaten down to their knees, and the cultivator was swindled completely. Indian mill-owners were the biggest culprits in this fraud, but the Ministers at the Centre were no less culpable for allowing this swindle to go through.

Hessian being sold at fabulous prices, the users sought substitutes and new methods. Toughened paper bags for cement, open loading of wheat in ship-holds came into practice. Hessian thus lost a good deal of the vast world markets, due to the insatiable greed of Indian jute millers.

Pakistan gained, because it forced the Indian Government to buy at Rs. 100 the jute offered before at Rs. 38. Jute-millers sold at Rs. 105 their products contracted at Rs. 45. "Black" dollars piled up. The nation was swindled of taxes and of exchange!

Now the Indian Jute Mills are facing hard petition from foreign mills. Duty has been lo to Rs. 80 and Rs. 175, but even so the well-equi foreign mills offer fiercely competitive prices.

Indian consumption of jute has gone down 6.5 to 5.2 million bales, while foreign consum has gone up from 3.5 to 4.2 million bales. To should be added the paper-bag and other substi plus new practices in shipping. In the sum-total can be seen that the scope for jute products increased, provided of course, if the prices reasonable. Pakistan is increasing looms rapidly, order to capture the trade lost by India by her tailed production.

Jute prices were forced down in India, in 1 from Rs. 110 to Rs. 17 by the Government clo exports on the advice of the millowners. Cultiva faced ruin in most cases. As a consequence the In jute crop has come down from 4.6 million bales 3.5 million bales. It will go down further if Government does not protect the poor cultiv from the machinations of these rapacious swind who would not spend any part of their ill-go gains in modernisation, preferring to live by fra lence. If they are allowed to proceed without le hindrance, they would kill the Jute Industry in In their psychology being totally devoid of the th essentials in industrial practice, namely, integr efficiency and far-sightedness.

Even today their mills are running at a f profit. Yet they are against the Jute Enquiry Co mission's recommendation for a 48 hours week order to make prices competitive. Today the m are running about 36 hours a week (42½ hours w 12½ per cent looms sealed) in reality, which mea greatly curtailed production. Even with that there an average profit of about 50 lakhs per mill. I increased production would lower prices and tend stop illicit profits and black dollars.

The Jute Enquiry Commission has recommen the fixation of raw jute prices in relation with Hess prices. We consider that to be just and proper.

Sri Deshmukh is credited with the ability assess the advice of the Jute Mills Association at proper value. Our hopes lie with him for giving play to the cultivator who is the greatest and m helpless sufferer at the hands of these industri freebooters.

Jute Enquiry Commission's Report

The jute industry of India, the No. I dollar-earner suffered greatly by partition. The undivided Ind enjoyed a monopolistic position in jute goods, but wi the loss of main jute-growing areas by partition, Ind jute industry experienced a set-back. Pakistan's polic has helped to foster the growth of jute industry in other parts of the world and as a result India today faces a strong foreign competition in the world jute goods market.

Calcutta jute goods market was passing through a crisis which was aggravated by the orgies of speculative activities and fatka. As a result the prices of jute goods shot up steeply only to collapse a few weeks later. The first half of 1953 witnessed a large-scale depression in jute goods trade. The Government of India realised the danger in the offing and appointed a Jute Enquiry Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. K. R. P. Aiyangar. Although there is nothing new in most of the findings of the Committee, yet the report is marked by its comprehensiveness and realistic conclusions and suggestions.

The primary problem of the Indian jute industry is the production and supply of raw jute in this country. One of the important terms of reference to the Commission was how best raw jute producers could get a good economic return for their crop. The Committee observes that the development of cultivation should be both in quantity and in quality only up to the amount that can be consumed and for which a fair price can be got by the Indian mills, since they are now the sole consumers. The short fall in supply of indigenous jute will have for some time to be met by imports of Pakistani jute. The Report of the Commission next examines the charge that imports of jute from Pakistan at one stage was neither necessary nor in the interest of the Indian economy. The contention was that only a small part of the improved jute from Pakistan is of the high quality that cannot be grown here and the bulk of the imports by the mills during this period have been made with the object of getting the maximum profit from the lower prices in Pakisan, and further that this prejudicial action affected the interests of the jute grower in India. In recent months, however, the use of Indian jute by the Indian mills has increased to 79 per cent. The Report objects to the indiscriminate use of raw jute from Pakistan, although the Chairman of IJMA in his evidence before the Commission, made out a case for the import of some of the lower grades of Pakistani raw jute. The Commission says that in the long term interests of jute growing in India and of the jute industry, the import of jute from Pakistan should be restricted to grades which are not yet available in the required quantity in India and that, in order to achieve the objective, the possibiliy of getting even low quality fibre at comparable prices in India should be explored.

In the opinion of the Commission price variation should not be allowed to affect adversely the jute acreage. As regards the recent fall in jute prices, the Commission holds that although there was a slight recovery in raw jute prices by the end of 1952-53 season, the jute cultivator was apprehensive of further drop in prices and as a result there was a marked fall in acreage. In 1953-54 the jute acreage dropped by 34 per cent from the 1952-53 level. The Commission, however, suggests that marginal land should be switched over to food crop cultivation.

The Report then examines the question of cultivator's cost. On the basis of the replies received by the Commission, estimates in respect of the of cultivation of jute have been arrived at as follows: in West Bengal, costs vary from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 per maund, while the average for Assam is Rs. 20 per maund and the average for Bihar is Rs. 15 per maund. In West Bengal cost per acre vary between Rs. 230 to Rs. 340, in Assam the cost per acre is Rs. 240 and in Bihar it is Rs. 150. The Commission, however, has rejected the suggestion for a statutory minimum price fixation for jute on the ground of assuring an economic price for the raw jute grower. The system of minimum price obtains in many countries including advanced nations like the USA and the UK. But under the Indian conditions statutory minimum price system will be unsuitable and harmful to jute cultivation. The Commission has come to the conclusion that the data available are unsuitable for price fixation, and moreover grades of jute vary considerably and the method of preparation (retting and stripping) greatly affects their quality. The Commission says on the point: "Since we are not recommending fixation of minimum prices, we have only pointed to the nature of the different bases that have been suggested for price fixation and the difficulties in applying any of these in actual price." There cannot, however, arise any question of the minimum prices being assured by the industry, because it cannot be made to pay prices which are inconsistent with supply or with the levels at which the world markets are prepared to take jute goods. The responsibility lies on the Government to ensure a minimum economic price for jute. But that would be a great liability on the Government being beyond their resources, at least for the present. The only practicable course for ensuring the grower an economic return for his crop is that which has been recommended by the Commission. It has indicated several ways in this connection, namely, intensive cultivation by adoption of improved methods, proper marketing arrangements combined with prompt dissemination of market news to farmers in a manner that is easily understood by them, and reduction in taxation and freight rates on raw jute. The Commission has also suggested for the abolition of sales tax and similar taxes on raw jute and a reduction in the freight rates for carrying raw jute by rail and steamer. It is gratifying to note that the Indian production of raw jute almost succeeded in reaching a level of self-sufficiency. From the level of 1.3 million bales in 1946-47, the production rose to 4.7 million bales in 1952-53. The drive towards increased jute production, however, received a set-back by a year of depressed raw jute prices, and as a result there was a much poorer crop in 1953-54. It is imperative that India should strive to attain self-sufficiency in raw jute production. But self-sufficiency in terms of quantity alone will give a false picture of prosperity. Relative rather than absolute self-sufficiency in raw jute should be the aim of India

India should try to develop high quality raw jute so that in the near future dependence on Pakistan can be dispensed with.

Another important issue referred to the Commission was to determine the place of futures trading in the marketing of jute and jute products. On this point the Commission's preformance is not staisfactory. It has recognised the importance of a futures market for both raw jute and jute products and has recommended the establishment of a single well-knit and regulated organisation such as the East India Cotton Association. It has not, however, suggested any scheme for eliminating unhealthy speculation from which the Calcutta jute trade suffers. While it examined and enquired into the nature and extent of speculation in the fatka market, no suggestion was made as how that market could be prevented from becoming a den of gambling operations. The fact that it is all along there calls for its early closure. Excessive and unhealthy speculation caused wide fluctuations in raw jute prices and did a great harm to the jute industry. Such speculation will continue to affect the jute industry if the futures market is opened without proper safeguards for checking the speculation. The Report simply states : "We endorse generally the recommendations of Mr. Todd for the setting up of such a market. We also consider that for the balanced operation of the futures market, dealings in both raw jute and jute goods should be started simultaneously. We have not gone into details regarding the constitution of any associations to run such a market. In the past, the East India Jute and Hessian Exchange has functioned to some extent as futures market. But we suggest that a body with a more broad-based construction, representing all interests, and with wider bases for business and necessary checks against speculation can be formed by the voluntary co-operation of those in the trade who are interested in forward business. Further, as, under the Forward Contract (Regulation) Act, 1952, recongnition for such association functioning in a forward market has to be accorded by the Forward markets Commission, it is for those who desire to promote or revive such an association to frame a suitable constitution and submit the same for approval of the Commission."

Although the side-tracking of this important issue by the Commission will be regretted, it is however well that it did not attempt to get over this difficult task. The matter is so intricate that it requires to be dealt with by an expert body which is fully aware of the techniques of the speculative game.

The Commission has suggested for the appointment of a Jute Commissioner, the establishment of a Jute Board and the setting up of a Development Council for the jute industry. They together will assist the cultivators and mills to attain strength and stability in the industry. The Jute Commissioner and the Jute Board can help the grower in being informed easily about the fair price for raw jute on the basis of the rates of jute manufactures. They will also assist the grower to keep watch over agencies through wh the raw jute is marketed. But in implementing th recommendations of the Commission, there is possib of duplication of the existing machinery. The exi Indian Central Jute Committee can preform the ta which is being proposed to be assigned to the J Board and the Jute Commissioner. Only what required is some expansion in the staff of the Ce Jute Committee with experienced hands. The propo Deveplopment Council will also be redundant inasm as the present Indian Jute Mills Association is a b which is quite capable of looking after the interest the industry. The experience of development cou in some other industries has not been encourag enough to set up another development council for jute industry.

On the matter of modernisation of the indu the Commission observes that it is overdue. The pre size of the market that India holds can be retained o by accelerating the pace of modernisation and show potential competitors that the Indian industry determined to spare no efforts to keep its markets a will be taking all reasonable steps to increase effici and reduce costs. The Commission urges upon Government of India to pay immediate attention to problems of modernisation of the jute industry a to take steps in that direction.

On the subject of the marketing of jute, Commission estimates that growers in villages disp of nearly 75 per cent of their crop at their doors Farias and Beparis, who constitute the first link in chain of intermediaries supplying jute to the up-co kutcha balers. Moreover, the average grower sells a small lot at a time, because his stock is small and does not desire to part with his crop all at a ti

Control Over Public Expenditure

The persistence with which the Estimates C mittees, the Public Accounts Committees and Audit Officers assail Government departments over-spending, unauthorised spending, and spe without proper accounts and proper enquiry, again revealed the inadequacy of Parliamentary trol over public expenditure. Such allegations now being made with increasing frequency and certainly undermine the Government's reputatio discharging the task of national book-keeping. T point out to the old problem of creating indepe audit, which would ensure that the moneys spe spent on purposes authorised by Parliament. ninth report of the Estimates Committee deals a subject on which the Chanda Report has al made a substantial contribution. Not all the p raised by the Estimates Committee are new, are some repetitions of earlier findings by experts had more intimate knowledge of the subject financial procedure in the Secretariat.

Dealing first with the controversial issue of t cial control, the Estimates Committee records that a sort of suspicion has entered into the relationship between the Finance and administrative Ministries. To remove delays and to ensure work in more harmonious conditions, the Committee makes two principal recommendations regarding the stages of preparation and the execution of a Ministry's scheme. With regard to the first stage, the Committee suggests that before a scheme is embarked upon, it should be properly planned and steps should be taken to ensure that the required funds would be forthcoming at the proper time. After the scheme has been approved by the Finance Ministry, its detailed execution should be the responsibility of the administrative Ministry concerned, which should have the power to vary or alter details as long as the total expenditure is not exceeded.

The Estimates Committee makes the suggestion that the responsibility for sanctioning expenditure within the budgeted demand should be that of the Secretary of the Ministry, on the advice of the Financial Adviser. In the event of disagreement between the two, the question should be referred for decision to the Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance. Several references are made to imperfect planning before the submission of a scheme to the Finance Ministry, which is asked to maintain a complete record of instances where due to bad or no planning the funds sanctioned could not be utilized.

The Indian Constitution gives emphasis to the Parliamentary supremacy over public expenditure. Specific references to it occur in Articles 114 and 266. The former prescribes that no money shall be withdrawn from the Consolidated Fund of India, except under appropriations made by law in accordance with the provisions of the Article, and the latter reiterates the same principle in respect of States. Before these constitutional provisions are fully implemented, certain changes in the administrative machinery, which now performs the accounting and audit services for the Union and State Governments, are necessary. This machinery has become outmoded and has outlived its usefulness.

Under the present fiscal system, there are some three hundred treasuries in the country, one in each district, each treasury having one or more sub-treasuries. Receipts and disbursements take place in the treasuries for transactions connected with both the Central and the State Governments. This practice differs from the practice in the United Kingdom where all public payments are made through the Bank of England. The reason for the departure is that India is geographically too vast to permit the use of a single institution. The treasury work is also performed by the Imperial Bank of India. The Reserve Bank utilises the Imperial Bank as its agent for purposes of treasury work in places where it has no branches of its own. The primary responsibility for the control of expenditure rests on the various departmental controlling authorities. This method, as the Comptroller and Auditor-General remarked last year in his note submitted to the Public Accounts Committee, has "never worked satisfactorily"; it "completely broke down" during and after the war.

Two aspects of the present system deserve immediate action. Firstly, the accounts of the State Governments are maintained by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. This practice is being followed under the transitional provisions of the Constitution. Ultimately, the States should be asked to take over the entire responsibility for the maintenance of accounts. Under the Union List (Item No. 76), it is only the audit of the accounts of the Union and of the States that is a Union subject. In the second place, the same agency is responsible for the maintenance of the accounts as well as the audit. The compilation of accounts and their audit of most of the States have been entrusted to the same agency, the Indian Audit Department. This practice was criticised by the Simon Commission as anomalous combination of duties, being a relic of the highly centralised system of administration which obtained in this country before 1920. The system has, however, survived to this day, and the main argument for not effecting a change in the system is that it is economical.

In Britain, the control over public expenditure is exercised in three ways. Firstly, each Ministry has got its own Accounting Officer who passes all bills payable by the Minister and issues "payable orders" on the Paymaster-General. It is the duty of Officer to see that the payable orders do not exceed the voted grant. Generally speaking, there is no direct link between the individual departments and the Bank of England through which all payments are made, for between them stands the Paymaster-General. Secondly, there is the machinery of control provided by the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. The Estimates Committee supervises the estimates, submitted by the different departments, before they are placed in the House of Commons. Of course, the Treasury itself does this work first, and the Committee's work is more in the nature of a revision. In the UK a convention has developed out of the sense of "economic chivalry" and according to it, the Chairman of this Committee is a member of the Opposition. The actual expenditure is subject to the scrutiny of the Public Accounts Committee. Spending authorities carefully try to avoid the displeasure of this Committee. Thirdly, there is the all-important officer, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, whose office was established as far back as 1866. [illegible]ines and audits all public accounts before he submits his report to Parliament.

The Indian Constitution has borrowed all the practices of the British financial system, namely, the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor-General. But it has missed the fundamental principle that accounts should be separated from audit. It is absurd to assign both these functions to the same agency. It may be stated here that the Conference of Commonwealth Auditor-General, held in Britain in October 1951, came to the unanimous conclusion that an Auditor-General should not make payments nor keep accounts.

The existing arrangements are wholly inconsistent with the various responsibilities of the spending departments, namely, effective control over their responsibilities to Parliament to keep within the budget grants and appropriations. If a satisfactory system of Exchequer control is to be introduced in this country, there should be separate Accounts Officers to each of the Ministries and major spending departments, as in the UK, with whom all payments will be centralised in respect of such Ministry or Department. A corollary to this will be that the States will have to take over the maintenance of the Accounts, which under the transitional provisions of the Constitution, is at present the responsibility of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The present position of making the same agency responsible for the maintenance of Accounts and also the Audit of the Accounts compiled by itself is not only anomalous but highly improper and defective.

It may be noted here that in 1924, the Government of India separated, as an experimental measure, accounts from audit in the UP, N-WFP, the Railways and certain departments of the Central Government. The separation of audit from accounts was effected earlier in the Defence Department. But in 1930-31, the experiment was abandoned as a measure of economy. Only in Defence and the Railways, the system of separate accounts continued. But small sums were saved through such economy measures. The UP Government hoped to save about Rs. 3½ lakhs by combining audit and accounts. The Secretary of State, however, regretted the abandonment of the experiment. The separation is now recommended on the ground that it is conducive to economy in public expenditure.

The Estimates Committee has recommended the abolition of the present system of treasuries, early nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and separation of audit and accounts. The Committee suggests that the treasuries should be replaced by the banking organisation which is quick, efficient and reliable. The payment functions should be taken over by the branches of the Imperial Bank or where a branch of the Imperial Bank does not function by a branch of some other scheduled bank in consultation with the Reserve Bank. Where there is no branch of the Imperial Bank or any scheduled bank in existence the treasury office itself should be converted into a pay office of the Imperial Bank. The Committee urges that the Imperial Bank which is mostly concerned with the payments on behalf of the Central and State Governments should be nationalised. The Committee also emphasises the need for taking urgent steps to see that the Comptroller and Auditor-General concerns himself with audit functions only and the accounting and payment functions should devolve on the Ministry concerned.

The Estimates Committee's report on financial control over projects by the Finance Ministry is to be considered in the light of the recommendations made by the Chanda Report. Mr. Deshmukh's demand that all proposed expenditure of different Ministries must go through the scrutiny of the Finance Department is to be pitted against the danger of over-centralisation. It would be dangerous if the Finance Department becomes the ultimate dispenser of all expenditure and in the name of financial control the Finance Ministry may turn out to be the "super-Cabinet." There is also the risk of red-tapism, if all proposed projects stand in queue before the Finance Ministry. Mr. Deshmukh's claim that for expenditure from the Consolidated Fund, only the Finance Ministry is responsible, is obviously untenable. The Indian Constitution provides for collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the Parliament and for national expenditure, the Cabinet as a whole should be responsible. Decentralisation of expenditure as recommended by the Chanda Report is all the more desirable, provided, of course, proper safeguards are adopted. The balance between counterclaims of over-centralisation and decentralisation is to be achieved through constant consultation and negotiation—not by superimposition by the Finance Ministry. There is no doubt danger of extravagance in a decentralised expenditure—but it can be remedied to a great extent if the Cabinet as a whole examines the proposed expenditure in respect of important projects and takes the decision. The Estimates Committee seems to be inclined towards Mr. Deshmukh's claim of overcentralisation but it has not taken into consideration the dangers inherent in such a proposition.

The *sine qua non* in the decentralization of the Financial control is, of course, in the creation of an experienced and intrinsically efficient Permanent Staff that cannot be swayed from the straight path of integrity at the sweet will of fickle-minded and irresponsible ministers, within in cadre of the ministerial departments. Nepotism and favouritism stands in the way, as do party-politics and various parochial and other obsessions of ministers elected on popular vote. As matters stand today, perhaps, the question of safeguards have to be given priority over all other considerations.

Loss in Central Tractor Organisation

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha in its seventh report presented to the House on the 12th May recommended a Governmental probe into the stores purchase policy of the Central Tractor Organisation under the Food and Agricultural Ministry, reports the *UPI*.

The committee also criticised the Ministry for its failure to make any effort for determining the operational efficiency of the tractors purchased under Indian conditions. Another costly mistake, pointed out by the committee, was the order for bulk purchase of 24 diesel trucks in 1949 costing 128,802 dollars without first ascertaining the economics of diesel operated trucks. The diesel trucks were subsequently found to be uneconomical and were being discarded and replaced by petrol engines. There was considerable loss on account of the loss of a great number of tractor hours for one reason or another.

The committee urged the Government to fix the responsibility for the losses arising out of the "imprudent policy in the matter of purchase of tractors, stores and surplus spare parts." In three years from 1950-51 to 1952-53, the total loss of the CTO had amounted to Rs. 8,832,707. But the exact extent of the losses would remain unknown until surplus stock of the value of about a crore of rupees was sold out. If, on disposal, the stores failed to realise the book value then the losses would be greater still.

To ensure more efficient and economic working of land reclamation, the committee suggested that the Government should put the CTO under a corporation, constituted with the representatives of State and Central Governments, and run on commercial lines.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, defended the purchase policy of the CTO in a statement before the Lok Sabha on May 21. The Minister stated that the urgency of the food situation in the country at the time of the purchase of the tractors did not allow them time to test the efficiency of the tractors on Indian soil before their purchase. The type of trial suggested by the Estimates Committee would have required two or three years before any purchases could be made. He urged the House to consider the higher operational cost of some tractors against the cost of the additional food produced by the 400,000 to 500,000 acres of land reclaimed and brought under cultivation within the two years which would otherwise have been spent in testing the tractors.

Crisis in East Pakistan

Things have moved with dramatic suddenness in East Pakistan. The events have moved fast as the news given below indicate:

Karachi, May 30.—The Pakistan Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed today dismissed the Fazlul Huq Ministry of East Bengal and imposed Governor's Rule on the province.

The Governor-General did not dissolve the provincial legislature, but suspended its functioning.

The Government gave supreme power in the province to Gen. Iskander Mirza, Pakistan Defence Secretary, who was sworn in as Governor tonight succeeding Mr. Choudhury Khaliquzzaman, says *P.T.I.*

Mr. Huq is under house arrest, according to private information received in Calcutta from Dacca tonight. His house is being strongly guarded by the East Pakistan Rifles (Special Armed Police).

Governor-General has proclaimed emergency in East Bengal and directed Governor of Province to assume on his behalf all powers vested in or exercisable by Provincial Legislature.

About 100 persons, including some Communists have been taken into custody under the Public Safety Act so far in the city of Dacca and its surroundings following proclamation of Governor's Rule in East Pakistan this afternoon.

Sheikh Majibur Rahaman, one of the members of the Huq Cabinet and General Secretary of the Awami Muslim League, East Bengal till his appointment as a Minister a fortnight ago, was taken into custody by the police from his official residence tonight, according to a *P.T.I.* message.

Troops were reported to be patrolling the main towns in East Bengal following the dismissal of the Huq Ministry, says *Reuter*. The Government gave supreme power in the troubled 54,500 square mile territory to General Iskander Mirza, the new Governor.

Mr. Huq, dismissed Chief Minister, "might be tried for treason," according to indications available here tonight with official sources.

Mr. N. M. Khan, erstwhile Controller General of Prices and Supply, Government of Pakistan, who also arrived here with the new Governor today, took over the Chief Secretaryship of East Bengal from Mr. S. M. S. Ishaque.

The Gazette Extraordinary which was issued by the Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan said that grave emergency has arisen in East Pakistan theatening its security.

After the dismissal of the East Bengal Cabinet, the Provincial Governor is likely to appoint a few advisors to run the administration.

There is something very queer in Pakistan affairs if the following news be true:

New Delhi, May 30.—Reports reaching New Delhi from Karachi through highly informed political and diplomatic sources, as also from foreign correspondents, suggested strongly that the American Ambassador in Karachi, Mr. Heldriech, played an important part, indeed almost the decisive one, in the dissolution of the East

Bengal Ministry of the victorious United Front leader, Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Reports said that till yesterday Mr. Mohammad Ali, Pakistani Premier, was hesitant to take the drastic action, he took at last yesterday, for fear of repercussions in East Pakistan. It was then suggested to him that a decision had to be taken and if need be, the Eastern part of the country would have to be governed in a drastic manner, for which the Governor of East Bengal would have to be replaced by a strong man who could rule in a militaristic way. The choice fell on General Iskandar Mirza, the Defence Secretary.

Dacca Taken by Surprise

News are scanty regarding the reactions at Dacca. We append below what has come through:

"Dacca, May 30.—Events moved with dramatic swiftness here today following the arrival of Mr. Fazlul Huq from Karachi. He was followed a little later in an Army plane by Maj-Gen. Iskandar Mirza, Defence Secretary of Pakistan, who was sworn in later in the evening as Governor of East Bengal at Government House, replacing Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman. The oath was administered by Sir T. Ellis, Chief Justice of Dacca.

"The evening's ceremony at Government House was watched by high civil and military officials and some non-officials. Conclusions of the proceedings coincided with the broadcast by the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, explaining the action taken. It was listened to in hushed silence by the assembly.

"Mr. Huq met tonight in a conference at his residence members of the former Cabinet. After the conference, an appeal was issued asking people to maintain peace and tranquillity.

"About 125 arrests have been made by the police as a precautionary measure, including Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, former Co-operative Minister, and Mr. Ghulam Qader Chowdhury. The situation is quiet.

"*PTI* adds: Mr. Mujibur Rahman, former Minister for Co-operatives in the Fazlul Huq Cabinet commenting on the promulgation of Governor's rule, said: 'The people of East Bengal will not tolerate this unconstitutional measure. We know that the Muslim League ruling clique has almost ruined Pakistan. Now again it is trying to finish the solidarity of Pakistan. The East Bengal people are behind us, having given their verdict in the last election in our favour. The unrepresentative Central Government is applying Sec. 92A on representative Government. We know that the East Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly, who have been discredited and who have no right to represent East Bengal, are trying to do this sort of mischief-making conspiracy with the Central Government.'

"Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, former Civil Supplies Minister in the Huq Cabinet, in a statement to Press said: 'This is a preposterous measure unh of in the history of democracy. The ruling coterie resorted to such a drastic measure only because other party is against its wish and is opposed to The clique which has been responsible for such unforeseen measure has done the greatest harm to country and its integrity. I am sure the people w voted us to power will never tolerate this.'

"An emergency meeting of the United Fr Legislature Party condemned the 'arbitrary, democratic and unconstitutional action' of Pakistani Government in imposing Governor's r It assured the public that all legitimate and con tutional means would be taken to vindicate democratic rights of the people.

"The order under Section 144 Cr.P.C., already force in Dacca since the Adamjee Jute Mills riot, being enforced with greater vigour. Military patr ing of the city has been intensified."

Mr. Mohammed Ali's Broadcast

Pakistan's Prime Minister informed his peo about the course of action his government had deci upon thus:

"Mr. Mohammed Ali told the nation over Ra Pakistan this evening that the Centre took over t administration of East Bengal 'to save East Beng and preserve the integrity of Pakistan.'

"The Prime Minister in a 29-minute broadc immediately after the imposition of Sec. 92A in E Bengal said the administration of East Bengal h 'virtually broken down' and the Fazlul Huq Minis was not able to secure the lives and properties of t people of the province.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali assured the nation that coming to this decision we have not been influen in the slightest degree by the fact that the provin Ministry was not a Muslim League Ministry but United Front Ministry.'

"He added, the Centre had not hesitated dismiss the Muslim League Ministries of Sind a Punjab (P) when similar situation arose in the pa

"Mr. Mohammed Ali said that in the light information in the possession of the Pakistani Go ernment two factors stood out clearly.

"Firstly, disruptive forces and enemy agai were actively at work in East Bengal to underm the integrity of Pakistan by setting Muslims agains Muslims, class against class and the province agains the Centre. The second factor was that Mr. Faz Huq and his colleagues were 'not prepared to tak the action necessary to cope with this situation.'

"The Prime Minister said that nefarious activiti of subversive elements in East Bengal had resul in tragic events. He particularly referred to t troubles in the industrial centres of Chittago Narayanganj and Khulna immediately after result of the United Front victory came to be gradually announced.

"He mentioned the 'serious' riot at the Chandrakona Paper Mill where 13 persons were killed, the disturbance between the jail staff and the public at Dacca and finally the tragic riot at Adamjee Jute Mill, in which over 400 persons, including innocent women and children, were killed.

"The Prime Minister said that the *modus operandi* in all these disturbances was identical. He declared: 'No Government could afford to ignore a situation pregnant with such disastrous possibilities for the wellbeing of the province and the future of Pakistan.'

"He disclosed that on May 17 directives were issued to the Provincial Government requiring it to take certain actions to cope with the situation that had arisen. At the same time the Provincial Government was assured that the Centre would give it 'every assistance in the restoration and maintenance of order in the province.'

"Mr. Mohammed Ali said that the Provincial Government declined to take the action suggested by the Central Government. Mr. Fazlul Huq publicly repudiated the suggestion that Communists or other subversive elements had any hand in the disturbances. The United Front leaders made the 'fantastic allegation' that the Central Government and the Muslim League had instigated these riots to discredit the United Front. This, he said, was, of course, a deliberate falsehood and a wicked attempt to mislead the people and make political capital out of a great tragedy.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali said, the order would remain in force for the minimum time necessary to restore law and order and public confidence and for parliamentary Government to function successfully. These orders did not affect the present provincial legislature which would continue in Dacca. He said the assumption of administration under Sec. 92-A was designed to create conditions in which the administration could be handed back again to the people's representatives. He hoped that the Government of the province wou with the support and co-operation of the people of East Bengal be able to re-establish normal conditions in the province at an early date when a parliamentary Government would be reinstated.

"Mr. Huq's recent statements viewed against the background of his Calcutta utterances, had convinced him and his colleagues that they had to deal with a political leader who was fundamentally opposed to Pakistan. It was clear that neither he nor his Cabinet was fit to administer the province or could be trusted to restore peace and confidence and work for the prosperity of 42 million people. The Centre had, therefore, no alternative but the dismissal of the Huq Ministry.

"He warned the people against the internal enemies and danger of provincialism and appealed to the youth not to be misled by the enemies. He also told the members of the services to do their duty in accordance with their conscience and in freedom from fear of victimization and restore social and administrative order.

"Pakistan, the Prime Minister said, was today strong enough to meet any external threat to its security and it was daily gaining in strength.

"To our enemies it is an intolerable prospect. Hence they are bending all their efforts towards sowing the seeds of suspicion, distrust and discord and creating provincial and sectional illwill amongst us because only by thus undermining our solidarity can they impair our growing strength and might.

"Above all, they are dismayed by the solidarity of our people, by our ability to suffer in a common national cause. It is this solidarity that they have now made their chief target of attack and they undermine it by inciting provincial and class hatred while posing as champions of provincial or class interest. We must be on our guard against the insidious activities of such enemies."

"Concluding, he said that East Bengal might soon become once more a peaceful, progressive and prosperous province enjoying the benefit of normal and really responsible representative Government devoted to the welfare of its people."

Strength of Russia and Satellites

Mr. Arthur Henderson asked in the House of Commons on May 10 for details of increases in the military strength of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Mr. Anthony Nutting, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, gave the following written reply:

Naval forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has increased from 600,000 in 1951 to 750,000. The number of vessels has also grown, and there has been a marked increase in the number of submarines. There are now about 350, compared with 300 in 1951 and 215 at the end of the war. About half of the submarines are the large or medium ocean-going type. More of the large type are being built under the present construction programme. The Soviet Navy is also capable of a considerable air and naval mine-laying effort.

"Satellites and East Germany: The naval forces of these countries are negligible.

Ground forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has remained at about 3,200,000, and the number of divisions at about 175. But there has been an increase in mechanizaion with modern equipment, and mobility and firepower have steadily improved. The Soviet Army has now over 30,000 tanks, an increase of 20 per cent since 1951. The rifle divisions have been given motorized equipment and additional artillery.

"Satellites and East Germany: Manpower has increased by some 140,000 since 1951 to about 1,210,000.

There are now about 80 divisions, almost double the number in 1947.

Air forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has remained at about 800,000 and the number of aircraft at 19,000 to 20,000. But there has been a steady replacement of piston-engined fighters and light bombers with jets. Percentage of jet aircraft—Fighters: 1951, 20 per cent; 1954, nearly 100 per cent. Light bombers: 1951, nil; 1954, well over 66⅔ per cent. The number of TU-4 medium bombers in operational units has doubled since 1951.

"Satellites and East Germany: Manpower has increased from 50,000 in 1951 to nearly 90,000. Total aircraft strength, which is about 2,000, has almost doubled. About half the aircraft are jet fighters."

The Petrov Case

The escape and bid for freedom by the Russian diplomat Petrov, in Australia and the dramatic rescue of his wife has drawn world interest. British press reaction is put forward by the following extract:

Writing under the heading "Learning from Petrov," the *Spectator* (May 21) says: "Although the Petrov affair is not of the same order of importance as the Gouzenko affair, it throws no less interesting light on Moscow's determined methods. That the MVD should be charged with the collection of information comes as no surprise (all countries have secret agents who must work as best they can), but that it should also be concerned with establishing a fifth column is another matter. That it has had small success in Australia is no reason why other countries of the free world, Britain included, should not look the more sharply to their security.

"An extraordinary aspect of the Petrov affair is the close control Moscow exerts over its agents abroad. When the Russians turn friendly, it is now usual to suspect this is the result of a directive. What is astonishing is that Moscow told Petrov which individuals (important or otherwise) to interview, which parties to attend, which friendships to cultivate and which to drop, and which possibly useful dupes to contact."

Stating that all this points to the existence of an exceedingly large, if not altogether efficient, central organisation in Moscow," the *Spectator* asks: "Is it this, rather than the man on the spot, which decides from files who are most open to 'conversion, compromise and corruption'—the three motives most likely to lead a man into treason?" It adds: "If so, then it is small wonder the system should break down seriously on occasion. The case demonstrates also the ruthlessness with which Moscow handles its agents—the testimony of Petrov and his wife is eloquent of this. And here is another and greater source of weakness. When a Gouzenko or a Petrov realises it is possible to choose freedom, the blinkers vanish and he becomes a human being rather than a cog in an inhuman machine."

Nehru Wants A "Peace Area"

This extract from the *Worldover Press* for April 16 gives the informed American's point of view on Pandit Nehru's attitude:

"Prime Minister Nehru of India reacted stro against the U.S. arms deal with Pakistan, it has b said, for various reasons: his fear of increased mi power for Pakistan, his alarm over Kashmir, his fea involvement in a world war. These factors may b been in his mind, but the positive, rather than the n tive, phases of his thinking have received little or publicity. The fact is that Nehru, before the arrangement, had worked out a project for a "peace are in Asia, with parts of Africa added, to exert construc world leadership and serve as an inspiring exam He saw this 'destroyed'."

U.S.A. and Colonialism

In view of the ambiguous reply of the NA powers, with the honourable exception of two, w regard to the position of the Portguese posses (Goa, Daman, Diu) in India, the following ext from the *Worldover Press* for April 9, are of inter

"On two sides of the World, the rising tide nationalism is dashing against those little outposts colonial days which now appear as vestigial survivals f a buccaneering past. At the recent conference in Cara the United States was the only hold-out (for pruden reasons, looking to Europe) against a resolution cal for a speedy end to European controls in Central a South America. In India, Prime Minister Nehru getting set for stronger action to incoroporate t fringe ports long owned by France and Portugal. would be poor judgment to dismiss these areas a unimportant because they are small. In some ca soon, in others later, they may produce real conflict.

"Every now and then attacks are made on t Dutch for their retention of Surinam and the Du West Indies; on Britain for holding the Falkla Islands, off Argentina; and again on the British for th hold over British Honduras. This last territory is wo watching, for an election is soon coming up and there a workers' movement and a growing party with str economic demands. Sensational reports, by no mea well substantiated, seek to imply that the Peop United Party, which looks like a winner, is tinged w Communism and may even be partly financed fr Guatemala.

"No doubt can exist that Guatemala is interested, f it has long agitated for a "return" of British Hondu which it claims. There are anti-British elements i the P.U.P., and pro-Guatemala spokesmen, too, b the alleged financing from Guatemala, at least on a substantial scale, has not been proved. In any eve British Honduras is unlikely to go the way of Briti Guiana, not because colonialism has done much be there, but because even the new liberal constitutio limits popular expression in politics. The Executi Council has three members officially chosen, with s elected by the Legislative Council. That last bo consists of 15, with 3 nominated by the Governor, seated ex-officio, and 9 elected (be it noted) from continue to be used for all official purposes of the State for a period of twenty years from the commencement of the Constitution; (4) the examination of the Central Services in all provincial languages should be placed on an equal footirng; (5) provision should be made for the teaching of Bengali, Urdu and Arabic in the secondary schools to enable the students to take either one or two of them in addition to the language used as the medium of instruction; (6) the State should adopt all measures for the development of the common national language; (7) a commission should be appointed ten years after the inauguration of the Constitution to make recommendations for the replacement of English; and (8) notwithstanding anything in the preceding articles, the Federal Legislature might, by law, provide for the retention of English as the official language for specific purposes even after the expiry of twenty years.

This decision was openly opposed by the supporters of Urdu. Though protracted negotiations had preceded its adoption, the dissentrents headed by the Punjab League stalwarts could not be brought round accepting the Bengali language, and important members of the Muslim League Party, including the Finance Minister Chaudhury Mohammed Ali, Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Gurmani, Minister of Interior, and Sir Firoz Khan Noon, stayed away from the Assembly's session when the decision was taken.

Earlier on April 22, three days after the Muslim League Party in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had decided upon the adoption of Bengali as one of the State languages, a five thousand strong demonstration led by Dr. Abdul Huq (Baba-e-Urdu) paraded before the Parliament House demanding that only Urdu should be recognised as the State language of Pakistan; when the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, came out to address them the demonstrators shouted him out of the scene.

According to Press reports, from early morning on that date demonstrators forced shopkeepers to shut down their shops. students tore up question papers and came out of their examination halls. In many centres, question papers were not distributed at all. The pro-Urdu newspapers of Karachi came out with black borders as a mark of protest against the adoption of Bengali. And the Constituent Assembly had to postpone consideration of the language issue which was scheduled to take place on that date.

The Karachi correspondent of the weekly *Star* describes the demonstration in the following words in its issue dated May 3:

> "The Urdu lovers of Karachi took out a procession on Thursday to stop the linguistic disruption of Pakistan . . .
>
> "The angry people gave an ovation to Baba-e-Urdu, Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haque, which should be coveted by any 'popular' leader of the country."

The correspondent, however, regrets the unruly conduct of the demonstrators.

Giving the background of the controversy, the correspondent writes that it arose over the contradictory reports appearing in the press about the Muslim League Parliamentary Party's decision on Bengali. According to him, "While Mr. Ghayasuddin Pathan, chief whip of the party, claimed that the issue had been decided and the principle of having the two languages as the State languages had been conceded, other members insisted that this was not the position. The situation in the absence of any authoritative contradiction, was bound to add to the confusion."

Meanwhile the League stalwarts of the Punjab had been continuing with their factional fights. According to the *Star's* correspondent, the *Karachi Times* had reported an alleged "secret pact" between six Punjab members, led by Mr. Daulatana and some Bengali members on supporting the Bengali language, unfettered provincial autonomy, representation in services and appropriations of foreign exchanges by Eastern Pakistan in exchange for their support for the ousting of two Punjab ministers in the Central Government, Sir Zafrullah Khan and Mian Munshi Ahmed Gurmani.

Mr Daulatana had promptly denied the charge on the following day. He, however, had admitted for the first time that his group had been working for the no-confidence motion against the two Punjab ministers in the Central Cabinet. The Punjab Premier, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, also had charged Daulatana about the alleged secret pact.

Narayanganj Mill Riots

Pakistan was rocked by the ghastly tragedy of the riots in the Adamjee Jute Mill area, near Narayanganj, in which more than 500 people had lost their lives. The immediate cause of the clash, according to a Press Note issued by the East Pakistan Government on May 15, was the death of a worker of the Jute Mill following a quarrel between two neighbours belonging to the different sections. As a result of that, two rival sections of workers had clashed on that morning of May 15 resulting in heavy loss of lives. The situation took such a serious turn that the Army had to be called into action to maintain law and order.

The *Stateman's* staff correspondent in Dacca writes that the riot "was described as the worst in the history of Pakistan's labour troubles, and the casualties far outnumbered those involved in the last incident at the Chandrakona Paper Mills in Chittagong district." The rioters had used firearms, swords, spears, lathis and stones. About 700 *bashas* had been burnt down.

The Pakistan Cabinet held a special meeting on May 16 to consider the situation arising out of the mill riots and sent two ministers to East Pakistan to report on the happenings. The Ministers—Sardar Amir Azzam Khan, Minister of Defence, and Dr. A. M. Malik, Minister of Labour—were accompanied by Mr. S. A. Afzal, Political Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali.

The East Bengal Cabinet decided, in a special meeting on May 20, to appoint a three-man commission comprising a judge of the Dacca High Court, an official of the rank of District Judge and a non-official to investigate the causes of the riots. Up till the 21st May, 116 persons had been arrested including two managers of the Adamjee Jute Mills.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, said in a statement to the Press on May 17, that the "Communists and other anti-Pakistani elements" were to blame for the riots. He thought that a conspiracy was there to impede the industrial progress of East Bengal and expressed the Government's determination to crush "this foul conspiracy." Several people described as Communists were arrested and public meetings were banned in Karachi.

The Karachi papers carried glib stories to the effect that Communists and Hindus from West Bengal had been responsible for the riots. The Karachi Provincial Muslim League even went so far as to demand the imposition of Section 92-A (Governor's rule) in East Bengal.

The East Pakistan Premier, Mr. Fazlul Haque severely criticized Mr. Mohammed Ali's statement that the Communists were responsible for the riots. He wondered how Mr. Ali could jump to such a conclusion sitting in Karachi, 1400 miles from Narayanganj. In the course of a statement issued in Karachi on his arrival there, Mr. Haque sharply criticized what he described as the "reckless and unscrupulous manner" in which Karachi newspapers had "deliberately perverted facts relating to incidents in East Pakistan."

Mr. Huq said that one of his colleagues in the East Bengal Cabinet had proceeded to the scene of the disturbances immediately upon the receipt of information of the trouble. He denied that the Minister had been on the spot of the occurrence of the riots as alleged by the Secretary of East Pakistan Muslim League Party. Actually, the Minister had been about a couple of miles away, and did not know of the occurrence till it had been over. It was not also correct that the Inspector-General of Police and the District Magistrate had been there. One had been ill and the other had been absent on duty.

"It is a malicious lie to say that my speeches (recently) in Calcutta have had any outbreak or its developments. It was a case of Bengali Muslims and non-Bengali Muslims killing one another with the utmost fury and brutality. There might have been instigations before but that was also due to some circumstances which have not yet been dis- he went on to say.

Mr. Huq suggested that the Pakistan P Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, should himself g East Pakistan and find out the facts personally.

India-China Agreement on Tibet

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru described signing of the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet a very important event in the history of the coun foreign relations. In reply to the criticisms of agreement by Acharya Kripalani and others, P Nehru said that nothing the Government of I had done in the last six years was more proper coming to an agreement with China in regard Tibet. The agreement was not only good for I but for the whole of the world, he said.

"The major thing about this agreement," P Nehru said, "is its preamble which explains principles and considerations governing mutual tions between the countries and the approach of t countries to each other. They are: (1) Mutual pect for each other's territorial integrity sovereignty; (2) mutual non-aggression; (3) mu non-interference in each other's internal affa (4) equality and mutual benefit; and (5) peac co-existence."

Emphasising the importance of these princip the Prime Minister said: "I imagine if these pr ciples are adopted by the various countries in th relations with each other, a great deal of trouble the present-day world would probably disappear." H also referred to the great importance for China India to live in mutual peace and understand The agreement ensured to a large extent peace certain area of Asia. He wished that that area peace could be spread to the rest of Asia and in to the rest of the world.

He said that so far as the terms of the agreem were concerned, they were a recognition of the ex ing situation. No one had ever questioned Chi sovereignty over Tibet during the past one hund years. India did nothing new by that agreement had merely repeated what she had said previo and what had inevitably followed in the circumstanc both historical and practical.

The Agreement signed in Peking on April 29 a to run for eight years spoke of the desire of the t Governments to promote trade and cultural int course between Tibet region of China and India to facilitate pilgrimage and travel by the people the two countries. Article I provided that the Gov ment of China might establish trade agencies New Delhi, Calcutta, and Kalimpong and the G ernment of India at Yatung, Gyantse and Gar The trade agencies of both countries would accorded equal status and treatment. Article specified certain places in the two countries where traders from the other country, known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between India and the Tibet region of China, could trade. Article III related to the regulation of pilgrimages by religious believers of the two countries. Article IV specified the routes by which traders and pilgrims could travel. Article V provided for the regulation of travel between the two countries.

In the Notes exchanged between the delegations of the two countries, it was provided that the transfer of the twelve rest-houses and the postal, telegraph, and public telephone services in Tibet together with their equipment, which was owned by the Government of India, would be made over to the Government of China at a reasonable price. But the Government of India forewent the claim for compensation as a gesture of friendship.

The Government of India also undertook to withdraw completely within six months from the date of exchange of the notes (April 29, 1954) the military escorts stationed at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet region of China for which facilities and assistance would be provided by the Government of China.

The Government of India would retain all buildings within the compound walls of their trade agencies at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet, and would continue to lease the land within their agency compound walls from the Chinese side. They would return all other lands occupied by them to the Government of China, subject to certain conditions. Similarly, the Government of China would also be able to lease land at Kalimpong and Calcutta for their trade agencies to construct buildings thereon.

Trade agents of both countries would, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the local governments, have access to their nationals involved in civil or criminal cases.

Disputes between traders of the two countries over debts and claims would be settled in accordance with local laws and regulations.

Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a letter of congratulation to the Indian Prime Minister, stated that the agreement had re-established the age-old relations between the two countries in Tibet region of China on a new basis. The signing of this agreement, continued Mr. Chou, not only would strengthen further the friendship between the peoples of China and India, but also fully demonstrated the fact that a reasonable settlement could be achieved for any international question so long as the nations abided by the principles mentioned in the preamble of the agreement, and adopted the way of negotiations.

India and Japanese Prisoners

India has protested to the Governments of the USA, UK, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands against her exclusion from the right to exercise clemency in respect of Japanese war criminals sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

The United States Government had maintained that the right to grant such clemency only belonged to the Governments which had signed and ratified the San Francisco Treaty with Japan. The other six Governments mentioned above had also acceded to that view as well as to the stand taken by the US Government that Pakistan, which had signed and ratified the San Francisco Treaty, should now be deemed the successor State to India having the right to grant clemency.

Altogether eleven countries had been represented on the Tribunal. In addition to the aforementioned seven countries, India, China, USSR and the Philippines had also been members of the Tribunal. As India, China and the USSR had not signed the San Francisco Treaty and the Philippines had not yet ratified it, according to US interpretations they were not entitled to exercise the right of clemency.

In an identical note to the seven Governments, India had clearly rejected such an interpretation. The note says: "India's right to participate in the clemency proceedings was inherent in her membership of the International Military Tribunal. The Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, enjoyed the power to grant clemency, etc. As an agent of the countries which were represented on the Military Tribunal, with the cessation of his office, this power automatically reverted to the member Governments which actually imposed the sentences on the Japanese war criminals. The San Francisco Treaty, which was concluded later by third parties, cannot take away this right."

The substitution of Pakistan for India in the clemency proceedings on the ground that Pakistan was a signatory to the San Francisco Treaty, the note says, was completely untenable in that it was an Indian, Dr. R. B. Pal and not a Pakistani, who had pronounced judgment on November 4, 1948, fifteen months after the creation of the two States of India and Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan in no sense could be regarded as the successor-State to India because, as Prime Minister Nehru had pointed out in the Lok Sabha on May 13, it had clearly been laid down at the time of partition that "all international commitments and membership of international organisations previous to partition devolved solely on India." The United Nations, to which all the aforesaid seven countries were signatories, had also accepted India as the successor-State after the partition of the country and had treated Pakistan as a new State.

In the circumstances it was difficult to see the logic of the stand taken by the Government of the United States except that it showed to what low depths the Government of the USA could go if any country refused to toe the line. It was all the more regrettable that Commonwealth countries also should have lent their support to such a stand. This could only result in strengthening the hands of those who insisted that India's association with the Commonwealth brought her no good but only liabilities.

Deportation of the Uganda Leader

The British Colonial Government of Uganda has deported Mr. Joseph William Kiwanuka, President of the Uganda National Congress, the country's premier political organization. He was flown to a distant village and wos ordered to be detained there. As a protest against that action Mr. S. M. Sekabanja, Acting President of the National Congress has urged all Uganda Africans to refrain from buying anything but the bare necessities "to convince Her Majesty's Government our dislike of the deportation ordinance."

Sharply critical of the action of the British colonial authorities, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that the authorities would, of course, claim, as they had done in the case of the Kaboka that the action had been taken in zealous and earnest pursuit of the aim to help the people forward on the road to progress and with the object of serving their best interests. The newspaper points to the hollowness of the claim quoting the Liberal Lord Hemingford's letter to the *Times* on the ordinance in which the Earl had questioned the justice of investing the executive with the power of arbitrary deportation without affording the deportee any opportunity of appeal or of being heard of in his own defense. "But," Lord Hemingford had said, "to enact that no court may even enquire into the legality of the deportation order means nothing more nor less than the complete abrogation in this respect of the rule of law."

The paper asks: "Western democracy condemns in unqualified terms Communist and Fascist perversions of jurisprudence. What does this ordinance represent?"

Slavery in Modern World

"Slavery, even in its crudest form, still exists in the world today," says the report of a Special Committee of four experts appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General on the authorisation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to survey the field of slavery and other institutions or customs resembling slavery to assess the nature and extent of these several problems at the present time and suggest methods for combating them.

The Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 prohibited slavery and slave trade in all forms.

According to a Unesco feature article in the *Hindu* of May 16, which gives the above facts report emphasized, however, that except for countries slavery today was clandestine. In di form, slavery existed in almost all parts of the In the view of the committee that should be a of international concern "because of the numb people affected, and the suffering caused by practices is much more significant than that re from crude slavery."

The Committee had noticed a change in attitude of world public opinion towards forms of slavery since the time of the signing of Slavery Convention of the League of Nations 1926. The committee suggested that the conv should be brought within the framework of the U Nations and suggested, in so far as that conv fell short of guaranteeing the abolition of the status of slavery in all countries and its dis forms which were not covered by the definition the convention, the adoption of a supplem convention.

"Slavery," said the 1926-Convention of League of Nations, "is the status or condition of person over whom any or all of the powers atta to the right of ownership are exercised." The mittee recommended the retention of the defi as well as that of "slave trade" and suggested the supplementary convention should not only those evils but also a number of similar institu and practices including debt bondage (under ce circumstances): "the legal status of serfdom," price" (in case, where a woman was given in marri without the right to refuse, at a price or under c tions, which gave to the husband, to his cla family, a right of disposal over her or over children and permit her exploitation for the ad age of others); the practice under which a child transferable by its parents or guardians to a party on payment or under conditions permitting exploitation of the child regardless of its wel "such remnants of slave-raiding and slave trading might still exist"; and mutilation, branding or ta ing of persons or servile status. The "age of co in marriage" was recommended to be established 16 for boys and 14 for girls.

Politics of Wealth and Poverty

Professor P. M. S. Blackett, the well-kn atomic scientist of Britain, examines in an article the American *The Nation* some of the implications the widening gap of prosperity of the nations of non-Soviet world.

In that article, reproduced in the *Vigil* of May Professor Blackett says that while the rich cou had grown richer, the poor countries had g poorer. The divergence in their relative prosp was indeed staggering. As against the per ca annual income of one thousand dollars of the 30 crores people of the U.S.A., U.K., Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia, Canada, the Low countries, Switzerland and France, the per capita income of the 90 crores people of Africa (excluding the small white population), the Middle East and Asia (excluding China) was only about sixty dollars a year.

This state of affairs had existed for a long time. But with the achievement of national independence by certain Asian countries after the second World War the perspective had completely changed. To quote him, "the ills of South-East Asia—poverty, underfeeding, disease and illiteracy—became important factors in international relations." The internal and external policies of the governments of those countries were dictated by the necessity to improve the standard of living of the people. No party could hope to remain in power if it failed to satisfy the basic needs of the improvement of the conditions of life of the people.

In the opinion of the Professor, "the most effective approaches to world stability would be to take some big steps toward a more uniform distribution of the world's wealth." But how could it be done? The rate of increase of wealth of a country varied directly with the amount of savings and investments. And it was mainly through the medium of new investments in agriculture and industry that advancing science and technology could increase the wealth of a country. The underdeveloped countries were clearly in no position to be able to provide for the huge capital needed for raising the living standards at the same rate as the rich countries for which, Prof. Blackett concludes from various estimates, Africa and the Colombo Plan countries would require external financial aid to the extent of about ten billion dollars a year, or ten dollars per head per year in addition to the resources locally mobilised for investment. That help would impose a 3-per cent cut in the per capita income in the rich countries. At the moment they were instead receiving about 10 per cent of that.

Conditions in the underdeveloped countries were not such that they would be able to employ all the ten billion dollars even if such a sum were made available. But clearly countries like India could absorb vastly greater amount of capital than were available to them at present. It was evident therefore that the underdeveloped countries could never achieve the prosperity of the rich countries unless their own heroic efforts were supplemented by external aid.

Prof. Blackett is of the view that such an aid should be given in the form of a gift. The poor countries could not repay such huge loans in near future. Moreover, the resurgent Asian nationalism was not amenable to foreign aid being paid for by large-scale political or economic concessions. The policy of "trade not aid" could not be applied to those countries. It was suitable for Western countries in their mutual relations.

Technical advice and scientific training could not supplant material aid. Experts' reports could only be implemented with the expenditure of huge funds. "It is said that ministries in some Asian countries have on their desks a pile of admirable experts' reports which they cannot put into effect."

The aid needed to be disinterested. Aid might be given on moral, economic, political or military considerations. At the moment the political and military motives certainly provided the main incentive. In general, writes Prof. Blackett, "aid today is being recommended primarily in order to prevent these countries from moving farther away from the political orbit of the Western powers; economic aid has become, in fact, a weapon in the cold war."

Proceeding further the Professor writes that since Western aid was motivated less by charity and more by fear the political wisdom of the Western powers faced a stiff test with the slackening of international tension. The Western powers were starting to cut down on their sixty-billion-dollar annual military budget. "One-sixth of this sum diverted to Asia and Africa and the Middle East would solve the immediate financial problem of aid."

He does not consider for various reasons that that was likely to happen. However, the situation might change. As he puts it the fear of the impact of the startling economic progress of the Soviet bloc of countries on the underdeveloped countries might induce the Western powers to embark on a policy of liberal aid for the more equal distribution of the wealth of the world. Should such a state come to pass only then could the individual scientist "expect his scientific works to be used to the full for the benefit of the many," Professor Blackett concludes.

Traffic in Women

"Observer" writes in the *People*, May 15, that various reports suggested that the traffic in women had been increasing of late. The evil was widespread. Recently Miss Maniben Patel had drawn the attention of the Lok Sabha to that evil through her private bill seeking to provide for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and brothels.

The columnist writes that while the evil might primarily be traced to poverty "its widespread existence today is due to heroine hunters and their imitators. Skilled traffickers manage to contact poor young girls, sometimes those of well-to-do families also, and parade before them the 'heavenly' life of a film star. A few days' persuasion settles departure on the sly." The girls were taken to different centres and sold to private individuals or to houses of ill-fame. In most cases the guardians remained silent, afraid of impairing still further the prestige of the family.

According to the writer, "In the big towns of U.P., the so-called Mahila Ashrams have been notorious centres of corruption." Many girls sought refuge in those Ashrams to avoid social ill-treatment and the pangs of destitution only to be confronted with a still worse lot. No doubt, there were certain organisations genuinely offering shelter to suffering women but with them had appeared many spurious 'homes' for making money, like marriage bureaus.

In the hill districts, the traffickers had an even more fertile soil. The business was quite open there; and girls were openly bought and sold in the market like chattels. "In Delhi," writes the columnist, "many girls were recovered from houses of ill-fame." These belonged to hill districts of U.P., police round up revealed.

This criminal trade does not by any means seem to be confined to the Uttar Pradesh alone. Indeed, the article referred to above would suggest its widespread prevalence in other States as well. The writer, in fact, refers to preventive measures being devised by the State Governments of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Madras to check the growth of this evil.

In West Bengal too, it would appear, the trade is quite flourishing. Very often reports appear in the press of some unfortunate girl falling in the trap of such traffickers. The recent arrest of the director of a well-known Mahila Ashram in Calcutta on charges of alleged adultery with the girl inmates was another case in point as was the discovery of the decapitated and dismembered body of a girl, lured away from home by the hope of a cinema star's vocation.

Pure Drugs

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial on May 14, that mere legislation though important, could not go far in ensuring purity of drugs. Much of the success in that direction depended upon the extent of efficiency and integrity with which the profession of pharmacy could organise and develop in this country. In this connection the newspaper commends the suggestion of Bombay's Health Minister, Sri Shantilal Shah, that the State Pharmacy Council should lead the country in drawing up a code of ethics embodying all the sound principles found in the codes accepted by the pharmacists in other advanced countries. It also advises the setting up of a machinery to see that the code was scrupulously observed by every registered member of the profession.

The newspaper considers highly organised development of professional probity and the availability of adequate and efficient training facilities to be the two essential pre-requisites before the profession of pharmacy in India could attain the standards rea in the advanced countries. In this connection it for an early and earnest consideration of the sug tion for establishing a separate Faculty of Pharm in the regional Universities to provide such train The Bhore Committee's recommendations for training of different categories of pharmacists largely remained unimplemented.

"It is also worth considering how far the co plaint that the present Pharmacy Act is not compl and effective is justified. The Drugs Inquiry Co mittee, in its report in 1931, had recommended enactment of legislation to control both drugs a pharmacy, either by a combined Drugs and Pharm Act or by Drugs Act and a Pharmacy Act separa as might be found convenient. It was also sugges that if a separate Drugs Act and Pharmacy Act w enacted these should be passed simultaneously a should operate concurrently. The report furt recommended that the legislation should be cen with a view to securing effectiveness and uniform in control throughout the country. The implemen tion of these recommendations has not yet been co pleted. If suitable legislation can aid improvem of the profession it should not be delayed und For improvement of the profession should be soug and secured through all possible means. It is c then that the manufacture and sale of impure a adulterated drugs can be checked substantially. T evil persists and there should be no complacen about it," the editorial concludes.

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Rajaji's Education Scheme Dropped

The Madras Congress Legislature Party h decided to drop the elementary education sche introduced by the then Chief Minister of Mad Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari about a year ag reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on May 15.

At a meeting on May 13 the Party decided t restore the old education scheme from the beginni of the coming academic session. The Educat Minister was asked by the meeting not to repeat formulate changes in the education scheme witho the party's approval, the paper's Madras correspo dent writes. He adds that a Committee was likely t be appointed to examine the entire field of elem tary education.

It may be remembered that the scheme, no rejected, had evoked a heated controversy among th educationists. While it was attacked by many th Central Advisory Board of Education had praised i eloquently. The Scheme had envisaged the educa tion of children in double shifts thereby making i feasible to educate more boys without increase financial liability. It has also provided for the prac tical training of the children in handicrafts and agri culture.

THE MENACE OF THE "H"-BOMB

America on the War-Path

By C. L. R. SASTRI

> "It was Sinclair Lewis who, before the war, wrote a novel in which he described how Fascism came to the United States in the guise of a strident defence of the democratic way of life and called it ironically, *It Can't Happen Here*. The novel's odious fantasy of America as a police State seems to be coming true. Under pretence of defeating Communist conspiracy the most hateful tactics of totalitarian might, including the duty of spying on comrades, are being introduced one after another."—*The New Statesman and Nation*, April 17, 1954.

THIS, then, is the shape of things to come! The "A" bomb and the "H" bomb are scheduled, between them, to wipe humanity off the face of the earth. In the process (commendable or otherwise) of eradicating Communism from the world, those modern saviours of society, the Americans, are bent upon destroying the world itself, thus throwing away the baby with the bath-water, as it were! Our species, it would seem, has evolved from the ape—if, in the light of the most recent developments, it is not an atrocious libel in the ape to say so—in order, eventually, to invent first the "fission" and then the "fusion" bomb! Milton claimed that he had composed his unforgettable epic "to justify the ways of God to man." I earnestly hope that the group of distinguished scientists who were responsible for the perfection of these hideous engines of destruction will not lay the flattering unction to their souls that they have laboured all these years for the same noble and altruistic purpose. This time at least that plea will not wash: things have gone a bit too far for that! The Almighty had better be left out of the account: He might bear *just* so much and no more!

THE DECENCIES OF DEBATE

War is, by the laws of its being, destructive: nor is there any place in it for the Bhagwat Gita or the Sermon on the Mount once the pleasant paths of peace are discarded and the nations face one another in rival camps, ingeminating maledictions loud as well as deep, and unleashing "red ruin" in its most scarlet forms. "Inter arma leges silent," as Cicero said long ago; and we must needs doff our customary robes of thought contemplating the primordial state to which human beings naturally revert when, renouncing normal modes of settling their differences, they put everything to the final test—the arbitrament of arms. But even thieves do not wholly abrogate the decencies of debate; and it is ridiculous to suggest that countries that are literally at daggers' drawn will do well to throw the last shreds and patches of humanity to the four winds. That way lies the abyss: that way yawns the chasm.

A helpless public has been inundated with columns upon columns of learned lore on the subject of these bombs. I have no objection to the learned lore; but I may be permitted to wonder that, in these days of (alleged) acute shortage of newsprint, newspapers can be expected to devote so very much of their valuable space to sickeningly elaborate descriptions of these newest additions to the world's marvels. But what the soldier said, as everyone knows, is not evidence; and, equally, what the scientists say is not gospel truth. There is quite a lot of unholy glee in the possession of what they appear to regard as priceless blessings; and some of us, at any rate, are rather tired of this excessive jubilation.

HIROSHIMA

We have, by now, been not only fully posted as to the truly marvellous nature of the atomic bomb from the Allied side, but the Japanese, on their part, have not been behind-hand in informing us of the extent of damage that was inflicted on the fortress city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, by atomic bombing. All living things, human and animal, the Tokio radio announced, were literally seared to death. It added that those outdoors were burnt to death and those indoors killed by indescribable pressure and heat. Nor did it make any secret of the fact, proved scientifically, that the destructive force of the new weapon was indescribable, as was also the devastation that it caused. It concluded by saying that Hiroshima, with its population of 318,000, was a city of ruins and that the dead were too numerous to be counted. Another description was that heat comparable to that of some stellar body was generated when the bomb burst and that fires had still been raging two days later.

The invention of "A" and "H" bombs bids us pause awhile and ponder over its many-sided implications. At the outset we shall, perhaps, do well not to let ourselves be carried away by the almost lyrical descriptions of their potentialities furnished by the scientists. They always tend to assert that a given discovery's good far outweighs its evil. Usually, however, as we know to our grievous cost, it is the other way about; and the good, as often as not, cannot be discerned even by the use of Sam Weller's celebrated "pair o' patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power." Besides, this is, one would think, hardly the time to expatiate upon their long-range benefits. They have been invented for the *express purpose* of razing enemy countries to the ground. And they will be used for that purpose—and for none other!

PENDULUM SWINGING TO THE OTHER EXTREME

May it not be that, at long last, man has over-reached himself and that this is, really, the beginning of the end? Who knows but that the "H" bomb is the last—the very last—of human inventions and that the pendulum will shortly swing to the other extreme and, as someone has picturesquely put it, the few and scattered islands of humanity surviving after a large world-wide destruction may be put to the painful necessity of *re-inventing* such elementary things as making a fire and starting the whole game over again—until, presumably, *someone else* invents the "H" bomb in his turn?

These reflections of mine have been provoked by the two recent "H" bomb explosions by America in its Pacific Ocean testing grounds. The first was on the first of March and a Japanese fishing vessel, the "Fukuryu Maru," far off from the testing ground, was overspread with radio-active ash and many of its crew were injured. Another Japanese fishing vessel the "Shimyo Maru," a thousand miles farther off, also fell a victim to the "H" bomb's self-imposed civilising mission. Nothing less than a veritable furore has been created all over the world by the unimaginable destructive propensities of the "H" bomb, and even Mr. Winston Churchill has begun to be visited by salutary second thoughts on the subject. America, there is little doubt now, is straining at the leash to precipitate World War III, and it is a pity that there seems to be no one morally big enough to thwart its infamous designs. If this is Mr. Dulles's "New Look" foreign policy we may well shudder at it. Even America's allies do not quite see eye to eye with it in the matter of spreading contamination on the high seas by these "experiments." I should not like to say it, but the only hope for humanity seems to be Russia's possession of the same lethal weapon: if anything can now restrain America from letting loose the bloodiest of holocausts it is a lively appreciation of the fact that Russia can give as much as it gets—can give much more than it gets, in fact. I have never been an ardent advocate of Communism and I am even prepared to admit that not all its tenets are worthy of being copied by the upholders of the opposite political philosophy; but I am impelled, by the sheer compulsion of events, to condemn, in no uncertain fashion, the absolutely *un*-democratic thesis that we must cheerfully accept America's *soi-disant* leadership of the world, wherever that leadership may lead us. Communistic way of life, it is conceivable, m inimical to society. On this there may well be opinions. But there is one matter on which there not be two opinions: it is that America, in its long rush to detonate the hydrogen bomb over devoted heads of Communists, is inimical to Almighty Himself!

SPOILING FOR A FIGHT

America's action in persisting in these expl of the "H" bomb in the teeth of the opposition of own allies is capable only of one explanation: that it is fully determined to push on with its preparations in the certain knowledge that a down between the rival camps is inevitable—if because it wishes it to be so. In the context of coming Geneva meeting of the "Big Five," belligerent activities are susceptible of no explanation. The Geneva Conference, like its B counterpart, may, after prolonged sessions, end equally dismal failure; but it is indisputable America has been leaving nothing to chance s arrange matters that such a failure is the logical come of the renewed "get-together" of the rival b Russia's hands, it may be said to its credit, are (c paratively) clean. The concensus of enlightened p opinion, in the event of a third World War brea out shortly, will be that, whatever be the merits of two different ideologies, the button has been p by America and not by Russia. America will do to note that Cæsar's wife must not only be chaste must be above suspicion. The fantastic thesis "mobile, massive retaliation at points of our choosing," and that other fantastic thesis of " action" by the Western "democracies" in conju with such Asian stooges of theirs as are willing to their souls for a mess of pottage—a sort of A "Nato," in fact—may be a species of bluff; but, if they are a species of bluff that may have a terri boomerang effect.

WHEEL COMING FULL CIRCLE

The wheel has come full circle and it is unbelievable as it may sound, Germany that menacing global peace once more but that one-t home of liberty, equality and fraternity, the Uni States of America. Truth, as we all know, is (n seldom) stranger than fiction, and the truth at th moment is that the United States is bending eve moral and corporeal agent to the mighty task precipitating World War III—in the vain imagi that it is the only way of getting the upper hand of its Public Enemy Number One, Soviet Russia. In insane hurry for that devout consummation it does appear to be bothering itself over-much with reflection that another world-wide conflagration destroy the victor along with the vanquished; and consummation, I have the temerity to think, will not be regarded either by Mr. Dulles or by President Eisenhower as devout as that other consummation aforementioned.

In the context of universal conflagration the question of rival political ideologies can hardly be said to arise. The only relevant question then will be that the same gaping abyss will swallow everyone—Mr. Dulles and M. Molotov "growing in beauty side by side and making one home with glee" (underground if not overground). Ultimately the question of rival political ideologies may be just one of those red-herrings drawn across the trail that, from time to time, perplex the world and divert its attention from more basic causes of human differences.

A SHREWD SUSPICION

I have a shrewd suspicion that America would have reacted to Russia's fast-growing power in the same manner as she has done now even if the political ideologies of the two countries had been, by some fortunate accident, identical. The point is that Russia is the only country that can, at the present juncture, stand up to America in any material sense; and America resents the existence of a competitor in its own interest—though I take leave to doubt whether that interest can be called, by any stretch of imagination, "enlightened." Russia, my readers may remember, has never tired of stressing the fundamental aphorism that Capitalism and Communism can co-exist in this universe. I have never been a Communist and I refuse to believe that any turn of fortune's wheel can make me a Communist hereafter. That, however, does not prevent me from laying the blame for the present exasperating hostility between the rival camps squarely on America's shoulders. It has consistently refused the olive branch that Russia has been offering it for the last five or six years, if not more. It is one thing to suggest that these recurring offers have been thoroughly insincere: it is quite another to assert that Russia has never made tentative approaches towards a permanent *rapproachement* between the two *blocs* and that all the peace efforts have been on the American side. Public memory may be notoriously short but not, I protest, quite as notoriously short as all that.

The nigger in the woodpile has, throughout, been America itself. The recent offer of Russia, for instance, to join the "Nato" under certain conditions is one of those olive branches mentioned above; but, for obvious reasons, America is not in a mood to accept it. This mentality of dubbing *everything* that emanates from the Communist side as irrelevent and even mischievous is not going, in the final analysis, to help anyone—America least of all. We know what happened to the man who cried "Wolf, Wolf" every time.

THE PLOT THICKENS

It is a thousand pities that, thickening the plot not a little, America should have been the first country to possess an Atom Bomb and, later, its heir-apparent, the Hydrogen Bomb. The possession of these has created in it an overweening confidence that it has become the master of the world and that the rest of the world—and the Commusist world especially—ought to toe its line, however unprepossessing that line may be. The Atom Bomb administered the *coup de grace* to the war in the Far East in August, 1945; and America is dangerously toying with the notion that the Hydrogen Bomb will do the same glorious trick in any future catastrophe. The "fission" bomb has given place to the "fusion" bomb and America is certain that its possession of the latter is an excellent safeguard against aggression from outside. Actually its possession of the latter is a standing threat to world peace, and the continued detonation of it in the Pacific Ocean does not minimize that threat to any appreciable extent. These detonations have contaminated the high seas for thousands of miles around and have proved themselves a thorough nuisance to friends and foes alike.

BIGGER AND BRIGHTER BANGS

Since August last Russia also has been possessing this dread weapon; and, much earlier, it had equalised with America in the matter of its atom confrere. The question now is not which of the two countries is the master of the Big Bang: the question now is which of the two countries is the master of the Bigger and the Brighter Bangs. It is a question of degree only. To which of the two mankind will owe their thanks for their mass destruction the future alone can tell, though, with our knowledge of recent happenings, many of us can, I have no doubt, make an almost fool-proof prognostication that America will easily bear away the bell in that contest. The explosion of Hydrogen Bombs in an Asian Ocean—like the exploding of the Atom Bomb on an *Asian* enemy in 1945—may well be a grim warning to China; and their explosion within a few weeks of the coming Geneva Conference may equally well be a grim warning to Russia as well. America, according to present indications, is leaving nothing of nuisance value untried to foredoom the Conference to failure. In the circumstances it might be as well if the Conference did not take place.

MR. DULLES'S VERBAL BOMBS

Mr. Dulles has, of late, been exploding his own verbal bombs in New York and Washington; and not all Mr. Eisenhower's frantic attempts to dilute the wine of his subordinate's exuberance have markedly lessened the apprehensions of the public in regard to the future. Mr. Dulles's request to his allies for swift and remorseless "united action" against the rival *bloc* is not calculated to throw oil on the troubled waters. Far from doing that it has already thrown a sufficiently powerful monkey-wrench into the machinery not only of the coming Geneva Conference but of further conferences as well. It is not widely known in this country that Mr. Dulles's immediate predecessor in office, Mr. Dean Acheson, came out strongly the other day in the columns of the *New York Times Magazine* against this "Newest Look" foreign policy of his successor. Mr. Acheson has pointed out in trenchant terms that the "H" Bomb is not the first weapon of defence but the last and that its premature use will only defeat the objectives of the democracies.

FABLE OF WOLF AND LAMB

Mr. Dulles has given repeated expression to the view that the Chinese are helping Dr. Ho Chi Minh in Indo-China and that, like the Sixteen-Nation Resolution of December last, the seven nations concerned should warn China of their united action against it if it continues its "aggression." I am reminded of the fable of the wolf and the lamb in this connection. The French have, more than once, vehemently denied that the Chinese have been actively taking part in the Indo-China war. On the contrary, all the world knows to what extent *America* has been aiding and abetting the French in their stubborn resolve to retain their unlawful possessions. The latter, however, is, it would seem, quite an innocent policy. Do we not know that what is merely cussedness in the Captain is rank blasphemy in the soldier? All said and done, therefore, even America's best friends and warmest admirers cannot deny that it has, of late, as I stated ea been straining at the leash for World War III. only sensible course to be pursued now is our Prime Minister's sincere and well-meant suggestio a Stand-still Agreement on the use of the "H" B We can but hope that wiser counsels will prevail America and that President Eisenhower will mu sufficient courage to rid himself of the "putrefyi albatross" (Mr. Dulles) that, in an evil hour, he h so tightly clamped on his neck. Mr. Dulles had be to no small extent, responsible for precipitating Korean War. He had been among those who vis South Korea on the eve of that war; and there i considerable body of public opinion on both sides the "Iron Curtain" that he instigated Dr. Syng Rhee to march his soldiers into North Korea. O who could do that can, I am certain, convert the In China War into another Korean War. All the avail evidence points in that direction. What is needed f however, is the sabotaging of the Geneva Conferen and Mr. Dulles's recent frenzied talks with Mr. Ed in London and M. Bidault in Paris have made ass ance doubly sure that "After Geneva the Deluge" m well be our prophecy.

April 15, 1954

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BHOODAN AND ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE recent Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh Gaya was of special significance from several points of view. It was of a very representative character this year; besides thousands of constructive workers from all parts of the country, it was attended by the President, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister. A number of Ministers both at the Centre and in the States, about a dozen members of the Parliament and important representatives of the Congress and the Praja-Socialist Party also participated in the deliberations. Acharya Vinoba Bhave with his Bhoodan Yagna has now rightly become the symbol of a great economic revolution which is sought to complete the process of political freedom through peaceful and democratic methods. As the resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh pointed out, Bhoodan is only the first step towards the bloodless revolution which Vinobaji desires to bring about in India by the end of 1957. The year 1757 marked the beginning of the British rule in India at the battle of Plassey; in 1857, the people of India revolted against the foreign rulers and laid the foundations of a political revolution in this country. Acharya Vinoba earnestly feels that the year 1957 must witness the success of a peaceful economic revolution in India. Bhoodan Yagna will naturally be the spearhead of this revolutionary movement; but the establishment of economic equalities in both rural and urban sections of society through a radical change in the basic values of li would require a far-reaching reorientation in th pattern of industrial organisation in this country. The Sarvodaya Sammelan was of the definite view that "a self-supporting decentralised economy was the only means "for the achievement of economic emancipation of the people." As regards the land policy, the Sammelan laid great stress on the need for redistributing the Bhoodan land among the landless peasantry without any further delay. Out of about 25 lakh acres collected so far less than a lakh acres have been distributed among the people. The slow pace of land distribution has been mainly due to certain legal difficulties as also the dearth of constructive workers for the purpose. We, therefore, welcome the decision of the Sammelan to expedite the process of land redistribution. The target fixed by Vinobaji is the collection and distribution of 5 crore acres of land by the end of 1957. The achievement of this target would, surely, require the spontaneous and sincere help from all sections of the public.

Conflicting opinions were expressed at the Sammelan regarding the role of legislation in the task of land reforms. Some leaders were of the view that the Bhoodan movement was capable of solving the land problem in India without the assistance of legislative measures. They went to the extent of stating that legislation would thwart the very objective of Bhoodan by interfering with the non-violent process of persuasion and a change of heart. Others felt that land reforms could not be effected without introducing radical legislative measures. We think that there is no inherent conflict between the Bhoodan movement and the legislative process; the two can supplement each other for achieving the common objective. Acharya Vinoba has rendered conspicuous service to the noble cause of ushering in a non-violent economic revolution in this country through his *Bhoodan* and *Sampatti-dan* movements. But the popular and democratic State Governments cannot get rid of their own responsibilities by leaving the whole task of land-redistribution on the shoulders of Vinobaji. They can undertake legislation in consultation with Acharya Vinoba to further the cause of making the actual tillers of the soil the owners of land. In fact, several State Governments have already passed Bhoodan Bills for facilitating transfers of land-gifts to the landless peasantry. Bhoodan-Yagna has eminently succeeded in creating a healthy and favourable atmosphere for the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in the country; it has demonstrated to the world that the land problem could be effectively solved through peaceful methods. Suitable legislation to speed up and supplement this peaceful process should, in our opinion, be welcomed and encouraged. In fact, we are sorry that the pace of land reforms in India has been considerably slow during the last few years. Abolition of Zamindari and the other intermediaries in land was, of course, a revolutionary step. But merely this abolition of feudal exploitation would not solve the problem. According to the Five-Year Plan, the land census ought to have been completed by the end of 1953. It is unfortunate that the Planning Commission has not been able to get this important work done within the specified period. It is true that it would be difficult to undertake suitable land legislation without possessing the requisite facts and figures. We, therefore, suggest that the Planning Commission should try its best to complete the land census by the *15th August* of this year so that necessary legislation in terms of the provisions in the Five-Year Plan may be initiated by different State Governments during the remaining portion of 1954 and during 1955.

It has been pointed by some economic "experts" that re-distribution of land would lead to a fall in production of food in the country. This is not a correct view of the problem. In fact, in China and Japan the average size of land holdings is only about 2 acres and yet their yield per acre is three times as much as that of India. Experiments all over the world have amply demonstrated the truth of the contention that with an increase in the size of the farm and with the introduction of mechanical devices, productivity per labourer increases; productivity *per acre* does not necessarily increase. As a matter of fact, in thickly populated countries like India, small-scale and intensive farming is the only correct solution of our economic problems. It is, of course, necessary that the small farmers should be provided with the requisite facilities of good seed, manures, irrigation and co-operative marketing. Mechanization in Indian agriculture should be undertaken with great care and discrimination. Excessive use of tractors and other machines would be both uneconomic and *inhuman* in a country like ours where the basic national problem is that of providing gainful employment to the millions of our people.

One of the arguments against quick land reforms is that simultaneous legislation for limiting incomes in the urban sector should also be undertaken. Ceilings on land holdings should be followed by the fixation of ceilings on city incomes as well. We fully appreciate this view. It is quite evident that an economic revolution cannot be confined to land alone; it must touch all sectors of our national economy. The existing gulf between the rich and the poor must be bridged or filled up. We have abolished feudalism in land; we must now proceed to abolish feudalism in industry. We regard the system of Managing Agents in India as a relic of feudalism. So far as we know, the system of Managing Agency in this shape and form does not exist in any other civilised and industrialised country in the world. It was a creation of alien rulers in this land. It must, therefore, be radically transformed without further loss of time. The existing Indian Companies Law should be amended by the Government of India in such a way that the intermediaries between the shareholders and the Directors of industry should disappear. In fact, we should go a step further and gradually make the workers themselves the owners of industry. This far-reaching reform in our industrial organisation is absolutely essential for achieving a real economic revolution in India. It must be fully realised by all of us that our democracy cannot succeed as a political ideal unless it is achieved as an economic ideal. Political freedom without social and economic freedom would remain a vacant dream. Land is a gift of Nature; it can neither be increased nor decreased by man. Its re-distribution on a more equitable basis is, therefore, of paramount importance and land reforms should naturally receive the highest priority. But such land legislation must be quickly followed by industrial reforms which would set into motion the process of economic equality and social justice in the urban areas. We earnestly hope that the Government of India would take up these economic problems with a *sense of urgency* in order to usher in true Swaraj of Gandhiji's dreams.

STATE LEGISLATURES IN INDIA—THEIR POWERS AND PRIVILEGES

BY PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S.

IT is a universally accepted axiom that all offices and institutions should have to carry with them certain powers and privileges to enable them to discharge their functions efficiently. And efficiency increases when they are allowed to function without any extraneous considerations of fear or favour. It is in the light of this that the powers and privileges of our legislatures provided in our Constitution should be read and appreciated.

Article 105 of our Constitution runs as follows:

> *Powers, privileges, etc., of the Houses of Parliament and of the members and committees thereof*
>
> 105. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution and to the rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of Parliament, there shall be freedom of speech in the Parliament.
>
> (2) No member of the Parliament shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament or any committee thereof, and no person shall be so liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of either House of Parliament of any report, paper, votes or proceedings.
>
> (3) In other respects, the powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament, and of the members and committees of each House, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the commencement of this Constitution.
>
> (4) The provisions of clauses (1), (2) and (3) shall apply in relation to persons who by virtue of this Constitution have the right to speak in, and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of, a House of Parliament or any committee thereof as they apply in relation to members of Parliament.

Article 194 is analogous to Article 105 and it applies to the Legislatures of A and B States including the Legislative Councils, wherever they exist.

To Article 105 in the Centre must be added Article 118(1) dealing with the power of "each House of Parliament" to "make rules for regulating, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, its procedure and the conduct of its business," and Article 122 which prohibits the courts from "enquiring into the proceedings of Parliament" and removing from the jurisdiction of the Courts the acts of officers and members of Parliament in discharge of their functions in the Parliament.

There are corresponding powers and privileges granted to the State Legislatures by Articles 208 and 212.

I need not remind the readers that our Constitution has borrowed the language of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that these provisions also are borrowed from the same source with one exception though it is a vital exception. The Legislatures of the 1935 Act, both in the Centre and in the Provinces, did not possess the right to punish people for its own contempt, a right possessed by almost all (?) the legislatures of independent countries; and our new Constitution has rectified this defect by the inclusion of Articles 105(3) and 194(3) in the case of Parliament and State Legislatures respectively.

And the defect is rectified in a round-about way. The Constitution itself does not define the many powers and privileges but says that they correspond exactly to those enjoyed by the House of Commons in the U.K. on the day of the commencement of the Constitution, *i.e.*, the 26th January, 1950. This provision was vehemently criticised in the Constituent Assembly on two grounds. The first point of criticism was that the powers were 'vague'—the powers and privileges of the House of Commons were themselves largely undefined and have never been codified officially anywhere; and the second point of criticism was that it was undignified and derogatory to embody in an independent constitution the constitutional provisions of another country.

> "This is the first of its kind," remarked Kamath, "where reference is made in the constitution of a free country to certain provisions obtaining in the constitution of another country."

But Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and Alladi Krishnaswami, 'the greatest jurist present,' himself a Member of the Drafting Committee, thought that the criticism was based on grounds of 'sentiment.' The second point was easily dismissed, as similar provisions exist in the Constitutions of Canada and Australia.

WHY THIS VAGUE PROVISION?

But the first is difficult to answer. If you want to give some powers and privileges, why not put them clearly? Dr. Ambedkar explained the reasons. He said that there were three ways of doing it. One was to enumerate them and put them in the Constitution, but it would have meant another twenty pages of addition to an already bulky constitution. The second was to say that they would be the same as those of the then existing Legislature, but, as we have seen, those powers were inadequate and halting. The third, the course adopted by the Committee, was the only course open. The Parliament could pass an Act defining its own powers; till then, let it enjoy the powers of the House of Commons.

A plausible explanation, but the provision is really vague, and in a way more halting than the previous one in the 1935 Act. If the idea was that the Indian Legislature being 'sovereign' should have the powers of a 'sovereign legislature,' the purpose stands self-defeated. In the first place, the powers of each House shall be decided by a *law* of the legislature; that means it shall be decided by both the Houses, but not by each House by itself. What powers the House of the People shall have will also be decided by the Council of States as well as by the President (*i.e.*, the Cabinet) by virtue of his assent. In England, originally, the Commons claimed these powers to assert its independence against the King, but in India, they have to be *granted* by his prototype, the President! Again any such law shall have to be subject to the provisions of the Constitution, especially Part III, and it is another restriction on the so-called sovereignty of our Parliament. Thirdly, by saying that they shall be the same as those in the U.K., the matter has been made justiciable, and so in a way, the powers will be those allowed by the Judiciary!

One or two questions have already been raised in the Courts. Chief Justice Kania, in Gopalan *vs*. The State of Madras, remarked that our Constitution being a very detailed one, the "whole of it has to be read with the same sanctity without giving undue weight to Part III." So it might follow, some say, that the powers to punish vested in the Parliament need not be subject to Part III at all. But we have to remember the significance of Art. 32 which at first appears to be unnecessary in view of the fact that anybody can approach the Courts for the enforcement of any provision of the Constitution including the Fundamental Rights. By specially asking the Supreme Court to enforce the provisions of Part III, the Constitution implies that, in case of conflict between these provisions and any other in the other Parts, the Courts should give due weight to Part III only.

A similar question was raised by Justice Sapru who remarked that there was no reason why punishment for parliamentary offence regulated by *lex parliament* in England should be covered by Art. 20 (2) of our Constitution. Even if we attach equal sanctity to Arts. 194(3) and 105(3) and put them on a part with Part III, the question arises whether really the power under 194(3) and 105(3) can claim to be a *constitutional provision*. Look at the provision carefully.

> ". . .The powers. . . shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law and until so defined shall be those of the House of Commons. . . ."

So the position is that the Parliament has to make a law and until then only—a matter of convenience—it can enjoy the privileges of the House of Commons; and when the Parliament makes the law, that law comes under the operation of Article 13 and so cannot contravene Part III at all. So the privileges of the House of Commons shall have the status in India of only a law of Parliament. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that if any one is prosecuted or punished for contempt by the Legislature, the procedure should be regulated by Articles 20-22. Otherwise, the constitution itself would have exempted these proceedings from the rigour of Part III as it did in the case of the Defence Services.

MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

A further analysis leads to more fundamental questions. Is it necessary and desirable that every legislature in the world should possess these extraordinary powers? Even if we agree to the first question, is it desirable that even provincial legislatures should possess them? Will they not misuse these powers? A crop of such questions arise.

Let us analyse. These powers and privileges are of two kinds—those possessed by individual members and those possessed by the legislature collectively. That every individual should have 'freedom' in the legislature may be accepted at once. This right means that members will not be answerable for all that they do or do not do inside the legislature to any outside body, especially the Courts. This is a right asserted long ago in England and granted grudgingly by the Kings, and it was originally intended to safeguard the individuals from the wrath of the Kings for all they say and do. In a democratic set-up also this freedom is essential to free the individual member from the 'tyranny of the majority.' Democracy is a government by discussion, free and frank discussion. It is said that the Press lives by exposures; we may say that democracy itself lives by exposures. So we can easily appreciate this right. But here also we have a complaint. This freedom of speech and even voting is circumvented by many conditions. It is subject to the rules, etc., made by the House, which means the majority, and these rules are applied by the Speaker, who, in India, by no means can claim to be as impartial as his counterpart in the U.K. The Constitution could have gone further and given some more safeguards to the individual members to enable them to talk freely in the House uninterrupted by the (party-nominated) Speakers and (party-sponsored) closure motions though we have to remember that the House also should have the right to regulate these speeches on the dictum that the work of the Government should not be unnecessarily hampered.

We now come to the collective powers of the Houses. They are again of two kinds. The one referred to above, *i.e.*, the right to regulate its meetings, speeches, etc., and we have no quarrel there. But what we have to say is that this right need not rest on the proposition that the Legislature is a sovereign body and therefore it should have such a right. It is a right which every closed society should have and does possess. Even College Union meetings, or the meetings of Company share-holders, possess this right. We agree that every House of Legislature in India should possess this right.

We now come to the second kind of right—the right to punish people, both members and non-members, for contempt of the House, to any extent and without any appeal to the Courts. This is itself an astounding right—this power to punish anyone by a non-judicial body without right of appeal to the Courts—not possessed by any one at any time in the story of the world, except by the old tyrants; what makes it more astounding is the fact that this right is possessed in India, granted by the Constitution by *all* legislative bodies, so called, including the Legislative Councils in the States!

WHY THIS POWER?

Why is this extraordinary power given to the Legislatures? This question was not asked in the Constituent Assembly and not answered by anyone. In fact, constitutional pandits would be surprised if we ask this question. The answer is obvious. They and the makers of the constitution would say that our legislatures are sovereign bodies, that they should have the power to regulate their own procedure and should possess this power for the efficient discharge of their functions and that every legislature in the world possesses this right—the right to punish, without appeal to the Courts.

Really! A little thinking and analysis will show that not one of the points above is correct. In the first place, neither our Legislatures in India, including the House of the People, sovereign in the sense in which the Parliament in England is; nor is it correct to say that such powers are essential for the efficient discharge of their functions. In a written constitution, as ours, where governmental powers are distributed between the individual and the State, between the Union and the States and among the various organs of the State, no one body could claim to be 'sovereign' in the above sense. More clearly we can say that every body is sovereign in its own sphere deriving its power from the Constitution. Thus the President is sovereign in his own sphere, the cabinet in its sphere, and so also the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, but none of them possesses this power to punish though efficient discharge of their respective functions is equally important for the nation, if not more, and, in fact, they are discharging their functions very efficiently without this extraordinary power.

A constitutional right to punish people is possessed only by the Parliament of England and the Legislatures in the British Commonwealth, but not in the constitutions of all the countries. Even in the British Commonwealth, this right is not possessed the legislatures of the Dependencies, Colonies and India of the 1935 Act. The rulings of the Courts i number of cases clearly shows that 'non-sovere legislatures never possessed this right. [For instan Doyle *vs.* Fanconer, 4 Moo P.C. (N.S.) 203; a Landers *vs.* Woodworth (2 S.C.R. 158, Canada The Government of India Act made this po absolutely clear by saying that the Federal Leg lature *did not* possess this right [Sec. 28(3)]. N the question is: Are not the legislative bodies India non-sovereign, and especially the Legislat of the States? And, this is important, if the leg lative bodies in India including the Central Leg lative Assembly between 1921 and 1950 could func efficiently for nearly thirty years without this rig why cannot their successors function now without t power?

Even supposing that they are sovereign and t they ought to possess this right, another equ important question arises: why the courts should denied appellate jurisdiction? Even in England t position is not clearly defined, and at the most, t constitution confers only those powers which t Commons possessed on the 26th January, 1950. N doubt in the U.K. it is held that "responsible bod must necessarily vindicate their authority by mea of their own and these means lie in the process t commitment for contempt" (Lord Denman in th case of Sheriff of Middlesex, 1840), and that su processes are entitled to as much authority and res pect as "those of the highest courts of the country (Baron Parkar in Howard *vs.* Gosset, 1845), but it it is also held that not every crime and punishment by the House should be beyond the Courts. Th Stephen J., in Bradlaugh *vs.* Gosset, opined that 't line must be drawn somewhere and that the Hou could not try, say, a murder which took place und its roof." And the beauty of the point is that all th is what is allowed by the Courts themselves in th U.K. and there is no statutory provision!

COURTS SHOULD HAVE JURISDICTION

So even conceding that a (sovereign?) legislature like the Indian Parliament should possess this rig to punish punitively, it is not established that su sentences should also be above the ordinary juris diction of the Courts. It is not so in England defi nitely, and it cannot be so in this country with written constitution; for, when a new law is mad by the Parliament defining its own powers under Article 105(3), such a law must be subject to th other provisions of the Constitution and it is doubt ful if the 'sovereign jurisdiction' of the Courts ca be removed by an Act of Parliament.

Much reliance in India seems to be placed on th provisions in Articles 122 and 212, but we have t note that these articles speak of the *procedure* of th

Houses and maintenance of order inside the Houses and they have nothing to do with the punitive punishments. The immunity given to the officers under the above articles is not a common feature of all the legislatures in the world; it was borrowed from the 1935 Act where probably it was incorporated largely to avoid the repetition of such cases as resulted in the injunction granted by the Calcutta High Court restraining the President of the Legislative Council from putting demands for ministers' salaries before the Council (in Kumar Shankar Roy vs. H. E. A. Cotton).

We can appreciate this point better if we look at this right from immunity from courts from an erring member's point of view. Suppose a member, ordered by the Speaker to be removed by the sergent, resists and, in the scuffle that ensues, kills the officer. Does it mean that the member can claim a privilege and tell the Courts that they have no jurisdiction to try him!

Is This Power Necessary Now?

We can now leave the legal position and look at the problem from a realistic angle, from the point of view of practical politics. Is this power really necessary for the legislatures, when the same is not found necessary for the President, Cabinet and a host of other organs of the government?

The origin and history of this power shows that this is out of tune with the political situation in the 20th century. The Commons claimed these rights and the Kings grudgingly granted them when the former was struggling for power against the King and could not depend upon the King's own courts to vindicate its power against the King's men. Today the situation is different, and there is no reason to distrust the courts, especially in India where their integrity and impartiality has become a tradition; and we do not understand also how it is derogatory to the sovereign power of the Legislature, if at all it possesses it, to trust the Courts, especially when we trust them with another extraordinary power over their legislative enactments, a truly sovereign function of the Legislature! When everybody else could depend upon the impartiality and superior wisdom of the Courts, cannot the Legislature depend upon them to vindicate its honour?

This Power is a Danger to Democracy

In the olden days this power was sought to vindicate democracy; but today, when democracy is a *fait accompli* and it means majority rule, it is not only superfluous, but positively dangerous to democracy itself. Today there is no one that questions the right of the Legislature to function according to the constitution and hence these powers are superfluous. On the other hand, there is a danger that a determined majority with dictatorial tendencies might misuse these powers to muffle the opposition and free press. One of the defects of the new Constitution of India is that it places too much trust and too much power in the majority for the time being. Already the limited use to which these powers have been put by the Speakers and various legislatures in India portends a dismal future if a more determined party comes to power and begins to muffle opposition. The ban on the *Swatantra* of Madras by the Speaker of Madras Assembly, the prosecution of Dinshaw Mistri, the proceedings against the *Times of India* in Bombay, the resolution moved in the Madras Legislative Council by the Chief Minister himself condemning Prakasam, the refusal on the part of the Speaker of the Bihar Assembly to allow a member to put a question to a Minister unless the member defined a particular word, all these may be all right from the legal point of view to vindicate the honour and sovereignty of the Legislatures, but they are also beacon lights and show the extent powers could be misused by political parties in future.

What democracy wants in India today is not only the right of the majority to rule, but also the unquestioned right of the opposition to freedom of speech and action, and the only agency to guarantee this *via media* is the Judiciary. It is high time we get rid of the obsession of the 'sovereignty of the Legislature.'

I suggest, therefore, that the following steps should be taken in India, if necessary, by amending the Constitution:

> 1. The power to punish for contempt, etc., should be taken away from all the Legislatures in India, or at least from the Legislatures of the States. A comprehensive Act may be passed by the Parliament defining contempt in general and the jurisdiction to try may be transferred to the Courts.
>
> 2. In case this power is still given to the Parliament in the Centre, all such sentences should be made justiciable on appeal.

If this is not done and the Constitution is not amended, I feel that even then the situation is not so helpless. It is my personal opinion that the Supreme Court could still draw such cases to itself under Article 136 by simply declaring that when the Legislature is awarding punitive punishments, it is acting as a judicial body or a tribunal and hence it comes under Article 136.

CHINA IN RETROSPECT

By Prof. D. P. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A.

Once Napoleon remarked of China:

> "There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep; for when he wakes he will move the world."

China, like India, is a vast land of many peoples, with an area of 4,277,000 sq. miles, and a population, more than 45 crores. Like India, she has undergone a prolonged process of cultural and political disintegration. Like India, the people of China are conscious of their golden past. But unlike India, China has never been subjected to the domination of any one Western Power. Chinese culture also possesses a fervid assimilating force. For countless millennia China has absorbed all her conquerors. The Mongol hordes of Chengiz Khan overran the country in the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the Manchus imposed their power and ruled China till 1911. In both cases the victors were largely assimilated by the vanquished. Only the Western white man proved an odd element for the harmonizing force of the Chinese culture.

In the good old days, the Oriental countries occupied a superior commercial position over the Occidental countries. The Chinese commercial superiority continued even till the end of the eighteenth century. In 1793, Emperor Ch'ien Lung addressed an edict to Lord Macartney (who conducted the British embassy at Peking) which ran as follows:

> "Our celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its borders. There is, therefore, no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own products."

A Westerner may take this to be a sample for Chinese arrogance but Lord Macartney knew that the aged Emperor spoke the simple truth. Tea, silk, porcelain and rhubarb and spices were shipped off from China in gigantic cargoes to Europe and there was nothing which Europe could supply in return to China. This caused a tremendous drain of silver from Europe to China, which, within 150 years, from 1667 to 1817, amounted to nearly one hundred million pounds sterling.

However, the cunning Britishers began to smuggle opium into China. For a hundred years the East India Company had strived in vain for some commodity to sell in China to balance the tea trade, and at last an article was discovered which the Chinese were eager to buy. No trick was considered too short. Chinese officials were bribed and hoodwinked, and the Chinese local merchants were wooed over. The results were alarming. Even big merchants strived to amass wealth through this illicit trade. There grew contempt for all authority. People became licentious. Misgovernment and disorder followed closely at heels, and banditry and rebellion flooded the land. On the coasts the pirates were at large. The drain of silver was checked in 1817. Then the tables were turned. By 1830 silver began to flow out of China to British India and to Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the In opium revenue was about £1,000,000 a year; and at end of the century it shot up to £7,000,000 per ann

No history of China is complete without ta due note of Japan, sometimes called the Great Bri of the Pacific. Though at the beginning Japan suffe from the phobia of touch-me-notism, she soon embar upon a career of quick Westernization. Factories spr up. Ships were built for foreign trade. A modern ar was organised. Arsenals and navy-yards were b Taking a leaf from Europe's imperialism, Japan tur her gluttonous eyes towards Korea. In 1894, Japan overran Korea and southern Manchuria, and t threatening Peking. The Shimoneseki Peace of April 1895, came as a legalised booty for Japan. (C recognised the absolute independence of Korea, w allowed Japan to eclipse the Korean govern with Japanese advisers. An indemnity of 200 mil taels, or about 715 million rupees was also given t China to Japan, more than enough to reimb Japan for the total cost of war. China also ceded Japan the Island of Formosa and the Pescad Islands. But the most important cession to Jap was that of the Liaotung Peninsula, the southern of Manchuria, commanding the entry to the gulf c Chi-li and Peking. Later on, due to the interventi of France, Germany and Russia, China got Liaotu back after paying 30 million taels more to Japan.

The year 1898 was a year of leases. Kiaoch Bay was leased to Germany; Port Arthur, to Russ Kwangchow Bay, to France; and Wei-hai-wei t Great Britain. These leased holds were used by th Great Powers as spring-boards of economic imperialism.

In 1910, Japan announced the annexation o Korea. The end of the Great War in 1918 led to thunderous triumph to the Japanese imperialism i Eastern Asia. To her 'spheres of influence' were n added Shantung, Eastern Mongolia, Northern Manchuria, and Fukien. Japanese army was in the Easter Siberia, and had no mind to leave that country f the present. Japan had also arranged with Engla the occupation of the islands north of equator formerly possessed by Germany in the Pacific.

The lease-holds to the Western Powers prove disastrous to China. At the outset, the youn Emperor, Kwangsu, attempted to modernize Chin or rather to Westernize the country. In 1898, vario regal edicts were issued. The University of Peki was to be reorganised, various new schools on th Western pattern were to be started in bigger citie competitive civil service examinations were to b remodelled, new railway lines were to be constructe new mines were to be laid, the budget was to b balanced, and the number of government servants was to be reduced for economy and efficiency. All these enterprises required "the help and co-operation" of the Occidentals. Discontent began to brew because of these reforms and lease-holds. The Dowager Empress, Tsze-Hsi, a valiant and elderly lady, put the premium on the reactionary elements. She forsook her retirement abode on the Mount of Ten Thousand Ages, and swooped down upon the royal palace. She was aided by a treacherous General, Yuan Shih-kai. The Emperor was captured and was coerced to recognise Tsze-Hsi as the ruler. His liberal advisers were executed and his reform edicts were abrogated. Then she turned towards the Westerners. An anti-European agitation was started. Many Europeans were murdered. The Chinese fanatics besieged many European legacy quarters in Peking. This commotion goes by the name of the Boxer Rebellion in the history of China. The Western Powers promptly reacted to this fanaticism. Troops were rushed to protect the embassies and to crush the Boxers. England, Germany, Russia, United States, all contributed their forces in the crusade against the Boxers. Significantly enough, even Japan joined hands with these Western nations, as she claimed herself to be a Europeanized nation. The rebellion was speedily stamped out. Peking was captured. The Europeans paraded their ethics by looting the city.

The United States of America jumped into the fray through the "open door" of economic imperialism. President Wilson championed the "open door" policy in China in 1913, a policy described by him as that of friendship and mutual advantage. American businessmen were to finance the Chinese railways in particular, and were to have the right to trade on equal terms with foreign competitors in general. As regards the railways, the name of Edward Harriman is important. He wanted to establish a globe-wide railway system in which the South Manchurian Railway would provide one link. It is important to note here that Russia snubbed Harriman's scheme of purchasing from the Russians the Chinese Eastern Railway. Mr. Knox, the British Secretary, in his memorandum of November 6, 1909, aimed at bringing the Manchurian highway and the railroad under an 'economic, scientific and the impartial' administration. The ownership of the roads was to vest in China, though the funds were to be provided by the enterprising Powers. Japan and Russia turned down the Knox plan. On July 4, 1910, they took a solemn pledge to offer united resistance to American 'encroachment' in future. The matter became so serious that President Taft had to write to Prince Chun of China about his taking a 'personal interest' in the outlay of American capital in China for the Chinese welfare. Consequently the American bankers' syndicate secured a share of 30 million dollars in the Hukuang Railway Loan, and later on, a share in the loan of 50 million dollars for standardizing the Chinese currency and promoting the industrial enterprises in Manchuria. In 1916, the International Corporation of America obtained a contract for a loan of 3 million dollars to improve the Chinese Grand Canal. At the same time, a Chicago firm called the Siems & Carey, secured a concession to build 1500 miles of railroads in various parts of the country.

The impact of the Western civilization aroused the slumbering Chinese people. The threat to China's integrity and national independence that was present in these circumstances further fermented the seeds of Chinese nationalism, the fruits of which were reaped by an able Chinese scholar-nationalist, Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1924). Soon he became the spiritual father and the political organiser of the Chinese Revolution. He blazoned forth before his countrymen the famous Three Principles of the People, the San Min Chu, which are usually translated as Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism.

The history of the Chinese Nationalist movement is the tale of an elongated civil war. First, in 1911, the corrupt and decadent regime of the Manchus which took root in the Chinese soil in 1583, was overthrown. On the New Year's Day in 1912, in Nanking, Dr. Sun was installed as the President of the Republic of China. But he was camouflaged by a self-seeking hypocrite Yuan Suih-kai in whose favour Dr. Sun resigned his Presidentship. The followers of Dr. Sun organised themselves into the Kuomintang, or the Chinese Revolutoinary Party. Yuan Suih-kai's subservience to foreign bankers, his surrender to Japan by accepting her infamous Twenty-one Demands in 1915, and his laying up of the claims to the Imperial Throne in the coming year, led to a fresh surge of revolution and strife in the land. On June 6, 1916, Yuan died amid electric agitation. Years of turmoil followed. In the north the semi-independent *tuchuns* or war-lords, who were the former Generals of Yuan's army, fought amongst themselves and terrorized the whole country. Such a condition of the country tempted the intervention of Japan. Between the North and the South, Yu P'ei-fu was trying to set up a separate government. In the south, however, the Kuomintang followers of Dr. Sun consolidated their position in Canton. In 1921, they elected Dr. Sun as President of the Republic. But the war-lords would not allow him to have smooth passage. Soon he awoke to the need of getting foreign aid to have better trained and equipped forces than what the war-lords could mobilise. Russia soon came to his rescue.

In September, 1923, Moscow sent Michael Borodin as chief adviser to the Kuomintang. A Military Academy was established at Whampoa, near Canton. The Russian officers trained the Nationalist soldiers.

The Kuomintang was modelled on the pattern of the Russian Communist Party. Its doors were flung open to the Chinese Communists who joined it in large numbers. The Kuomintang thus harnessed two opposite elements within its fold, the traditional bourgeoisie elements of the Chinese middle class and the neo-peasant-proletarian elements. As the years rolled by these two elements began to show wide differences. In April, 1924, the whole country was struck with sorrow for the sad death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Borodin then helped Chiang Kai-shek in assuming control at Canton. But Chiang had no soft corner for the Communists, and soon he got into hot waters with Borodin. A military campaign had been launched against the war-lords of the north in which the Communists wholeheartedly co-operated with Chiang. Nanking was captured in March, 1927, and was made the national capital as Dr. Sun had desired. Chiang then went to Shanghai to negotiate financial aid with the bankers. But during his absence the Communists attacked the alien elements in Nanking. The foreigners strongly protested to Chiang against the underhand activities of the Communists, and to placate the foreign bankers Chiang suppressed the Communists with an iron hand. This led to the inevitable break between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The Communists with the left-wing elements of the Kuomintang under Wang Ching-wie, set up their own capital at Wuhan. Thus there were now three capitals in China: Nanking under Chiang; Wuhan under Wang; and Peking where the war-lords disputed among themselves. In April, 1927, Chiang purged Shanghai and Canton of Communists by mass arrests and executions. Borodin left for Russia in July, and Chiang launched a country-wide purge of the Communists. Thousands of peasants, labour leaders, students and radicals were arrested or put to death. In the principal southern cities the Russian consulates were closed down. Chiang's armies were now moving to Peking, and the whole of China looked united under the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking. But this unity proved a passing cloud. Fresh dissensions gushed up among the ranks of the Kuomintang over its programme of abolishing unequal treaties and extra-territoriality. The war-lords of the north again revolted against Nanking. In the opening months of 1930, China was again involved in a large-scale civil war. By the month of October, Chiang found victory in his hands. But the victory was dearly bought. Thousands of lives had been lost. Much property had been wantonly destroyed. And the country was bordering on bankruptcy.

Japan had always regarded China as a precious booty, and the Japanese dreaded more than anything else a united China. Therefore for Japan Chiang's comfortable position was an eye-sore. Through the agreements in 1915, she had gained a firm foothold in Southern Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia the Shantung territory. Now she could not sit th twiddling, when Chiang was consolidating his posi In September, 1931, she made a lightning attack Mukden, the chief town of Manchuria, under pretext that the Chinese had blown away a bri just outside the town. Subsequent investiga however proved that the incident was engineered b the Japanese. The Japanese occupied various s Manchurian cities, and installed a puppet governm in Manchukuo in 1932. Chiang, however, showed enthusiasm to face the Japanese aggression, ex for making a futile appeal to the League of Nati This generated a widespread discontent among radicals, students and nationals of China, who be to doubt Chiang's bona fides. Therefore they be to lean towards the Communists who showed g enthusiasm for fighting against Tokyo. The mat came to a head in December, 1936, when Chi found himself "captured" by the 'Young Mars General Chang Hsueh-liang, who was in league w the Communists against Japan. The Young Marsh released Chiang only on the condition that Kuomintang shall co-operate with the Commun in driving the Japanese out of the land. The Japan smelt Chinese unity on this accord, and launched July, 1937, a devilish war against China with formal declaration. China was, however, ill-prep for fight; and while the maddened Tokyo troo began to pour into North China, the Nank Government submitted for truce. The Japanese arm leaders, however, refused to negotiate, but demand that all Chinese troops should vacate north Chi that all 'anti-Japanese activity' should be suppress and that China should co-operate with Japan 'agai Communism.' The Japanese fire-eaters captured ci after city, province after province amidst appall bloodshed. Chiang signed a non-aggression pact wi Russia in August, 1937, and called upon the peop of China to 'fight to the finish.' The Japanese began t plunge madly into the heart of China by riding o trucks, tanks, airships and other munition larg purchased from the British and American 'merchan of death.' In various cities thousands of ladies we molested; disabled, aged and youngsters we slaughtered; and non-combatants and disarmed soldiers were ruthlessly butchered. The leaders of th Western democracies stood silent like Sphinx, s Japan beat great drums to 'save Asia from Com munism.' The only effective military supplies trickled into Central China from Soviet Russia. Finally th black war became part of the Second World Wa in 1939.

During the decade following 1937, the Chine Communists under Chu Teh, Chou En-Lai and Ma Tse-tung came to the fore. A People's Army emerged up. There was also a genuine national regeneratio of the Chinese people. Chiang's mythological war against Japan alienated the faith of the Chinese masses. His army consisted of miserable conscripts at gun-point, condemned to starvation in the ranks; for the corrupt generals pocketed the money meant for the soldiers. Chiang and his dishonest henchmen wanted to maintain *status quo* in the society by fighting their Red foes and branding all liberals and reformers as 'Communist.' The Chinese people naturally began to look for guidance to the honest, well-intentioned and disciplined Communist leaders. The strength of the regular armed forces of the Communists grew from 100,000 to one million regular troops and two million peasant and labour partisans. Chiang's indiscreet regime drew no lesson and forgot no lesson. Finally the Chinese masses took arms against the corrupt Kuomintang and a historical civil war followed in 1948 and 1949 . . ., a war which Stalin described as 'a revolution of the armed people against an armed counter-revolution'. The U.S.A. attempted to bolster up Chiang's regime by supplying him with 130 million rounds of ammunition and 3,000 million dollars, most of which, to America's chagrin, fell in the hands of the Chinese Communists. Finally, Chiang and his men were completely routed from the mainland of China, and the Peoples' Republic of China was proclaimed on 1st October, 1949. Chiang's regime is now confined to the little island of Formosa in the Pacific. Rumours are now widespread that General Chiang is planning to wage a large-scale war with Red China. Shall he be successful in his venture ?

The present Communist Government of China has its headquarters at Peking. Chou En-Lai is its Premier and Foreign Minister, Mao Tse-tung is its President and Chu-Teh is its Commander-in-Chief. The U.S.S.R., Burma, India, Pakistan, Great Britain, Ceylon, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, the Eastern German Democratic Republic, Albania, Viet-nam, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Indonesia and Afghanistan have given recognition to the Communist China. But the countries of both the Americas have not so recognised her. The present government has won the hearts of the Chinese people due to its land-reforms, its efforts to spread education among the masses and its successful planning. Thus it appears that the sleeping giant has rubbed out the dust of centuries from its eyes. It remains to be seen how shall it move the world, as Napoleon had prophesied.

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INTERNATIONAL REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

By Prof. N. SUBRAHMANIAN, M.A.

The concept of Sovereignty, as a formulated theory, (Bodin's *De la Republique*, 1576 A.D.) is just less than four centuries old; and as a legal doctrine (Austin's *Jurisprudence*, 1832 A.D.) is just over one century old. But it has had a rather chequered career in the history of recent political thought and has greatly failed in its practical application to the affairs of the world. The Austinian Sovereign, like the Hobbesian contract, though a logical perfection has led to power lust and supplied a justification for that lust. Recently, political pluralists, like Gierke, Barker and Laski have led an attack against the classical theory of Sovereignty; and the very function and aim of the state have come in for radical reconsideration. According to Laski, the Modern State "is pluralistic and constitutional and responsible" (*Grammar of Politics*). The guild Socialists, Syndicalists and the Anarchists have been contributing their mite towards bringing the concept of sovereignty into disfavour. The protagonists of the principle of state sovereignty have been ruining their own cause by allowing militant nationalism, jingoism, and imperialism to shatter world peace. This explains the high rate of infant mortality among the earlier types of international co-operation.

The internationalist who was only 'a doctrinnaire and a visionary' and whose theory was not supposed to have any legal status began to assume real shape and influence world affairs. International Law without the necessary sanctions behind it for the enforcement thereof becomes a dead letter and a mockery. But in the modern world expediency and regulated self-interest have given greater scope and power for International Law in the 'public' and 'private' spheres. Man is a creature of competing loyalties and must look for his safety in the international sphere if it cannot be obtained in the national sphere. Hence arose those international organisations which have become supra-national in their importance and world-wide significance. They are not definite limbs of an organised world state; they are but voluntary organisations whose moral influence is often equal to and occasionally followed by physical power. The history of these international organizations is of recent origin, unless of course overseas empires, etc., are also considered to be international organisations, which they are not. They are not international regional arrangements for the purpose of bringing together different autonomous states with a definite objective in view.

The Political state itself constituted a regional organization for definite political, economic and social purposes. But it was not the result of a conscious endeavour. States which originate as a result of debates and discussions in a constituent assembly, *e.g.*, the U.S.A., may be considered to be regional arrangements of a permanent nature. But the extraordinary permanence of such an 'arrangement' makes it substantially different from other kinds of 'arrangements.' Following the U.S.A. many other countries organized themselves on a federal basis. Such an organization has more or less become a fashion while unitary states are becoming less in number. This is so frequently the case that confederacies, the corporative state, and the Soviet Union too have something to do with the federal concept. These arrangements envisage a division of powers among the units constituting the whole.

The more modern type of extra-territorial regional arrangements are economic, or ideological. The era of group formations in the international sphere for economic or ideological reasons is of a more recent origin, while groupings for purely military reasons are of a slightly older date.

International conferences, involving states situated in different parts of the world, became a common feature in world politics after the first world war. The Washington Naval Conference was in fact an understanding on military matters arrived at by Sovereign States; while the Ottawa agreement was much more of a domestic affair than an international agreement. Permanent organizations of world-wide importance came to be thought of and the League of Nations was the first among such. Economic arrangements, transcending the sovereignty of individual states, became not only possible but in some cases necessary. The I.L.O. was constituted by the victors in the World War I as an independent arm of the League. The Communist International, in all probability, thought that it was bringing the workers of the world to unite over the heads of the respective political states; but it was essentially an ideological grouping.

In the international sphere, the League of Nations after the First World War, and the U.N.O. after the Second World War, constitute the two major attempts made to establish a kind of all-embraching organization which can pool together the moral influence of all the worthwhile states and also their military resources if necessary. Though Lake Success is organisationally more perfect and institutionally more efficient than Lake Geneva, the former too is in a formative stage.

During the last three decades many typical regional arrangements have come into existence and largely affected the trend of world events. The World Bank and the World Court are two instances of useful institutions. The latter, however, is limited in its utility for it has no sanction behind its judgments. Groupings of political powers for defensive or offensive purposes are also not unknown to history. The various power blocs maintained to uphold the balance of Power in Europe were more informal and subject to frequent changes but effective through a long period of European history. The Monroe Doctrine tried to constitute the whole of the New World as a region distinct in its foreign policy as distinguished from Europe. The ABC Powers (Argentina, Brazil, C of South America who united in an effort to resist U.S.A. are an example of concerted effort on the par different sovereign states to resist a common alien. D ing the inter-war period the tendency to bring into f regional arrangements has been very marked. T comintern and the cominform were communist arra ments among states ideologically like-minded. W the Fascists and the Nazis established the Rome-Be Axis it was fully ideological, though Madrid and To sympathised with the Axis for other reasons. He ideology began to play a large part in determining th groupings or arrangements. States wedded to a com nist way of life or a democratic way of life, etc., be to form their own cliques; and these cliques devel into international regional arrangements of a more less stereotyped fashion; *i.e.*, political sympathy, m tary pact, economic aid were all parts of such arra ments. One of the better known regional arrange of modern times is the N.A.T.O. which has obviously its purpose resistance of communism, *i.e.*, Soviet Ru however much that organisation might swear to the co trary. The Pacific Pact and the Middle East Defe Organisation are extensions of the N.A.T.O. The Ar League which was formed among sympathetic Mu States in the Middle East to resist Zionism is also regional arrangement which invites comparison with th N.A.T.O. for the Arab League too is based on ideolo cal differences.

Sir Winston Churchill made a rather unorthod proposal during the darker days of the Second Wor War. He proposed a union of West European sta based upon a principle of voluntary association for co mon defence and other purposes. It was not merely sensational offer; it was a very feasible proposal to Heavy defeat at the hands of the German armies dur two gigantic wars made the Benelux countries unite f many purposes, but unfortunately it has just been 'nominal' union. The British Empire, after the Sec World War, changed into the British Commonwealth Nations; and this change introduced a new system international regional arrangements. The place India, an independnet Republic, in the British Comm wealth indicates clearly the novelty of the arrangement The French who tried to follow the British in this consti tutional experiment changed but the name of their Emp into a 'union', but the essential characteristics of the o French Empire continue to be the same.

That most of the states in the world, in one form another, are associated with such regional arrange ments shows that state sovereignty is slowly yieldi place to international alignments. For good or for ba such regional arrangements have become a norm feature of modern international relationship. Thoug this is certainly not a step towards the formation of world state, it perhaps reduces the number of warri elements in the world.

ONWARD MARCH—INDIA

By RATHINDRA RAY

NEARLY seven years have elapsed since the establishment of independence in India. During this time, the Indian Government with the co-operation of the National Congress has tried to create conditions for the success of democracy in this country. In this post-independence era, the Congress has had to deal with many difficult problems. The partition of India caused a severe set-back to the solution of the food problem of India. Food shortage grew up to nearly four million tons a year. This was primarily due to the fact that 78 per cent. of the pre-partition population remained in India and only 66% of the total rice-growing areas and 65% of the total wheat-growing areas fell to India's share. There was also a great shortage in cash crops because, while the manufacturing areas remained in India much of the jute and cotton producing areas had been transferred to Pakistan. Thus, trade and industry were affected adversely.

Communal disturbances took place at this time and millions of displaced persons migrated to India and had to be provided with food, housing, shelter and the other basic necessities of life. The rehabilitation of these new citizens of India required all the resources and energies that the Government and the public could afford at that time. Thus, a great proportion of the resources of the country were used for this purpose so that less attention could be given to the planned economic progress of the country. Communal disturbances caused a great deal of confusion. These led to a chain-reaction of communal frenzy all over the country which was exploited by extremists much to the detriment of the nation's welfare and progress.

THE INTEGRATION OF STATES

Then came the gigantic task of formulating the Constitution of India. When England left India, her paramountcy over the scattered princely Indian States lapsed and the question of the accession of these states to the Indian Union or their independence became a burning question. The continuance of the feudatory States was out of place in this modern period in history and the Government of India could not countenance the existence of princely rule in nearly 550 different territorial units which might have led to the balkanisation of India. It was a vexed question which might have been exploited by a third party but action was taken at the right time to counter any such move. On July 5, 1947, a separate department was formed under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. By January, 1948, nearly all the States contiguous to Indian territory had acceded to the Indian Union. There was some trouble in one or two places. Police action had to be resorted to in Hyderabad against the Razakars and in Junagadh there was a revolution by the local people but in the end both these states acceded to Indian Union. The last state to merge was Cooch Behar on January 1, 1950. 222 Kathiawar States joined to form Saurashtra, the first Union of States. 275 States covering an area of 2,15,450 square miles with a population of 34.7 millions were joined together into five such Unions of States. By January 26, 1950, the Indian Republic achieved a political unity unknown for centuries and the difficult task of territorial integration of the States had been accomplished.

The special status of Jammu and Kashmir and its accession to the Indian Union with all the controversies that followed in its trail are well-known It is only now that it has acceded in a limited manner. Generally speaking, all the states are partners as constituent units of the Republic. On October 1, 1953, 11 Telugu-speaking districts in Madras and a party of Bellary were integrated together to form the Andhra State in response to popular demand.

MONETARY PROBLEM AND PRICE LEVEL

In October, 1949, an 8-point programme was announced to meet the consequeces of devaluation and the representatives of the Government were faced with the difficult problem of controlling the steady rise in prices. To bring about a reduction in price level was difficult with the advent of the Korean war. The hoarding of essential commodities and stock-piling for war purposes resulted in inflating the price level instead. With production on the increase a reduction of the price level has now caused a reduction of income and of profits of certain traders and middlemen.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

A practical bent has been given to the Grow More Food Campaign. In an effort to achieve self-sufficiency and to reduce dependence on foreign countries, there has been recently a progressive reduction in the import of foodgrains. While 4.72 million tons of foodgrains were imported in 1951, 3.86 million tons were imported in 1952 and 2.02 million tons in 1953. It is expected that the imports in 1954 would not exceed two million tons and may be less. The Five-Year Plan laid down by the Planning Commission has food self-sufficiency as one of its primary aims for the welfare of the country and its general economic prosperity. The target of foodgrain production in 1955-56 is 8.9 million tons over that of 1951-52. Sugarcane production is expected to increase by nearly 13% over the level in 1950-51. During the same period, the increase in oil seeds is expected to be about 8%. The production of cotton should increase by 13.5 lakh bales over that in 1950-51, while jute production is estimated to increase by 23.9 lakh bales during the same period. The progress of irrigation is essential for the success of the programme for the increase of crop production and it is expected that the irrigated areas for crops will increase from 10 to 20 million acres during the course of these five to six years.

From the point of view of minor irrigation schemes, the construction of tubewells is a key factor. The Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement has provided for a project for constructing many tubewells throughout the country. Special and better methods of cultivation are being introduced by the Government including the Japanese method for the cultivation of rice. In an effort to improve the general agricultural yield of the country and to foster a spirit of endeavour and incentive, cultivators are offered special prizes for the highest yields on a competitive basis.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 has left private enterprise to govern the bulk of the industries. This Resolution which was later embodied in the Five-Year Plan marks out the key industries and new ventures as being the State sphere. Though a large section has been left to private enterprise, the State has to come into the picture to the extent that it must avoid overlapping and wastage and bring in some amount of co-ordination and planning for the future progress of industry in the country. The Control of Industries Act has been promulgated with this intention. We find the Five-Year Plan has included an increase of Ammonium Sulphate from 46.5 thousand to 450 thousand tons, Super Phosphate from 58.1 to 180.0 thousand tons, mill cloth from 3708 million yards to 4700 million yards, handloom cloth from 810 million yards to 1700 million yards, Pig iron from 15.7 to 21.95 lakh tons, Finished Steel from 9.8 to 12.8 lakh tons, and cement from 26.9 to 45.0 lakh tons. The Five-Year Plan envisages the development of agriculture and industry in India on a complementary basis. The importance of industry is not to be minimised though priority is given to the development of agriculture. Industrial progress cannot be achieved to any great extent without sufficient supply of raw materials and foodgrains. In the same manner biased agricultural development of the country would lead to a large surplus of unemployed industrial labour. Rs. 94 crores are laid down in the Plan for industrial projects in the public sector. This includes the manufacture of capital goods and those of intermediate importance. Rs. 500 crores is provided for the development of transport facilities. The Planning Commission has estimated Rs. 233 crores as available for industrial development in the private sector. Rs. 94 crores is the aggregate investment required for the public
for financing expansion of industries. It has
emphasised that the existing capacity for the prod
of consumer goods should be utilised to the max
To increase efficiency of production there has bee
merger of the Indian Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. and
Steel Corporation of Bengal. It has been decide
raise the output of this concern to 620 thousand
of finished steel and 500 thousand tons of pig iro
the end of 1956. This increase involves an expend
of Rs. 35 crores. A loan of Rs. 15 crores has
obtained for this from the International Bank
guaranteed by the Government. A new Steel fa
is to be started in Orissa soon.

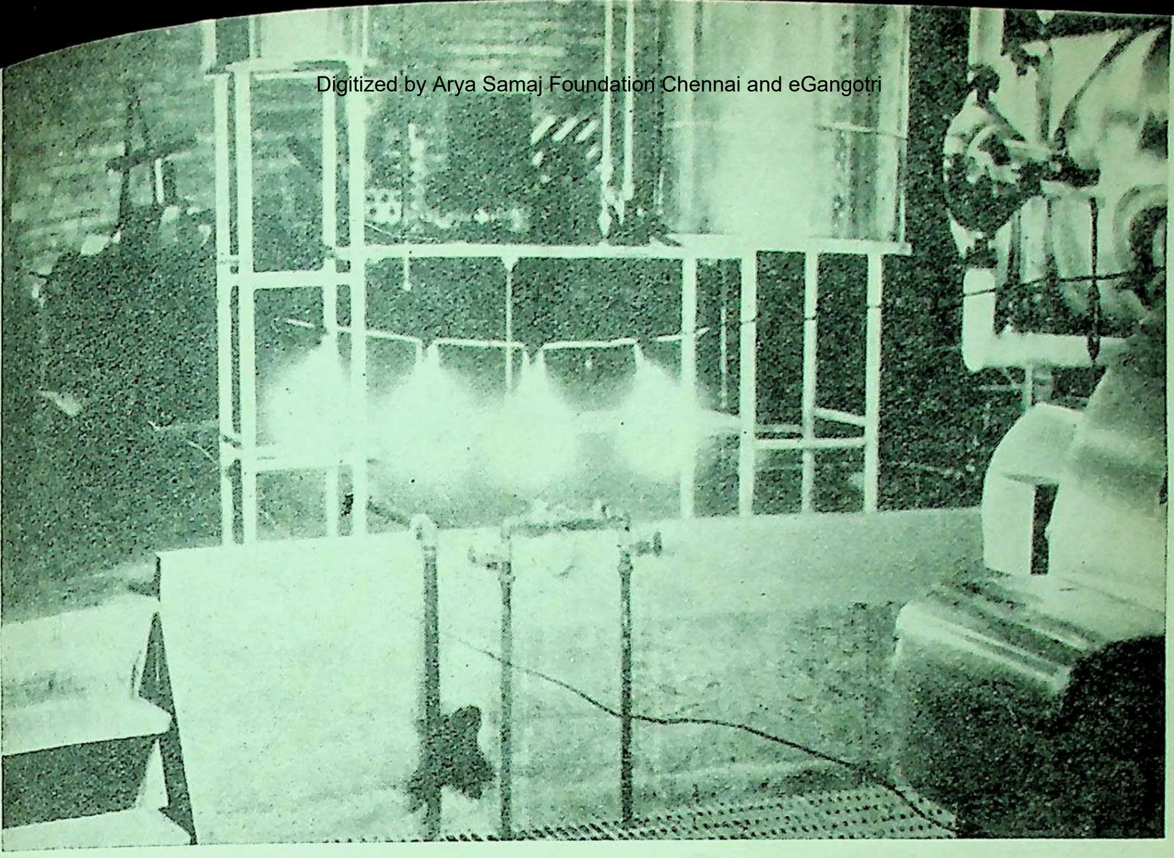
NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES—PUBLIC SECTOR

Nationalisation of industries has taken pla
various spheres under the direct sponsorship of
Government. Self-sufficiency of foodgrains require
ensured supply of fertilisers and for this purpose
Sindri Fertiliser Factory was opened by the Pr
Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, on March 2, 1952.
basic capital cost has been Rs. 23 crores. The
of fertilisers has been so adjusted as to provide inte
development of agriculture by means of fertilisers.
price also has been reduced from the initial pri
Rs. 350 per ton to Rs. 285 a ton.

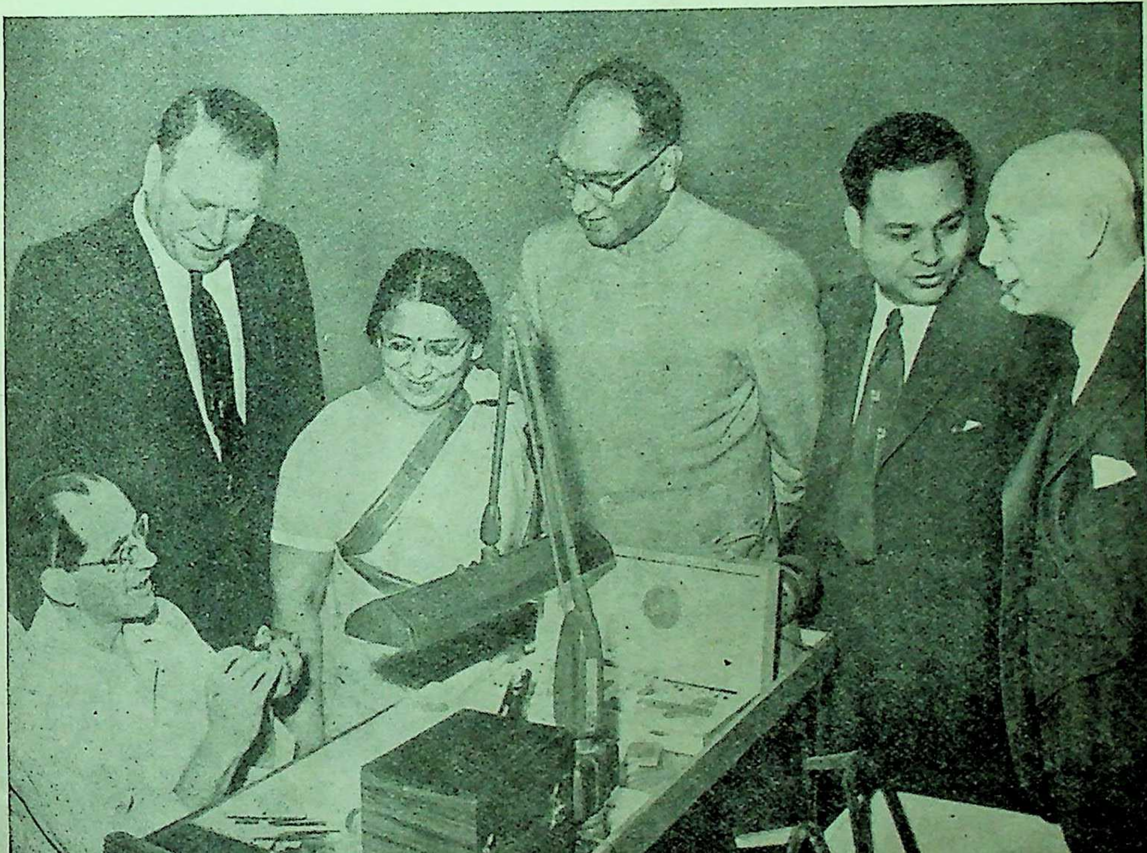
The importance of ship-building in the indu
development of India with its lengthy coast line is
great importance. A first attempt in this direction
been made. The Government has entered into an ag
ment with the Scindia Steam Navigation Company
which the Scindia Ship Building Yard, Vizaga
nam, has been obtained by the State. The Govern
has acquired two-third interest in this project to
extent of Rs. 180 lakhs. Technical Aid Agreement
a French naval firm has been concluded for the de
lopment of this shipping yard. Three ships of
tons each were completed during 1952. Two ships
still under construction. The Shipping Yard has or
for seven more ships of new designs and fitted
diesel engines. The construction of oil tankers,
lers and frigates has been planned.

A machine tool factory has been started at Jala
Bangalore. It is expected that production will be in
swing by 1955. The aim of this factory is to manufa
precision type machine tools. Machinery worth Rs.
lakhs has been imported from abroad for this purp
The factory has been started with an authorised ca
of Rs. 12 crores but the estimated cost is Rs. 8.73 cro
The Government holds 85 per cent shares, while
remaining is owned by foreign European firms.

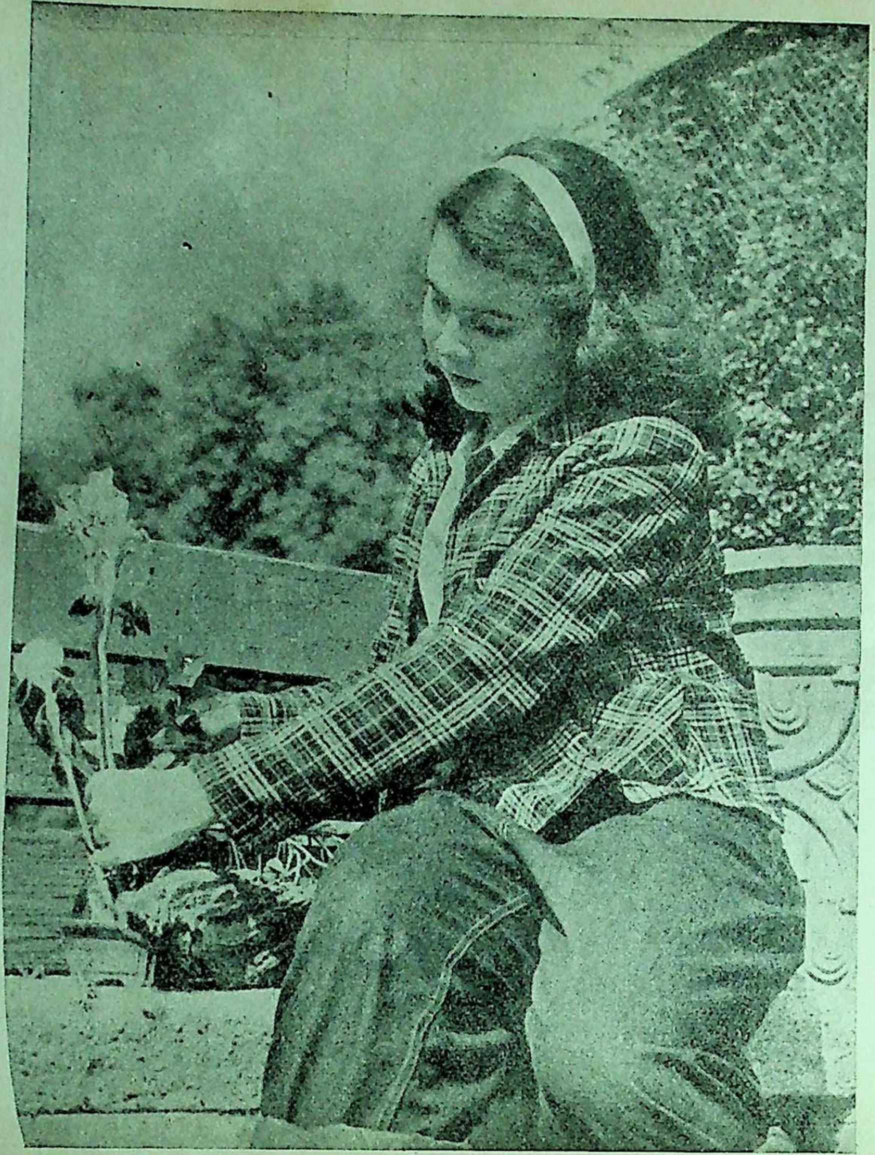
The foundation of the National Instrument Fa
was laid on the 27th February, 1953. It is already
ducing about 250 types of surveying, drawing, ma
matical, optical and other instruments. Rs. 1.82 cr
is going to be spent on this of which Rs. 80 lakhs



The electric light bulbs here show the first known use of electric power from atomic energy. The generator is run by a turbine which uses steam produced by means of heat supplied by the Experimental Breeder Reactor located at Idaho Falls in the United States



An Indian Commission on Secondary Education observes a student assembling a watch at Emily Griffith Opportunity School, a technical and trade school in Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.



This girl experiments with a flower arrangement. Girls choose to grow flowers instead of vegetables on their small plots in the Children's Garden in New York City

A young American girl at work. Hollyhook bushes in the background surround the Children's Garden in New York, providing beauty [illegible] be spent within the next five years. The annual value of the products when the factory is in full swing by 1955-56 is expected to be Rs. 4.02 crores. According to the Five-Year Plan, a Dry Core Cable Factory has been set up at a cost of Rs. 110 lakhs and an agreement has been concluded for this purpose with a firm from the U.K. The value of the annual output at present price levels will come to about 87 lakhs. In this connection it may be noted that the annual consumption of cables by the Posts and Telegraphs Department comes to about Rs. 80 lakhs, and the total requirements of these cables now coming through imports are valued at about Rs. 1 crore a year. It has also planned to set up a Penicillin Factory under the ownership of the Government of India. The contribution of the Government will be Rs. 130 lakhs while 350 thousand dollars will come from the WHO for technical assistance and 850 thousand dollars to provide equipment. It should produce 3600 billion units reaching a maximum capacity of 9000 billion units per year. A DDT Factory will be established which will have a capacity of producing 700 tons of DDT per year. The Government contributes Rs. 22,045 lakhs while 3.5 lakh dollars comes from outside. Rs. 7 crores has been set aside for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment to make India self-sufficient in this respect. Rs. 10 lakhs has been allotted for the year 1953-54. Government has also accepted the co-operation of the Standard Vacuum Oil Company of the United States and the Burmah Shell Oil Company of U.K. for setting up two oil refineries in Trombay. The two refineries should have a total refining capacity of 3.3 million tons of crude oil per annum which yields 2.9 million tons of refined petroleum products. The total capital for these two refineries comes to about Rs. 43 crores out of which Rs. 7 crores comes from private Indian capital. Standard Vacuum Oil Refinery will start production in January, 1955 while Burmah Shell Refinery will take another year.

The following eleven National Laboratories have been set up to promote the progress and application of science in the nation's welfare:

1. The National Physical Laboratory, Delhi.
2. The National Chemical Laboratory, Poona.
3. The National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur.
4. The Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi.
5. The Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad.
6. The Central Food Technical Research Institute, Mysore.
7. The Central Glass and Ceramic Institute, Calcutta.
8. The Central Drugs Institute, Lucknow.
9. The Central Road Research Institute, Delhi.
10. The Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee.
11. The Central Leather Research Institute, Madras.

Some of them are now in operation helping to foster fundamental research and research for helping the large-scale industries while others are drawing up programme for the purpose. They will be of immaterial help to the medium and small-scale industries helping to reduce costs and improving quality of products. An amount of Rs. 461 lakhs is provided in the Five-Year Plan for scientific and industrial research. For closer co-operation with commercial production, a National Research Development Co-operation for India is under way. India still lags behind many other countries in industrial production.

VILLAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

The rural economy of the country is governed largely by village and small-scale industries. These afford a large avenue of employment for artisans besides helping local growth and meeting local demands for products. A Cottage and Village Industries Board and the Handloom Board appointed by the Government have been set up to co-ordinate the activities of these industries. Rs. 15 crores has been allotted by the Central Government for this purpose and Rs. 12 crores by State Governments for the development of cottage and small-scale industries.

IRRIGATION AND MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

For the greater material prosperity of the nation, the need for greater irrigation has been realised as a basic necessity. A set-back in the last few years has been caused by the effects of the partition of the country. The proportion of irrigated and cultivated area declined from 24 per cent to 19 per cent. Multi-purpose projects have been undertaken which include irrigation projects and which form one of the basic factors in the first Five-Year Plan. The irrigation and power projects now in hand come to about Rs. 765 crores. It may be mentioned here that 5.6 per cent of the water resources of the country are now being utilised for purposes of irrigation. It can clearly be seen that the improvement of electric power, flood control, navigation and irrigation have great possibilities for the whole country. The Damodar Valley Corporation is now on its fifth year of progress. The Hirakud and the Bhakra-Nangal Projects are other multi-purpose projects of great importance. In the D.V.C. itself, the Bokaro Power Station, and the Tilaiya Project are now completed. The Maithon Project and the Hydro-Electric Station and the Konar Dam should be completed in the course of this year. The Bhakra-Nangal Project consists of a dam across the Sutlej, a Power House, the Nangal Hydro-Electric Canal, the Nangal Dam, the two Nangal Power Houses and the Bhakra Canal system. The Nangal Dam and Canal are completed. The work on the Bhakra Dam is well advanced and is scheduled to be completed in 1954. The power from the Nangal

Project is already available in Delhi. The Hirakud Dam provides for an installation capacity of 123 thousand k.w. while 48 thousand k.w. will be installed in the next five years. Work on the different dams is still not complete but both irrigation and power will be obtained from this Project by 1955. The work is still going on in the Tungabhadra Project. As envisaged in the Five-Year Plan various other projects like the Kosi, Koyana, Krishna, Chambal and the Rihand are also under way. It is hoped that the Ganga Barrage Scheme will be included in the Second Five-Year Plan. It will be of inestimable value to the countryside when implemented. It is estimated that in the next fifteen or twenty years, the total area under irrigation for the country should be approximately doubled.

RAILWAYS

One of the largest State undertakings are the Railways. This may be said to be the only real national asset that was handed over when the foreign rulers left. After meeting interest and depreciation charges it leaves over a surplus for general revenues. In 1954-55, the surplus is over 3 crores. Since 1947, a large number of new lines have been laid. The Assam Link Project which had to be undertaken as a result of partition was finished in a very short time. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works has been established for the manufacturing of locomotives and boilers at a cost of 16 crores. The target of this factory is to produce 120 locomotives and 50 spare boilers per annum. It is already nearing its target production. This is an example of nationalised industry which has shown considerable success. To meet the minimum requirements of railway development a total amount of Rs. 400 crores has been estimated. Of this Rs. 100 crores is to be set aside for transport and basic industries.

COMMUNICATIONS

The Indian Air Lines Corporation came into existence in 1953. All Indian Airlines are co-ordinated here under State sponsorship. They have nearly 100 planes plying of different types.

The introduction of postal facilities in rural areas and the further extension of telephones in big cities has been found a great necessity. The development plan for Post and Telegraph Offices and Telephones comes to about Rs. 50 crores. On August 15, 1947, the total number of rural Post Offices was 18,121 while in 1952 it had increased to 36,000. About a thousand had been opened during the year 1953. The number of urban Post Offices was raised from 3,995 in 1947 to 5,769 in 1953.

In 1952, the area served per Post Office was 28 square miles at least. In 1956, it is estimated that this area will be reduced to 9 square miles and the total number of rural Post Offices be increased to rea maximum of 46,639.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS

The economic life of the village and the so have to be transformed to a great extent to keep tune with the object of the Five-Year Plan. In year 1952 the first group of rural community pro have been introduced along with training facilities village and extension workers. Where transport fa ties are poor, distances are great and illiteracy high, the necessity of community projects and growth of the national extension service should b inestimable value. It is envisaged that during years 1953 to 1956 about 120 thousand villages be brought under the jurisdiction of the nati extension service. The community projects started 1952-53 and the additional 55 development bl taken up in 1953-54 will altogether amount to development blocks of 100 villages each. In 1953 180 more development blocks will be taken up, such in 1954-55 and 450 in 1955-56. The Exten organisations will be increased in co-ordination w the increase of these development blocks. The w on these areas has been started from October 2, 1 and some progress has been recorded in the spheres agricultural education and small-scale industries. T value of these projects cannot be judged merely terms of money as it is through this means that attempt is being made to mobilise the people's for their own good. Thus, an all-round developm is sought to be brought about by the active co-operation between the people and their Governme It is expected that the work in this direction in t first Five-Year Plan will cover one-fourth of t villages of India. Once the foundation is laid, t advance will be more rapid in the future.

EDUCATION

Education has been considered one of the m important aspects of democratic progress in t country. One of its primary objects is the building of leadership in all levels in the country. Altho its importance is realised, in view of the lim financial resources and the priority given to f including agriculture and irrigation, it is unfortu that the resources available for education in the fi Five-Year Plan is far below requirements. It is to b hoped that in the next Five-Year Plan this will b given top priority. It should be obvious that with adequate training and equipment of the citizens, appreciable progress is not possible.

In the first Five-Year Plan, pupils in t primary schools will increase from 151.1 lakhs 1950-51 to 187.9 lakhs in 1955-56, pupils in the b schools from 29 lakhs in 1950-51 to 38 lakhs 1955-56, pupils in secondary schools from 43.9 lak in 1950-51 to 57.8 lakhs in 1955-56, pupils in industrial schools from 14.8 thousands in 1950-51 to 21.8 thousands and pupils in technical and vocational training centres from 26.76 thousands in 1950-51 to 43.6 thousands in 1955-56. Rs. 1.51 crores has been provided for the progress of education in the Plan.

New methods have been introduced to make the training of students more practical and dynamic. The number of Universities and Colleges have increased in huge proportion as also the number of pupils but one cannot say yet that graduates can always take their rightful place in the progress of the nation. Unemployment amongst them is prevalent. To inculcate a healthy respect for manual work youth camps where students may undertake manual work are being organised. A sum of Rs. 1 crore has been set aside for this. Both rural and urban libraries including travelling ones have been introduced in some parts of the country which help towards the growth of greater literacy. In West Bengal, Bombay, Madras and some other parts of the country the response in this direction is encouraging. Literacy centres have also been organised for the fulfilment of social education in the different States. Rs. 7.5 crores has been set aside for social education according to the Second Five-Year Plan. In the spheres of basic education, the project method has been popularised. There has been an increase of vocational and crafts training centres specially for the displaced youngmen who have come over after partition. Such institutions have been specially sponsored by the Central Government and employment for these persons has been found in big and small industries and handicraft centres. It may be said that a beginning has been made to lay a sure foundation but a great deal has to be yet accomplished. The only way to do it is hard and conscientious endeavour.

The problem of language has also been important in connection with the growth of education in different areas of India. There has been an attempt to have one common State language but so far only partial success has been achieved. The promotion of cultural autonomy in the different areas has been encouraged. It is recognised, however, that the mother tongue must be given its due place.

HEALTH

When we turn to health, we find that while other nations have steadily progressed, India has been completely left behind for more than a century and a half. Health is a basic necessity if we are to build a prosperous nation. The output of the nation as compared to many others is low and cannot be improved unless amenities for health are there so that the nation may become strong and virile. In the first Five-Year Plan, Rs. 100 crores has been demarcated for the public health of which the States spend Rs. 82 crores and the Centre Rs. 18 crores. The Central Government programme consisted of certain selected schemes of which the most important are:

(*i*) The National Malaria Control programme;

(*ii*) The Anti-Tuberculosis campaign.

During 1952-53, the programme of mass B.C.G. vaccination was extended to 9 States and it is expected to cover the whole of India by the end of 1954. The World Health Organisation and the UNICEF have given considerable assistance in regard to this. Maternity and child welfare and family planning are also matters on which attention is being focussed.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Social welfare of the people is another key problem which includes child welfare, youth welfare, women's welfare and family welfare. These have been given a place in the first Five-Year Plan. The Central Social Welfare Board has so far distributed Rs. 16.62 lakhs to 480 non-official social welfare agencies in the country. It may be mentioned summarily that Rs. 4 crores has been provided in the Plan for the extension of social welfare activities in the country at large. It has to be seen that there is an appreciation of the needs of education and social welfare though a great deal will have to be done before needs are fulfilled or India's attainments in this field can be compared to the more progressive nations in the world. Yet it must be done so that India's cultural heritage is preserved and its separate entity maintained.

BACKWARD CLASSES

The Plan also provides Rs. 29 crores for the welfare of 18 million backward classes including scheduled castes and other criminal tribes. Rs. 9 crores and Rs. 3 crores will be spent for the tribal people and Rs. 12 crores will be spent for the tribal people in the North-East Frontier Agency. Work has started here.

LABOUR WELFARE

The duty towards labour which the Government owes has not been neglected. The presence of a contented and prosperous labour force is essential for the successful maintenance of a suitable industrial democracy and the achievement of the ideals for which a welfare state stands. The effective implementation of the Factories Act is essential. Other measures for the achievement of better industrial health, safety and welfare are planned. The Minimum Wages Act of 1948 ensures the fixation of minimum wages where manual labour is prevalent. This Minimum Wages Act includes a number of industries where the economic position is bettered by having a uniform rate of minimum wages. The first stages of social insurance will be achieved in this country when the Employees Insurance Act is functioning properly. This applies to all factories which employ

20 persons or more and where the salary of workers does not exceed Rs. 400 a month per individual. The Employees Provident Fund Act has also been passed which would affect 35 lakhs of workers. Provisionally, it applies to factories covering 50 or more persons, while there is scope for further development. The Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 has been widened in 1949 to cover banking and insurance companies having branches all over India. Other minor Acts for labour relations have also been enacted by various States. The danger of lock-outs and strikes and unemployment amongst workers has been realised. The large-scale strikes in the textile, steel and other essential industries in the private sector severely affect production. Attempts have been made by the Government through tripartite agreements to effect a compromise between the workers and industrialists and to have a formulated policy for the future in this direction. The idea is that instead of having to take resort to strikes and lock-outs which perhaps had some usefulness in the early part of this century, more and more emphasis should be laid upon labour tribunals and the adjudication machinery which should settle disputes between the employees and employers. Such a machinery should go forward towards helping the objective which India cherishes in bringing about a prosperous society without a class struggle.

THE FUTURE

The proclaimed goal towards which India is striving is that of a welfare State which means one which has equal opportunities for all irrespective of class, religion or sex, a cardinal objective in the Constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. This opportunity must give every individual a right to self-expression and to contribute his or her share towards the country's prosperity. Though it is early yet, as India has not been free for more than seven years, the changing social and economic structure is already in evidence. The land tenure system of this country which was set up during British times and which has been a great vested interest is undergoing a revolutionary change bringing about conditions where the tiller of the soil may be the virtual owner of the land. In the social sphere also, changes are apparent. Whereas social laws and customs still which have a retrograde effect on the position women in society, these are outmoded and fast appearing. In actual fact, a revolutionary change taking place in the position of women which is ha a far-reaching effect.

It requires a brave people to follow the ide which have been set but with a sincerity of pur behind it, it is attainable. It is to be hoped that people of India will put forward their best e towards the economic betterment of the country, each individual citizen will show that sense of responsibility, that social consciousness and inward culture which will help build a vigorous dynamic nation. A change is gradually coming in moral, sociological and the cultural life of the pe since the achievement of independence. There are many things to be done but a step has been taken the right direction. The removal of retrograde customs, a greater political insight amongst the pe and other fundamental changes in the structure of nation's society are taking place. It is to be hoped the long-cherished economic democracy for which Congress is striving to lay the foundation step by will materialise so that we may indeed keep intact democratic way of life.

The manner in which India has obtained independence using Gandhiji's technique of violence has been a source of inspiration to many. these days of stress and strain the war-ravaged wo breathes a sigh of relief seeing the courageous sta taken by India in spite of her poverty. To th nations still held in subjugation in parts of Asia Africa or in a state of semi-independence, it is a so of tremendous strength, to those power-mad po blocs in the world still in the throes of a cold war shows the way out, while for those nations which India have just emerged from a state of slavery bondage, it has been a great encouragement. Gand has said that no nation can be national without bei international also. There have been many bitter cri of the Congress foreign policy. In spite of this prestige of the country under the guidance of Jawaharlal Nehru has gone up tremendously in estimation of the world.

100 YEARS OF COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By HAR CHARAN LAL GARG

THOUGH the first unsuccessful venture was launched at Calcutta in 1818, the first Indian cotton mill was erected at Bombay in 1854, by Cawasji Nannabhai Davar, a Parsee pioneer. Now the cotton textile industry which completes 100 years of its existence this year occupies the premier position in our national economy. It is the largest industry in India and second in the world. It provides employment directly to about 7.5 lac workers and indirectly to 10 lac powerloom and handloom weavers.

In 1861 there were only 12 mills. The industry could not make progress during the period 1860-70 as the price of cotton increased due to American Civil War and the credit conditions deteriorated. There were only 18 mills in 1872. The number of mills increased to 42 in 1878 due to the improved trade condition. In 1879 the number of mills further increased by 14, making a total of 56. The huge profits earned in the cotton trade were invested in cotton mill industry. There was a good demand of yarn from China, and so the number of spinning mills was more than the weaving mills.

During the period 1880-95 the cotton industry made a remarkable progress. In 1894 there were 144 mills. Now finer yarn and cloth also began to be manufactured. Home hand-spinning industry declined. The mills also supplied the coarser yarn for the Indian market. The export of twist and yarn to China and Japan increased. But after 1890 Japan began to import raw cotton in place of twist and yarn. Two big famines occured between the period 1895-1900. The cotton mill industry had to face a number of difficulties during this period, viz, decreased demand of yarn for handlooms due to agricultural depression, decreased labour force at Bombay due to plague, high price of cotton due to American speculation and the decreased demand of yarn from China. In spite of all these difficulties the number of mills increased to 264 in 1913-14.

But about 1905 all the position changed, agricultural prosperity returned, the plague disappeared, the price of raw cotton stabled and China was bare of yarn stocks. To meet the increased demand the yarn mills worked overtime and even in night. During this period the number of looms increased more than the number of spindles comparatively, and this has been the tendency till now. There was also a tendency to produce goods to meet the increased home demand which was met by imports of finer yarn and cloth from Lancashire.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND AFTER

The war of 1914-18 provided a strong stimulus to the industry. During these years the industry made a good progress due to increased home and foreign (Persian, East African, etc.) demand (both military and civilian), higher prices and little competition from Lancashire industry as there was shrinkage in imports due to high revenue import duties and high freight charges. In spite of high price of stores and dyes, difficulties in obtaining coal and machinery, the production of piecegoods increased. The capital invested in the industry doubled. Cotton mills earned huge profits. The prices of mill shares rose to fantastic heights. But the export of yarn declined mainly due to transport difficulties, competition from Japan, the establishment of spinning industry in China and increased home demand of yarn to produce piecegoods. Import of finer quality of piecegoods fell down. Indian production of finer qualities increased. The weaving side expanded. The new mills could not be established for want of machinery.

After war the industry enjoyed prosperity as there was no competition from Japan and Lancashire.

Depression in the industry started after 1922. The decreased demand for goods, falling prices of cotton goods, low price of cotton, low exchange, increased production capacity due to the erection of many new mills and the competition from abroad affected the industry adversely. Japan was able to manufacture cloth at the cheapest cost, much cheaper than India and Lancashire. The production of cloth became unprofitable in India. The mills were neither able to declare dividends nor to provide depreciation on machinery and buildings. The Bombay mills sufferred the most due to three long strikes. Several mills were closed in Bombay and many others reduced their share-capital. The political movement in the country and the tariffs helped the industry.

An excise duty of 3½ per cent was imposed on woven goods in 1896. It was imposed for revenue purposes at that time. Later on it was utilised for neutralising the effects of import duties on Lancashire goods. It was applied to yarn also in 1922. In December 1925 the excise duty was suspended, and abolished in March, 1926. The excise duty was reintroduced on 1st Aug., 1949, firstly on superfine goods and later on all varieties of cloth—superfine, fine, medium and coarse. The rates of duties have been changed many times since then.

The industry applied for protection against Japanese competition in 1926. The Tariff Board marked the causes of deterioration as the unhealthy internal condition, unfair competition from Japan and the general trade depression. It recommended internal economy, improvement in the organisation for the purchase of raw materials, piecework system, greater diversification and more specialisation in the product of higher counts, development of new lines of production, maintenance of a closer touch with consuming centres in India as well as abroad, raising of import duty of 11 per cent. to 15 per cent., bounty on the spinning of higher counts of yarn, etc. The government partly accepted the recommendations. The government changed the 5% duty on yarn to 5% advalorem or 1½ annas per lb whichever is higher. The duty on machinery and mill store was removed. The steps taken by the government could not fulfill the needs of the industry. The industry as well as the public was not satisfied. The protective duty was, therefore, extended for three years ending on 31st March, 1933. This measure did not prove much helpful to the industry as the depression in the industry continued. More help was needed urgently. Due to inadequate protection the imports from Japan increased. The competition in finer yarn continued. The strikes of 1928 and 1929 proved harmful to the industry. In 1929 the protection was again demanded. In 1929 the Government appointed Mr. G. S. Hardy to investigate the extent and severity of foreign competition. Mr. Hardy recommended protection. In 1930 the Government passed the Cotton Textile Protection Act according to which the revenue duty was increased to 15% on British goods and 20% on non-British goods, grey goods were subjected to a minimum specific duty of 3 annas per lb for all. As such the Imperial reference was introduced from the back door. The duties were further raised to 25% on British goods and 31% on non-British goods for revenue reasons. An import duty of 6 pies per ton on raw cotton and 10% on machinery and dyes used by the industry was also imposed. Japanese competition continued as Japanese exchange depreciated and they placed their piecegoods in Indian markets at abnormally low rates. In 1932 the duty on non-British goods was raised to 50% and the minimum specific duty on plain grey goods was raised to 5 annas per lb on non-British goods. In 1932 an Ottawa Trade Agreement was entered into according to which the British agreed to increase the purchase of Indian cotton. British goods were again preferred. The rates were further increased to 75% and 6-3|4 annas per lb respectively from 7th June, 1933' At last an Indian Tariff Textile Protection Amendment Act of 1934 was passed which fixed "substantive" protection and stated that the need of protection against U.K. was greater than against Japan. The protection was modified in the light of Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, 1934 and the Mody Lees Act. The Act was to remain in force till March, 1939. Duties on yarn were fixed at 5% on British and 6% on non-British yarn. India incurred a loss of revenue of the tune of Rs. 1 crore due to the preferential treatment to U.K. imports, while the export of raw cotton did not increase according to Mody Lees Act. The Act allotted an annual import quota of 125m. yards unconditionally, 325 million yards if Britain purchases 1 m. bales of Indian cotton and 400m. yards if she purchased 1½ m. bales. The duty on non-British goods was fixed at 50% advalorem, subject to minimum of 5½ annas in the case of plain greys.

The Mody Lees Act was due to expire on 31st December, 1935. In 1935 a special Tariff Board was appointed to investigate into the question of protection to the Indian textile industry against the imports of U. K. The Tariff Board recommended that the duty on British plain grey goods be reduced from 25% to 20% advalorem or 3½ annas per pound whichever was higher, the duty on bordered grey, bleached and coloured picegoods (other than prints) should be reduced from 25% to 20% advalorem and the duty on yarn should remain the same. The Government announced this reduction immediately, effective without consulting the legislature, which came into force from 25th June, 1936. At this Indian indusrialists were dissatisfied but Government defended their action.

A new Indo-British Agreement was signed in place of Ottawa Agreement according to which the import duties on British goods were reduced and the U.K. would prefer to purchase Indian cotton. The Indian Tariff Amendment Act was passed in 1939 according to which the import duties on British goods were reduced to 17 per cent on printed goods, 15 per cent. or 2 annas 7½ pies whichever is higher, on grey goods, and 15 per cent on all others. The duties have to be reduced by 2½% if imports fall below 350 m. yards and increased by 2½% if imports increased to 500m. yards in a year. penalties or rewards were made if the consumption of Indian cotton by U.K. decreased or increased from the limits of 5 lac and 7½ lac bales in a year. This agreement was opposed by the Legislative Assembly and Indian textile industry on the ground that it unduly favoured Lancashire industry.

Till the last war most of the industry was centralised in Bombay State due to the following advantages possessed by Bombay :

1. Raw materials: Raw cotton was available from the hinterland of the port of Bombay.

2. Facility for the import of machinery, chemicals, millstores, etc.

3. The presence of managing agents who took the initiative.

4. Humid climate and advantageous geographical position.

5. Presence of capital and credit facilities. Parsee merchants had acquired good fortunes.

6. Presence of efficient and cheap means of transport and communications.

7. Profitable yarn export trade with China.

In the post-war decade the mills began to be constructed in other centres, *viz.* Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Madras, Sholapur and Nagpur. These centres possessed the advantages of nearness of markets, availability of raw materials, and cheap labour. The China trade in yarn declined. The Swadeshi movement stimulated the growth of weaving outside Bombay. The factory laws were more lax in Indian States than in British India.

In Bombay the taxation increased, the cost of labour became high and the industry became overcapitalised during boom period. All these factors favoured the decentralisation of industry. At present the important centres of industry are Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Kanpur, Nagpur, Indore, Madura and Coimbatore. In 1953 out of 453 cotton mills, 200 were located in Bombay State which holds the pride of place in the industry. Madras comes next having 90 mills. Over 60% of the spindles and looms are centralized in Bombay State.

Between 1925-39 the industry made some recovery due to regulation of competition from U.K. and Japan, tariff protection, and improvement in the general economic condition.

DURING WORLD WAR OF 1939-45 AND AFTERWARDS

The decreased home demand, increased imports from Japan, heavy property tax in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and the doubling of import duty on raw cotton adversely affected the industry. During 1940-41 the industry made good progress due to fall in the imports from Japan, heavy orders from Eastern Group and Government for military purposes and monopoly in the home market. The export of piecegoods increased by about 5 times in 1942-43 as compared to 1938-39. The next year exports fell down mainly due to control. The industry increased production by working double and treble shifts and rationalisation of production methods. But the scarcity of goods occured. The prices of cotton piecegoods went up abnormally. The dealers began to hoard the goods. Black-market flourished. Whole salers and millowners made huge profits. This was mainly due to the fact that the imports of cotton piecegoods from Japan stopped entirely. The position grew from bad to worse due to this cessation of imports from Japan. The prices rose to five times the prewar level due to general rise in rices, decreased imports, increased exports (even to U.S.A. and England), purchase on military account, etc. In 1943 an arrangement was made between Government and the mill to produce cheap standard cloth. This step was taken with a view to save the consumer from high prices. But the scheme to sell at fixed price failed due to lack of proper organisation and distributing machinery. Strict rationing of cloth was also introduced to check the high prices. Government steadily improved its machinery. The prices of cloth and yarn were completely controlled in June 1943. The mills had to specify ceiling, ex-mill and retail prices on every cloth. Date of production was also to be printed. Textile Central Board and various Statutory Committees were appointed. The Government also fixed the maximum price of cotton and stores. A license had to be obtained from the Textile Commissioner for transporting the cloth.

During and after the war the trend of development was not competitive. A Capital Control Order was issued in 1943 mainly to check the inflation in the country. The establishment of the new mills was checked by this order. Only those managing agents were given licences for the establishment of new mills who had their old mills also. Thus this internal as well as external competition was lacking.

During war years the production capacity could not be expanded. The reasons were the non-availability of machinery and stores. After war also the foreign manufacturers could not supply the machinery in time. And when the supply position of machinery improved the new mills could not be started for want of capital and high cost of machinery and plant.

Shortage of coal occured after the outbreak of war. In 1944-45 the output declined due to shortage of coal and raw materials and unsettled political situation.

During war years the Tariffs remained unchanged. According to the recommendation of the Tariff Board the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act of 1947 was passed. The existing protective duties on cotton cloth and yarn were converted into revenue duties from 1st April, 1947 as the industry is much more stronger financially than before World War II and now it can stand on its own feet.

Some plans were made for the post-war development of the industry. The panel for the cotton mill industry prepared a programme for setting up 100 mills distributed over the whole country. In 1947 partition of the country took place. India was deprived of raw cotton from Sindh and so the plans were given up. Pakistan used to supply 1.2 million bales of raw cotton. Besides this Pakistan was also an important consumer of Indian cloth. India lost this market. In 1948 the Government relaxed the control on cotton goods. But experiment proved a total failure. The cloth position became very bad. The control over cotton goods was reimposed. The increased price of raw cotton increased the cost of production. To solve this problem it was decided to grow superior quality of cotton in India. Government also decided to revise the prices of raw cotton quarterly in accordance with the formula suggested by the Tariff Board.

In 1948 the export of cotton piecegoods declined. The reasons were decontrol, increased prices and the imposition of export duties. The devaluation in 1949 gave a fillip to exports. In 1950 the prices of raw cotton were raised substantially, as a result the cloth prices also increased. Many strikes also occured in Bombay.

On the recommendation of the Tariff Board the Government of India decided to protect textile machinery industry in 1950. A protective duty of 10% advalorem was levied for a period of 3 years on spindles, plainlooms, etc. All the raw materials required for the production of textile machinery are found in India.

The output of cotton piecegoods increased considerably in 1951 and 1952. The output in 1952 was 4599 million yards.

The Government of India abolished price and distribution controls from 10th July, 1953. But the control over production shall continue. The present state of free competition markets needs the withdrawal of production control also.

Some restrictions have been placed on the production of dhotis. Now mills can produce 60% of their output of dhotis for 1951-52. Due to this restriction the price of dhotis increased.

The production in 1953 marked an all-time record. It surpassed not only the previous production of 4811 million yards attained in 1944 but also the target of 4700 million yards fixed by the Planning Commission for 1955-56. The yarn production also increased. This increased output in cloth and yarn could be attained due to availability of adequate supplies of raw materials, at relatively low prices, continued favourable relation between management and labour, fairly satisfactory transport situation, improved position in respect of power and fuel and the abolition of all price and distribution controls on all varieties of cloth.

Export of cotton piecegoods increased in 1953 as compared to 1952. The free licensing of cotton piecegoods exports, which was extended upto the end of June, 1953, has since been extended upto the end of June, 1954. African Government has banned to import Japanese textiles till the end of 1954. The Indian textile industry can easily secure this market. The Buxton conference fixed a target of export of 1000 million yards of cloth every year from India. During the very first month of 1954 India was able to make a record export of 80 million yards.

During 1953 heavy stocks of goods accumulated as the increasing supplies could not be sold. Fourteen mills gave notice of closes due to difficulties of storage space and finance. Two mills actually closed down in October, 1953. To solve this problem Government took these measures:

1. The excise duty on superfine cloth was reduced from annas 3-3 to annas 2 per yard.
2. The 10% export duty on medium count cloth was abolished.

At present there are 453 cotton mills in India having 11,427,034 spindles and 203,786 looms. About Rs. 51 crores are being invested as fixed capital and Rs. 100 crores as productive capital in this industry. The industry employs 7,43,000 workers. The industry supports cultivators and handloom weavers also.

More mills can be established in India. A number of mills are being set up in Bombay and Uttar Pradesh. Recently a big cotton mill has been put into operation at Modinagar. The allocation of new units in different provinces has been settled.

THE PROBLEMS AHEAD AND THEIR SOLUTIONS

(1) The industry is urgently in need of modernisation and re-equipment. The cloth output is increasing day by day. It means greater exertion on the existing machinery. Before the last war the industry could not make sufficient profits, mainly due to foreign competition, so as to cover the cost of modernisation and re-equipment. During the second world war the industry made huge profits. But these were distributed in the shape of dividends. The profits were not utilised in making up adequate reserves. The abnormal rise in the price of machinery (about three times the previous level) and the restrictions imposed on imports also prohibited renewals and replacements. The Planning Commission has rightly remarked that there are about 150 uneconomic units in the cotton mill industry. The modernisation of machinery requires crores of rupees. But it is in the interest of all, the consumer, the producer, the Government and the labourer to make an early attempt for the rehabilitation, renovation and replacement of the old machinery. Government can help a lot by making due depreciation allowances, and making adequate tax-reliefs. Till now the Government has taken a step-motherly treatment in this matter. Modernisation is urgently needed to improve the quality of cloth, decrease its cost of manufacturing and increasing the exports. The importance of modernisation increases when we note that the foreign competitors of Indian cotton industry have already undergone modernisation.

(2) The mills have no effective sales organisation. They do not try to improve the marketing methods. Some exporters receive orders of superior quality and supply inferior quality goods. This practice and a number of similar practices should be abandoned in the interest of the industry itself as the production of cotton cloth is fast increasing but the level of home consumption has not increased simultaneously due to lower purchasing power. Thus the increased supply can only be sold by exporting to foreign countries. Again Japan has begun to underquote India in open market. If the exports are not increased the industry may be burdened with accumulated stocks. Industrialists must try to stabilise the cotton textile export trade. Every effort should be made to promote exports. The formation of the Export Promotion Committee is a step in the right direction.

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SALIHUNDAM—A BUDDHIST STUPA IN THE ANDHRA COUNTRY

By SISIR KUMAR MITRA, M.A., LL.B.

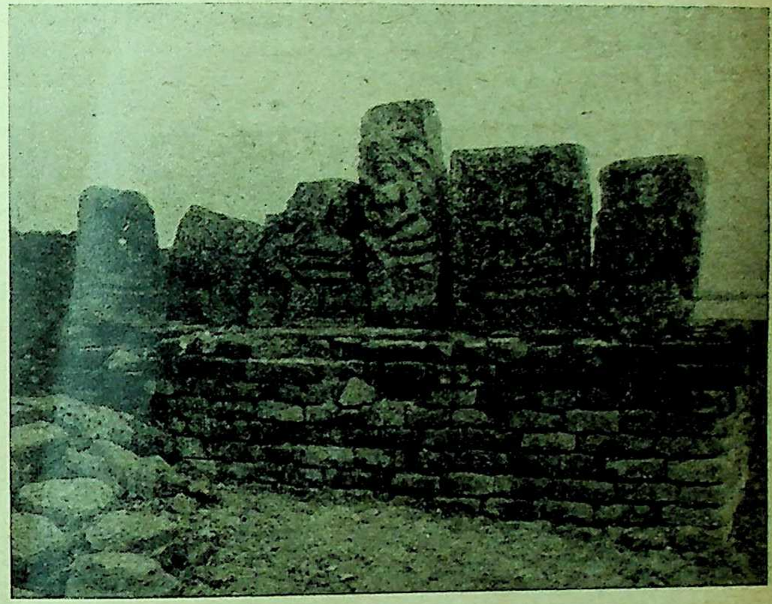
SALIHUNDAM is an almost insignificant village on the southern bank of the Vamsadhara before the river meets the sea near Kalingapatnam in the Srikakulam District (modern Chicacole). A motorable road connects Srikakulam City (9 miles from Chicacole Road Rly. Stn.) with the seaside town of Kalingapatnam. After the 14th mile-post this road touches the fringe of a low-lying rocky hill containing the stupa site and then abruptly it swerves eastwards for Kalingapatnam.

I had an occasion to visit the place in the company of Dr. J. N. Banerji, Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta University and Dr. R. Subrahmanayam of the S. E. Circle of the Archaeological Department, early this year after the Waltair session of the Indian History Congress.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is well-known that the Andhra region grew up to be an important centre of Buddhism during the early centuries of the Christian era. It became practically studded with monuments and stupas, both relic and votive, some of which can be dated back to the 1st and 2nd centuries B. C. The archaeologist's shovel has unearthed such important sites as Amarawati, Nagarjunikonda, Bhattiprolu, Jaggayyapeta, Ghantasala and other places.

Before the introduction of image-worship the stupas or funerary structures containing the relics of the Master received the adoration from the followers of the faith. But in this respect too the contribution of the Andhakas (Andhrakas) was of no less significance. The Mahaparinirbana Sutta in the *Digha Nikaya* records a dialogue between Lord Buddha and his favourite disciple Ananda on the method of the disposal of the body of the Great Teacher. "What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?" asked Ananda. The Lord replied, "As men treat the remains of the king of kings, so Ananda, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata." Elucidating further he said that the body should be wrapped in new clothes and then consigned to flames. Collecting the remains from the pyre it should be placed within the stupa to be erected at the crossing of four highways. Those who would visit such places with garlands or perfumes would earn religious merit for themselves. Thus this Sutta prescribes the erection of stupas as well as of paying holy visits to them. But for popularising the custom among the masses, credit goes to these Andhakas or Mahasanghikas or Achariyavadins, as they were also called, as opposed to the Theravadi Buddhists of Western and Central India. The common run of the people got in the doctrine of deification of Buddha preached by the Mahasanghikas and their sub-sects, ample scope to satisfy their religious emotions and they not only adopted the principle of visiting the stupas and other holy places but also erected votive stupas as a mark of their dedication to the Great Being.



Six images on Salihundam hill

Courtesy: Dr. Subrahmanyam

To this development also may be traced the emergence of the Mahayana order of Buddhism with its rich pantheon of gods and goddesses. This took the wind out of the sails of the Theravada Buddhism and it itself became the most favourite religion with the masses. In the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* it is stated that the Mahayana teaching will originate in Daksinapatha (South India), pass on to the eastern India and prosper in the north. Evidently this came about sometime in the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D.

But the question arises, why the Andhra country of all else gained so much popularity with the Buddhists and how the thought-current of the region could influence and divert the course of religious thinking of the people of the whole of India? A reference to the political and economic condition of the region may be necessary for an answer to it. The Inscriptions of Asoka clearly alluded to the well-knit military organisation of the Kalinga country. It is well-known what a stubborn resistance the army of Asoka had had to face during the Kalinga expedition. An almost similar account may also be obtained from Pliny (1st Cent. A.D.), who is presumed to have based his report on the earlier account of Megasthenes. Ptolemy (2nd Cent. A.D.) refers to "the City of Paloura" (near modern Chicacole or Srikakulam) as the port from which started vessels bound for the Golden Land (Suvarnnabhumi). Thus grew up an emporium of trade and commerce in the Andhradesa, where congregated the mercantile people from all over the country for ready business. The establishment of this rich commercial contact helped the development of the region financially and organisationally. Through this channel again the thought-current that developed here permeated the countries both inland and overseas.

Tara. Salihundam village.
Courtesy: Dr. Banerji

THE SITE

As far as it can be gathered from the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1919-20), the site of Salihundam, was first noticed by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu of Parlakimedi in 1919 and the first excavation was conducted by the then Superintendent of Archaeology, Mr. Longhurst in 1920-21, followed by subsequent attempts in later years.

The main stupa is at an altitude of about 400 feet on the top of the hill which slowly rises, thus enabling the visitors to climb almost without any trouble. We however climbed half the height in our jeep, *i.e.*, practically upto the base of the hill. From there we took the narrow terraced pathway leading to the stupa which was apsidal in structure. The apse of course is not there now, but the brick-built walls of the circular chamber are still standing with an opening to the north. It contained a relic-casket of stone, a broken portion of which was shown to us during our visit.

From the top of the hill we had a clear view of the Vamsadhara, which from this point takes a northerly course in its journey towards the sea, and it is well-known that rivers flowing from south to north is regarded as particularly holy, *e.g.*, the Ganges at Benares. So from that point too this Buddhist site acquired a special distinction.

The date of the stupa is still an open question. But during the last session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair, Mr. A. S. Gadre, Superintendent of Archaeology, S. E. Circle, referred to the find of an inscription at Salihundam which according to him was written in the Brahmi script of the Asokan age. As such Mr. Gadre holds that the stupa must have been erected sometime in the 1st or 2nd century B.C.

Coming down a few yards by the path, one meets a Buddha *chaitya* and a votive stupa on either side. The votive stupa is to the north, much smaller in size than the main stupa. Most probably it was set up by some worshippers to acquire merit or to mark their dedication to the faith. The Buddha *chaitya* was nothing but a prayer hall for the monastic order. It is rectangular in area with a raised dais at the farther end of the chamber on which may be seen the remains of a stucco image of Buddha in *padmasana*. It is learnt that the full image was recovered by Mr. Longhurst, but later the stucco figure could not be saved and the portion above the waist of the deity is now gone. These subsidiary structures, as suggested by Dr. Subrahmanyam, belong to the Pre-Gupta age, probably to 1st or 2nd Century A.D.

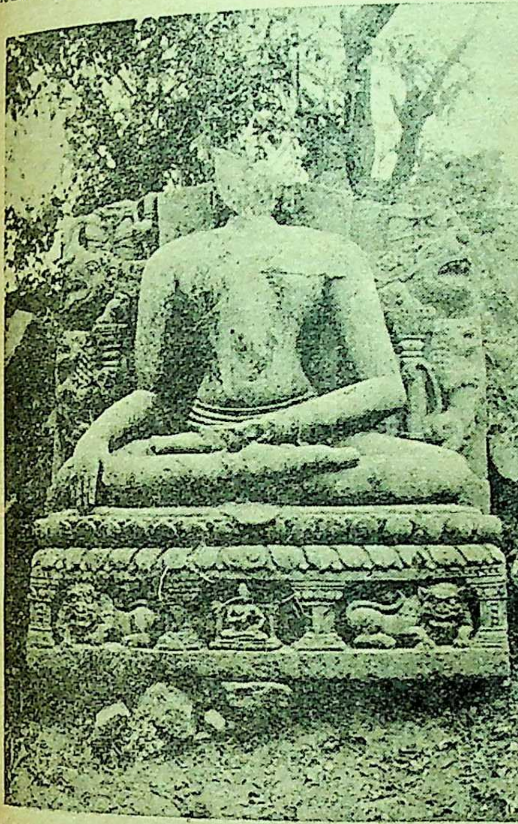
SCULPTURES

There is another hillock, quite close by, but of lower altitude than the one described above. On the top of it we noticed six stone sculptures placed on a brick pedestal. The first one is the most popular deity of the Mahayana pantheon, Bodhisatva Manjusri on a seat supported by figures of lions. He is the God of learning and enlightenment, and can be identified by the book, which he holds in one of his hands. It is the sacred text of Prajnaparamita.

Another very important Bodhisatva figure is also there in the group. He is Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara the symbol of universal love and mercy. The image is badly damaged, but the lotus stalk and the nectar-pot in his hands enable us to establish his identity.

The second image is a fragmentary one, broken almost beyond identification. But it was found to contain the oft-repeated couplet of "Ye dharmma hetuprabhava tesam hetuni Tathagata. . ." inscribed on its reverse. Thus there is little doubt that it is also a Buddhist image of the Mahayana order.

An unbroken image of Buddha is also there on the platform, showing the Lord seated in the *padma-sana* pose (cross-legged) in *bhusparsa mudra*, touching the earth with three fingers of his right hand, as if drawing strength and firmness from the Earth to thwart the evil effects of Mara during the final stage of his meditation.

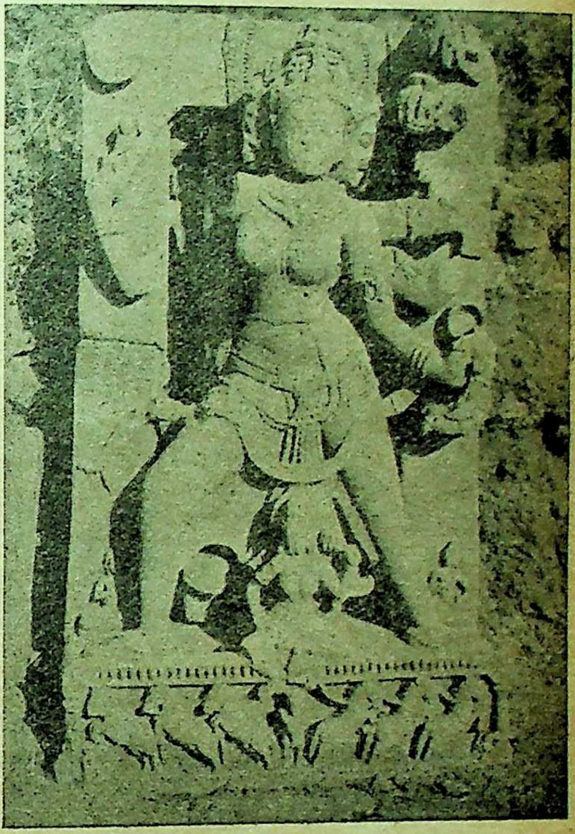


Buddha in *vajrasana*
Courtesy: Dr. Subrahmanyam

The fourth image is the principal female deity of the Mahayana school, Tara, seated on a fully blossomed lotus in *ardhaparyankasana* pose. She has six hands holding a sword in the upper right and *nilotpala* (blue lotus) in the left. She is the consort of Avalokitesvara. According to the conception of the Mahayana order, each kalpa or age is presided over by a Meditative (*Dhyani*) Buddha, from whom emanated a Boddhisatva as well as his consort or energy (*sakti*), a female deity, commonly known as Tara. They are of different complexions symbolic of their association with different Bodhisatvas, e.g., Sveta Tara, Rakta Tara, Shyama Tara, etc.

We noticed two other Tara images near the sculpture-shed of the Department. One of them was Nilotpala Tara, the spiritual daughter of Dhyani Buddha Aksobhya. The other a four-handed image of Tara was seen seated in *virasana* pose on *visvapadma* (double-petalled lotus She held a bunch of Nagakesara flowers and a nectar-pot (*bhringara*) in her two left hands. The upper right hand is broken, but the lower one was in *varada mudra* (boon-conferring pose).

The last image of the group is very curious indeed. It is a Mahisamardini (the goddess killing the Buffalo-Demon), quite boldly executed. To find a Hindu deity in the company of so many Buddhist images is no doubt strange, but Dr. Banerji firmly suggests that it is a later addition when Buddhism might have been on the wane.

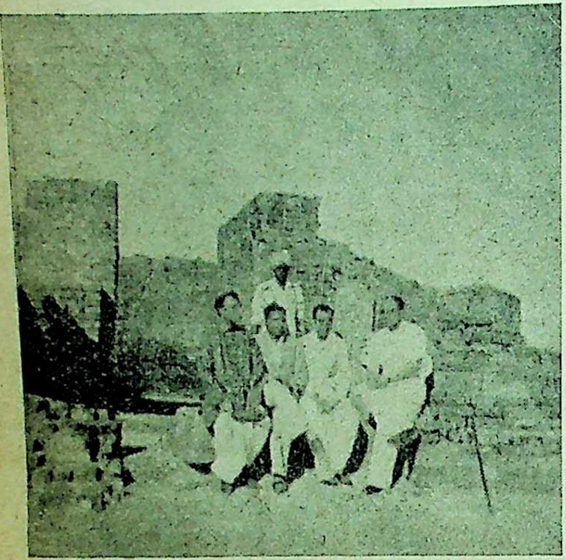


Marichi
Courtesy: Archaeological Dept., S. E. Circle

Then we trekked down into the little hamlet of Salihundam for a study of the images preserved in the sculpture-shed of the Archaeological Department. The principal image there is that of Marichi, a goddess of the Buddhist pantheon. She is regarded to have originated from Dhyani Buddha Vairochana. She is the goodess of dawn. Her features as may be noticed in other extant sculptures as also described in the texts are as follows—Marichi would have eight hands and three faces. The right face would be of red hue and the left one would be that of sow (*sukari*), and of bluish colour. She should be standing on a chariot drawn by seven pigs.

But the image before us does not conform exactly to the textual specification. She is seen here having six hands (not eight), and standing erect in *alidha* pose on the chariot. The central face, though damaged, is of placid disposition, but the faces on either side show awe-inspiring attitude. But all are human faces and none that of a sow.

Most of the Bodhisatva and Tara figures have elaborate head-dresses with a crest in front containing a small figure of the Dhyani Buddha. In the image of Marichi also we could notice that the Vairochana Buddha was seated on the tiara of the *mukuta*. It is however badly bruised now.



Salihundam Buddhist Stupa site.
Dr. Banerji, Dr. Subrahmanyam, Prof. Rao and S. K. M.
Courtesy: Dr. Banerji

Almost all the hands of the deity are to some extent damaged. The only hand which survived is the lower left one holding a *pasa* (noose). The upper hand on the same side must have had an Asoka flower. On the right side can be seen the fore-arm portion only of a hand holding a sword.

The most distinguishing feature of this sculpture that the chariot is drawn not by pigs as prescribed in texts but by horses. These images are datable in late Gupta period and as such might have been influe to some extent by the Brahmanical Surya, whose cha is drawn by seven horses. Further in conception too th is some amount of likeness. Marichi is the presi deity of *usha* or dawn, whereas in the Brahma pantheon, Usha is a consort of Surya and may be s in Surya sculptures along with her partners Pratyusa a Chhaya. Surya is also known as Marichimali.

The charioteer of Marichi, a female figure of f developed body may be seen holding Asoka flower in left hand and the reins of the horses on the right. A se ed figure of Bodhisatva holding *vajra* and *ghanta* (b may be seen on either side of the standing deity.

There was a fairly good collection of sculptures in a around the shed, but what attracted our attention w an image of Buddha seated in *vajrasana*. Unfortuna the upper portion of the sculpture including the hea the deity has broken off. The Lord is seen seated *bhusparsha mudra* on a double petalled lotus. T pedestal is divided into three panels, the central o showing the figure of a Bodhisatva in *jnanamudra* p with two couchant lions on the panels on either s On both sides of the deity too are the figures of t lions standing on their two hind legs. Above the E may be seen two *makara* motifs, with their mouths ag All these ancillary figures surrounding the deity are a highly virile nature. The firm posture of the Lord i this set-up cannot but generate a like feeling of confide and courage in the minds of the worshippers.

A study of the sculptural remains at Salihun clearly indicates that till the late Gupta period (4th Cent. A.D.) this stupa continued to receive adora and veneration of the people.

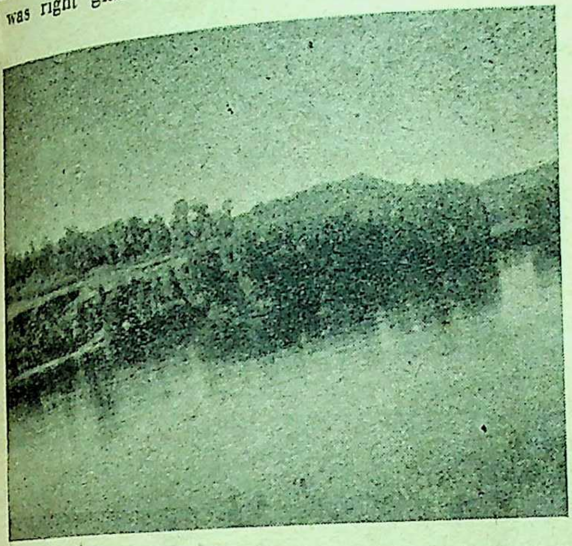
M. Gupta
20.2.53

A TRIP TO THE NILGIRIS

BY MANIKLAL MUKHERJI

FOR Bengalis living on the plains the fascination for a journey to the hill stations is very great indeed.

So, when I was called upon to accompany the Chief Inspector of Boilers, West Bengal, to Ootacamund I was right glad to do so.



Ooty Lake

Ootacamund or Ooty as she goes by the name, has been rightly called the Queen of the Hill Stations.

Among the notable places to visit in South India, Ooty is one and a favourite health resort. It is noted for its scenic beauty.

Ooty stands at a height of 7,228 ft. above the sea level enclosed by four hills, namely, Elk Hill, Dodabetsa, Snowdon and Club Hill and has a very salubrious climate.

Now let me describe our journey to Ootacamund in brief as it may help the future tourists.

We left Calcutta on the 11th of February, 1954 by the Madras Mail. The Mail started from Howrah Station exactly at 16-50 hrs. and we had to bid goodbye to our friends.

In the Railway Compartment I felt myself at home in the company of some Madrasi gentlemen. It was, therefore, natural for me to try to know from them about the place I was going to. But they could not give me any informations except that I had to go *via* Madras.

At about 10-15 on the morning of the 12th February we found ourselves at Waltair. All this while the great Eastern Ghats stood at our left in awe and grandeur. The Mail stopped here for 45 minutes. We finished our meals at Waltair. When the Mail started again we found that we were going in the same direction in which we came and the hills stood on our right.

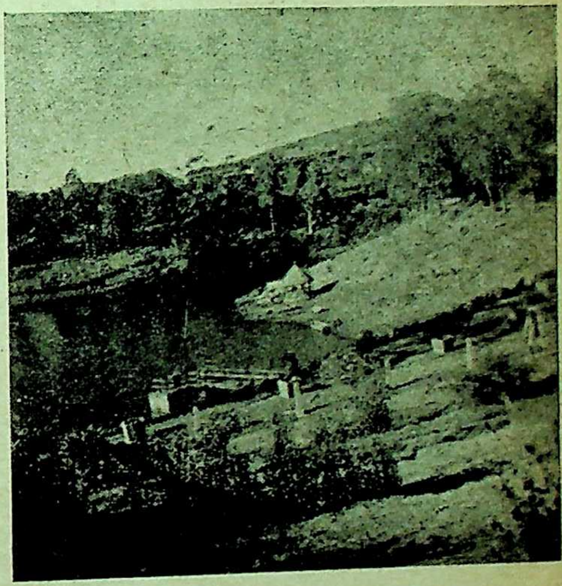
At stations where the Mail stopped we found plenty of oranges, ripe plantains, Kaju Badam, butter milk, and coffee.

The tourist may well count upon good coffee during his journey in the South but a good tea is a rarity. But we remember to have been supplied with good Stannes tea at Hotel Cecil after we reached Ooty.

The journey from Waltair to Bezwada was aweful because of the excessive heat we felt during the day.

At almost all the big stations in the South there are arrangements for supply of both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes and the prices seemed comparatively cheaper than those at Calcutta.

We reached Godavari towards candle-light on the 12th February. The vast Godavari lay below and was found to have dried up at some places. Some cones and boats were seen over the waters. As the Mail was crossing the bridge like a huge caterpillar which it did in some five or six minutes I found little urchins standing in the waters kneedeep in expectation of a copper coin which a devout Hindu almost invariably throws into such sacred rivers as the Godavari, Narmuda, etc.



Lake and Botanical Gardens, Ooty

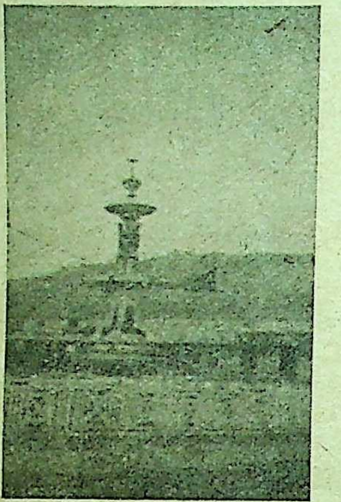
We took our meal for the night at Bezwada and went to sleep. When we woke up it was dawn. The vast sheet of backwaters of the Bay of Bengal looked very nice with the rising sun. At about 7-20 on the morning of the 13th February we reached Madras. Here we were kindly met by Sri S. N. Mahalingam, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Madras, whose hospitality we cannot forget

We had to halt at Madras for several hours as we had to take to train again after the evening.

After taking a very nice bath we refreshed ourselves with coffee and other refreshments and went about for sight-seeing.

Madras seemed to be a very pretty little city and looked very clean indeed, unlike Calcutta which has its dark aknd filthy corners that seem to be veritable hell.

We found the tramlines lying with no tramcars but the State buses were plying in quick succession. I came to know the tram cars were not running owing to a dispute of the Electric Supply Co. with the Madras State Government at the time.



Charing Cross Fountain, Ooty

We went round the markets and visited some hotels and restaurants and found the Moore Market to our liking. It can be cited as a parallel to the Hogg Market at Calcutta.

At vegetarian hotels a bellyful of meal can be had on payment of annas nine to ten. The recipe includes rice, ghee, dal (Sambar as called in Tamil), chutney, butter milk, etc. Every meal at Madras, I was told, begins and ends with butter milk. But every preparation contains a combination of tamarind and pepper. Butter milk holds the balance of diet, perhaps.

For breakfast or tiffins the Idlys and dhosas (all prepared from Dal and rice) with coffee are very refreshing indeed. All things are supplied hot at Madras hotels.

In the afternoon I went to the Park station and had a journey in the electric train to the Madras Beach and also to Egmore, about 4 miles from Madras Central. Egmore can well be called the "Sealdah" of Madras.

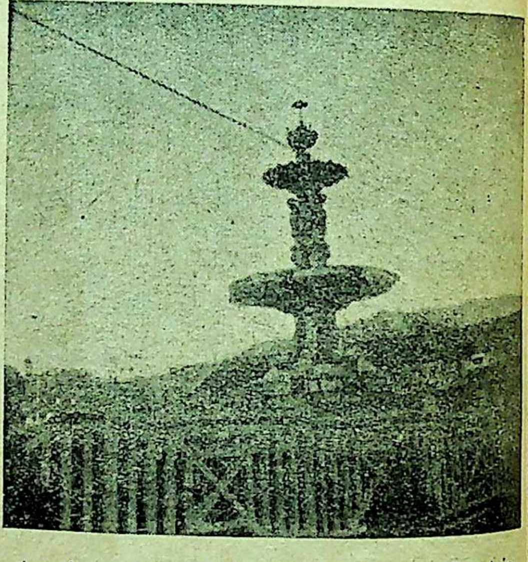
Towards the evening I had a journey to Mylapore in the South with my friend Sri Venkata Krishnan. Mylapore is 5 miles from Madras Central. The bus fare was three annas and six pies. To my utter surprise I found that at every Bus Stop crowds waited in queues and there was no rush or scrambles for a seat in the bus. I wished things were so in Calcutta and we may hope that the Calcutta Police would kindly see to this in Calcutta.

Mylapore looked exactly like Ballygunge or Gariahat of Calcutta and it is famous for the great Kapalikeswar temple. Mylapore is also the home of the Rt. H Srinivasa Sastri whom India cannot forget.

Let me say something about the Kapalikeswar te of Mylapore. It is a tall temple with stone carv The upper part of the temple depicted the story Ramayana in stone carvings and paintings. The Siva Linga within the massive stone walls is a ch in itself. It was then candle-light and the A (evening worship) was going on.

It is a very fine sight. The Arati continued about half an hour and it is a peculiarity of Ma which every tourist must admire.

We retraced our steps to the Bus stands and retu to Madras Central just after seven o'clock in evening, and took train again at 18-20 hrs. It was Cochin Express which reached Coimbatore e morning where we had our breakfast and some rest the 14th February, 1954. We started again by Nilgiri Express at about 7-43 and reached Metupalai a distance of 1357 miles from Howrah at about o'clock.



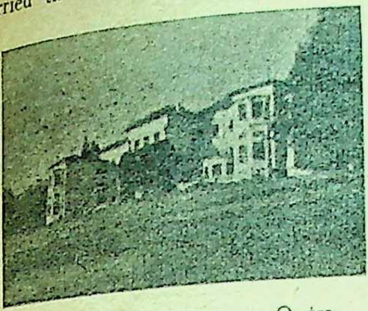
Another view of the Charing Cross Fountain

There is a Rack Railway provided with second and third classes only running from Metupalaiyam to Ootacamund, a distance of 91 miles above the Nilgiris. There is an alternative Bus route which cuts short the distance to 32 miles but the path is a very winding one with as many as 12 Hairpin Bends which the driver has had to negotiate very cautiously.

Sri D. N. Chetty, Technical Advisor (Boilers) to the Government of India, Sri Mahdi Ali Mirza, Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers, Hyderabad and Deccan, Sri R. P. Singh, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Uttar Pradesh, Sri L. B. Satoskar, Technical Assistant, Bombay and Sri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Del Secretariat all met us at Metupalaiyam.

It was noon when we reached Ootacamund.

as then still very cold. The wild groves of Eucalyptus ere standing against the lofty Nilgiris and a very cool reeze carried their refreshing smells to us.

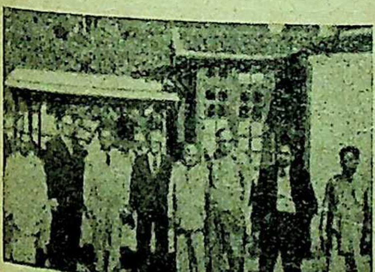


Government House, Ooty

The Nilgiris stand at the junction of the Eastern d Western Ghats. The townlets of Wellington and onoor are indeed very fine to look at. To go to Ooty e tourist has to leave these townlets behind. Until cently Ooty was the summer resort for the Govern- ent of Madras.

During his journey uphill to Ooty the curiods tourist uld find groves of arecanut and bamboo up to a height about 2,500 ft. and beyond that tea and coffee planta- ons can be found along with forests of Eucalyptus and nes.

As the tourist ascends the hills on his way to Ooty om Metupalaiyam he will have to gaze and gaze at the ll arecanut groves on both sides of the road. Above height of 3,000 ft the Bus driver will find very narrow d winding paths and several Hairpin Bends which ly the hands of an expert driver can negotiate. I was d that the width of the hill way is between 25 ft. to ft. Looking down the deep ravines overgrown th forests causes the heart shudder. Elephants, deer, ld goats, leopards and panthers can be found at these ces. The wild fowls offer a very nice game for the ept hunters.

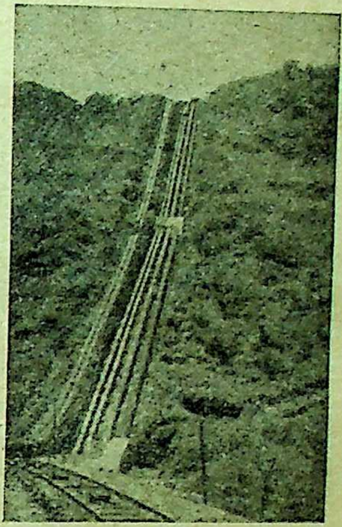


Ooty market

The Ootacamund Rly. Station stands at the heart the town. There are taxis, bullockcarts and tongas. was told that the name "Ootacamund" has been ived from the Toda word "mund" which means a age of the Todas.

The Todas are the primitive inhabitants of the Nilgi- whose number has dwindled down now to 400 only. They are a peaceloving people, very fine in manner, tall in stature with aquiline nose like the ancient Aryans. They appear to dress themselves like the ancient Romans but they are called aboriginals. They are very intelligent and generally live by pasturing cattle. They have very peculiar customs quite different from those of other aboriginals. They are fetlesh-worshippers. They live in barrel-shaped huts. But with the advent of modern civilisation they have been receiving education and taking to other means of livelihood. They are very hospitable.

Ooty is administered by a Municipal Council. There are churches among which St. Stephen's Church is the oldest and finest. There are schools, hospitals, electricity and water supply in the town. I found some cinema houses too.



Rainstock pipes.
Paikara Hydro-Electric Works

There is a Municipal Market not very far from the Rly. Station. The Central Bus Stand is also very near to the Rly. Station. Daily one train goes from Ootacamund to Metupalaiyam and one train comes. The outgoing train leaves for Metupalaiyam at 1-45 noon and the in-coming train arrives at 1-15 P.M.

We saw buses leave Metupalaiyam at 9 in the morning and reach Ootacamund at 12-45 or so.

There are many hotels here and the daily charges including seat-rent vary from Rs. 3 to Rs. 12. The best hotels are the Hotel Cecil, Savoy Hotel and Spencers Hotel. Tourists can book themselves in these hotels in advance by previous intimations. Of the other hotels the names of Modern Lodge, Dasa Prakash, India Coffee House, Hotel De Luxe, Vijaya Vilas may also be mentioned. Non-vegetarians will also find good Moslem Hotels here. There is no restrictions as to caste or creed in all the hotels. But a scrupulous Hindu must note that if he wants to have a non-vegetarian meal he will have to take these from Moslem hands and cooked by Moslems. One day when I was taking my meal at a vegetarian Hotel I found one Indian Christian taking his meal which is very common in the South. We from Calcutta cannot imagine a non-Hindu taking his meal in a Hindu Hotel openly. There the proprietors do not object and people too are accustomed to this also. I wish this practice could be encouraged everywhere in India and if anyone has any objection he should go to a hotel of his choice. But I found some Brahmin hotels at Madras where there are restrictions. The hotel charges at Ootacamund are naturally higher than those prevailing at Madras. I remember when we halted at Madras we got a nice meal for nine annas only; of course it was a vegetarian meal. Unlike the hotels at Calcutta I found the hotels at Madras and Ooty were very keen in supplying everything hot.

Ootacamund

The nights were very cold at Ooty though it was then the middle of February. Here the temperature rises to 68 or 70 degrees at noon when the sun is just overhead but the average temperature throughout the day appeared to be within the range of 48 to 60 degrees. I was told that the rainy season is very severe here only in the months of June and July.

At nights we had to use the rugs and quilts and when we came out in the open we had to put on warm clothings. I was suffering from eye troubles before I reached Ootacamund but in a day or two I was naturally cured.

The place is very dry, hence daily hot baths had to be taken otherwise there would be no sleep at night.

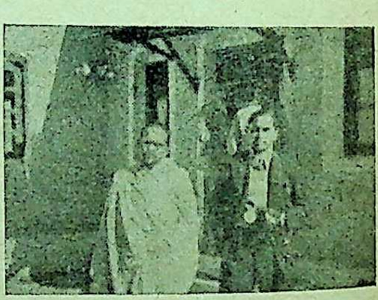
Our daily vegetarian meals consisted of rice (called Sadam in Tamil), Dal (called Sambara in Tamil), curry (called potato in Tamil), some other hodge-podges which I could not take, ghee and butter milk and also Panper.

Our breakfast consisted of idlys and dhosas (all prepared from dal and rice) and coffee. Sweets are not so common in Madras and there is no wide variety of the same.

The Central Boilers Board sub-committee having almost finished its work on the 19th February Sri S. N. Mahalingam, the Chief Inspector of Steam Boilers, Madras, who accompanied us from Madras kindly chalked out a programme for sight-seeing. Accor we visited the Government House and the Botan Garden at Ooty in the afternoon of the 19th. S snapshots were taken of which some appear in body of this article. For the snapshots I thank Sri S. N. Mahalingam, Sri S. N. Sen G and Sri Sailendra Kumar Nath for their courtesy.

The Botanical Garden was very nice. The b nist will find many things to study here. Be there were some specimen of artistry. For ins the map of the Republic of India was drawn with help of shrubs and their cuttings. The Asoka was also made of shrubs. There were some which looked like stone carvings. There is a lake which is very beautiful. The Government H stands at the top of the Botanical Garden.

Wandering through the Botanical Garden we to the Government House. It is a fourstoried ing with big rooms and halls, the walls of which of teakwood. There were several oil-paintings course-of-mail of the ex-Governors of Madras and British kings and queens. A small portrait of Mah Gandhi is the recent addition. There we found a which, we were told, was meant for Rajaji. It was ple in its decorations. The grandeur of the Gov ment House is gone with the exit of the British r from India.



The writer and his friend, Nath

Of the other noteworthy places I give below a which may help my readers and the would-be touris

In this connection I have to state that there Tourist Association very near to the Rly. Statio Ootacamund which helps all tourists who app them.

Lastly, I must say that a tour of the Nilgiris wo be incomplete without a tour of Wellington, Coo and Kotagiri.

Places of Interest

1. Ooty lake (very near to Rly. Station).
2. Fish Dale (Wilson Fish Farm)—near lake.
3. Race Course—near Rly. Station.
4. St. Stephen's Church—about a mile Ooty Rly. Station.

5. Botanical Gardens and Government House—not very far from St. Stephen's Church.
6. Mysore Palace—2 miles east of Ooty Rly. Station.
7. Baroda Palace—near Mysore Palace (on the Fern Hill).
8. Jodhpur Palace—2 miles north of Ooty Rly. Station.
9. Nawanagar Palace—near Jodhpur Palace.
10. Ramakrishna Mission—near Mysore Palace.
11. Marliamund Lake—3 miles from Ooty.
12. Kulhatti Falls—8 miles from Ooty.
13. Glenmorgan Lake and Pykara Hydro-Electric Works—12 miles from Ooty.
14. Dodabetta Peak—on the Kotagiri Road.
15. Sim's Park (containing rare plants of the world) at Coonoor.
16. Love Dale—4 miles from Ooty.

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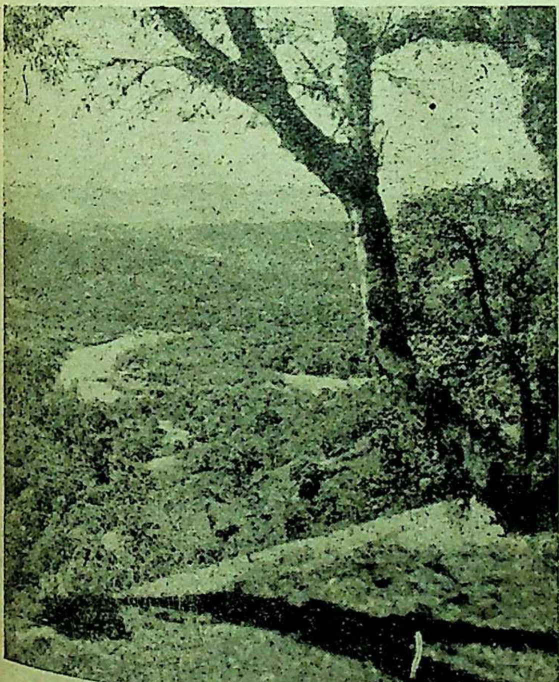
LIFE IN KULU VALLEY

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

Of all the leading holiday-resorts in the Himalayan region, Kulu is singularly famous and is hailed as the "Valley of Gods." Located in the East Punjab and watered by the Beas, the valley presents magnificent sights of Nature and a pleasant climate with colourful seasons. The smiling multi-coloured flowers, ever-green meadows and the awe-inspiring grace of the Himalayas welcome the visitors from all corners of the breathing world.

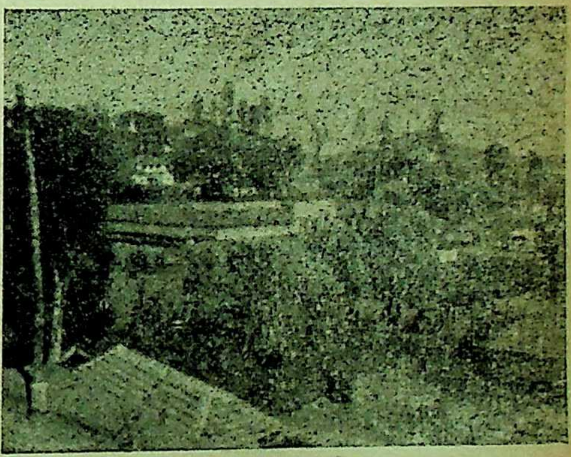


The green high-lands of Kulu

Courtesy: Films Division

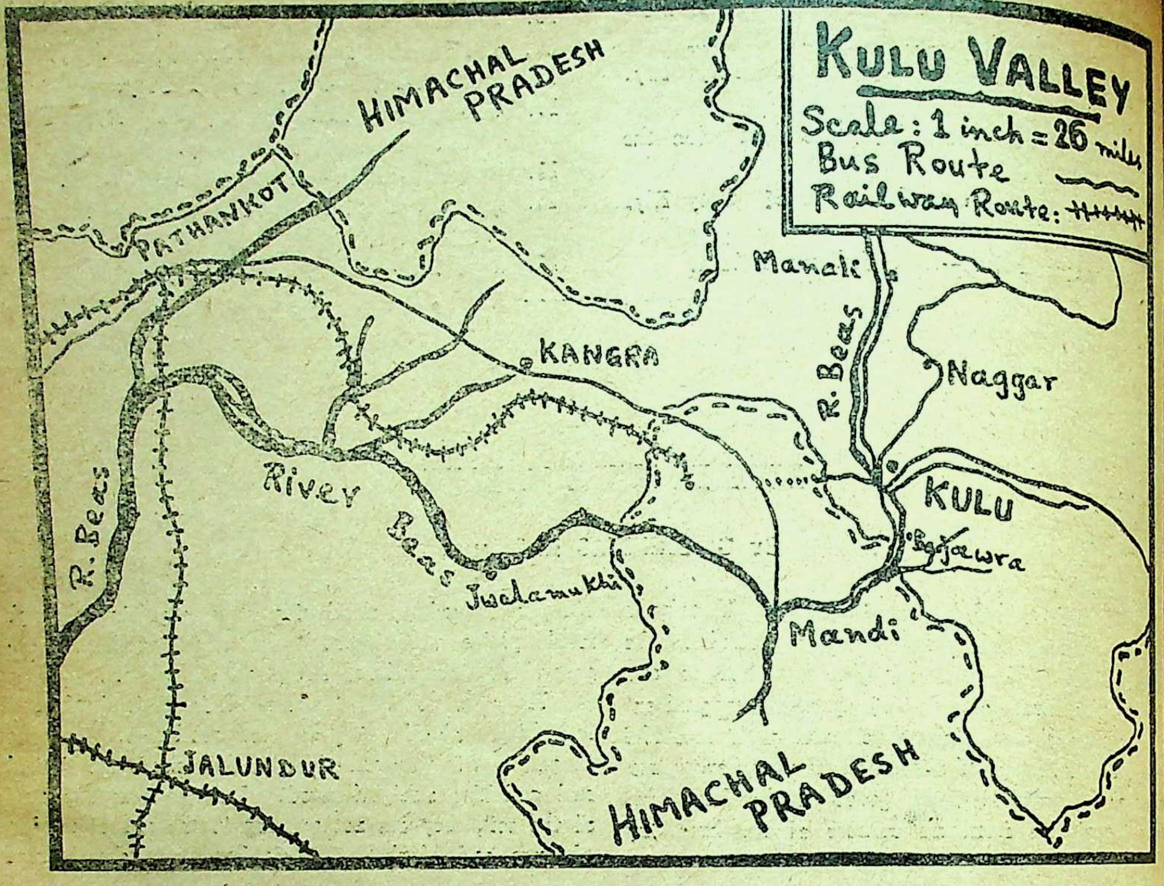
Lying 175 miles away from Pathankot, the nearest railway station, Kulu affords a memorable motor drive presenting "long lingering" sights of rich forests of pines and deodars, slumbering streams passing through fertile plains and waterfalls with an excellent background of Dhaula Dhar Range all the while.

The dwellers of Kulu are noted for their simple and unsophisticated life of peace and gentleness. Working in perfect harmony with Nature, their needs are limited and activities straightforward. Though essentially sons of the soil, they are not wanting in the arts of making of rugs and blankets. Their hand-made shawls have today a world market. The Kulu and Kangra shepherds, Gaddis as they are known, are indeed an interesting race in themselves. Moving nonchalantly with their flocks of sheep, through dales and forests, they enjoy a life of plenty and blessedness.



Rest-houses near Kulu

Perched at an average elevation of over 5000 feet above sea-level, Kulu enjoys a wonderful climate with comparatively a little rainfall. Nevertheless the soil produces, besides all kinds of shrubs and trees, orchards of pears, cherries and perhaps the finest variety of apples in the whole world. The tea plantation is carried



on at a large scale and is an important product of the region.

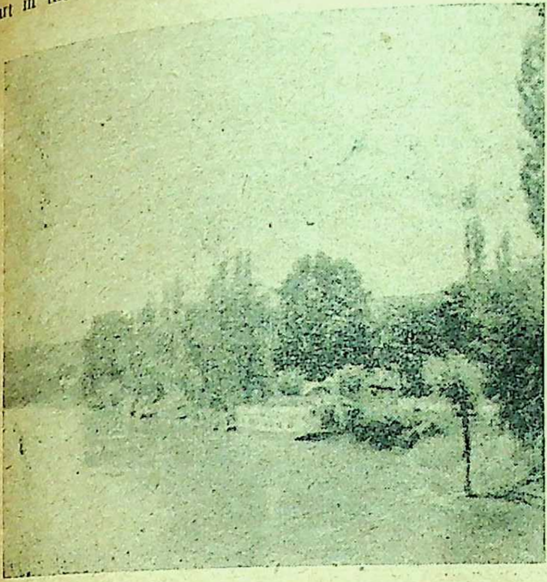
To every visitor and particularly to poets and Nature-lovers, Kulu is a darling spot to which they turn up often and again. Standing on the edge of the valley, one will enjoy the unforgettable sights of the flow of majestic Beas, the blooming of cherry blossoms and the sky-neighbouring Himalayan peaks clad in snow. The valley becomes particularly enchanting in winters. The graceful snowfall, twittering of birds and the flowers with a thousand colours, have an effect of magic which the visitors can hardly resist.

The people of Kulu are extremely religious-minded and have a great faith in the doings of gods and devils. There are naturally a number of temples, the constructions of which reveal that at one time both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished here. With the advance of time, however, the latter slowly merged itself into Hinduism which continues to be the chief religion today. Among the best-known temples are perhaps the Bajaura Temple at Kulu, Siva's Temple at Naggar, and the Hurumba Devi Temple at Manali. Not far away lies the great temple of Jwalamukhi which is one of the best-known shrines of Northern India.

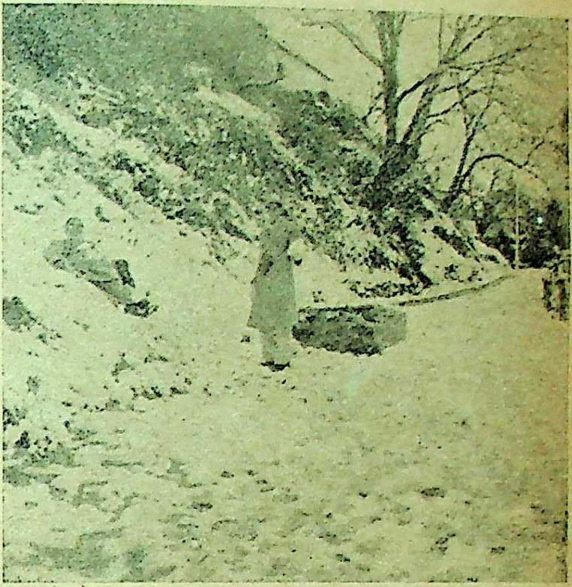
Kulu is a haunting place for the sportsmen. A variety of wild and rare animals and beasts, like the Himalayan bear and the snow-leopard, provide excellent opportunities of big game-hunting. Among birds the wild geese, woodcocks and several kinds of "chikor" ca shot with a little effort. Fishing in the valley i art in itself and is best-suited for those who are adventurous and ease-loving. The lofty peaks and snow-covered passes challenge the mountaineers provide for them new thrills and exhilaration.

The happy shepherds of Kulu, watching their of sheep and goats on a hill-side enjoy chanting a nu of folksongs. These interesting songs portray possionate attachment to their native hills and fields, feelings while rocking the cradle and their joy for h new ornaments. The young woman in love sings of lover's hard-heartedness, of her desire to be marri the person of her choice, and of her supreme sa for the pleasures of her master. The marriage, w is considered to be as essential as love itself, becomes the central theme of a number of songs, w are sung mostly by women on that auspicious occ There is thus not a single topic or activity which d not find expression in their folk-songs.

As people in all parts of India, the inhabitants Kulu have many delightful festivals celebrated by with great enthusiasm and earnestness. The important among them is Dasara when they offer homage and prayers to Sri Raghunathji. Thousands anxious devotees gather in a spacious Deodar-fr ground at Sultanpur from far and near, and worship idol amidst the glowing music of drums, trumpets pipes. Men and women, ceremoniously dressed in their best, with their faces beaming in joy, then enjoy taking part in the folk-dances. Such religious dances, in their traditional costumes, are a regular feature to mark the significance of the occasion. These festivals also provide opportunities for the sale and purchase of ornaments, blankets and shawls of the finest kind.


A view of the Kulu Valley

The peculiar customs and the novelty of the inhabitants have thus added more glamour to Kulu, making it an ideal spot for holidaying and fun. With its lovable surroundings and tranquillity of Nature, Kulu is a land of dreams and lasting charms.


Snow-fall in Kulu

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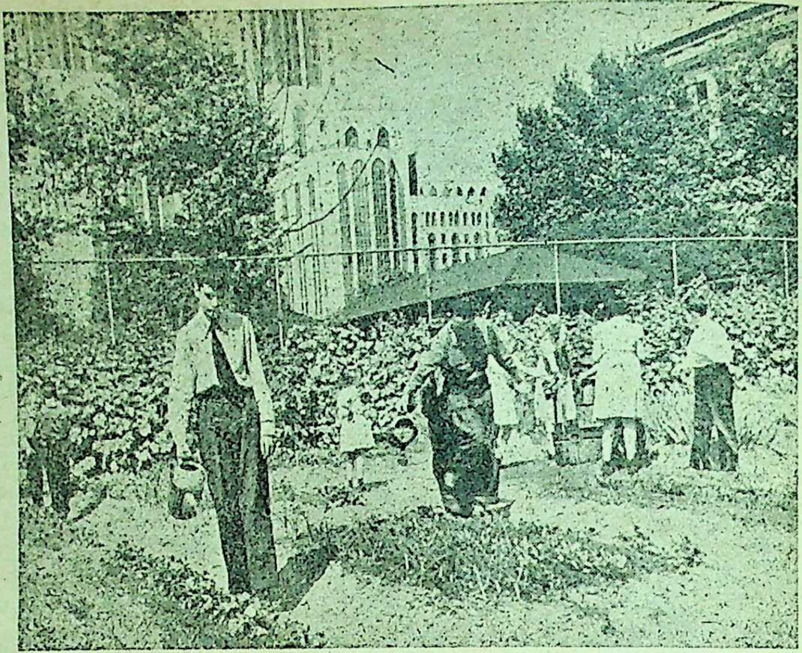
CITY CHILDREN LEARN THE JOYS OF GARDENING

THE desire to "grow something"—to plant seeds in the soil and with their own hands tend and harvest the

A young farmer prepares his plot of ground in the Children's Garden for a second crop

This boy's family will have radishes for dinner grown by his own hands on his plot of ground in the Children's Garden



Individual "farms" in the Children's Garden are 5 by 10 feet in size

This young gardener nets a butterfly for the insect collection at the Children's Garden

resulting crops—is felt by most children whether they live on a farm or along crowded city streets. For several years the Plant and Flower Guild of New York City has helped many young Americans fulfil this desire by working in the Children's Gardens which flourish in the shadow of surrounding skyscrapers.

The Children's Gardens occupy a four-block-l plot of ground which serves as the front garden of t Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Rather th turn this ground into a pretty, but useless, lawn in fr of its hospital, the Institute donated the space for u as a working farm for young gardeners. Here fr May until September children work on their individ gardens—each a plot of ground 5 by 10 feet—a experience the satisfaction of watching the vegetables flowers they have planted grow to maturity.

Operation of the garden, which involves maintenance cost of some $12,000 annually, is un supervison of the Plant and Flower Guild. The cost defrayed in large part by popular subscriptions; it co the salaries of two men who do all work too heavy f the child gardeners, and the expense of seeds, fertiliz and similar incidentals.

Any child between 10 and 14 who lives reasonabl close to the garden may qualify for a plot of grou The plot is his to work on without any cost whatev The only requirement is that he care for his garden; he abandons it for as long as a week the plot is gi to another child as there is always a long waiting list.

The Children's Gardens serve a multiple purpos They provide safe and healthy outdoor activity for c children while furnishing them fundamental instruct in the methods of planting and tending simple cro they give the young gardeners a rudimentary knowle of insect life and its bearing on agriculture; and, sin the children carry home for family use the vegeta and flowers they have grown, the gardens make it possi for them to feel the joy of contributing in a mater sense to family life.—*USIS*.

PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

By Dr. H. L. Saxena

"The arrest of Dr. Gaitonde—an Indian by race, Portuguese by force of historical circumstances, educated in Portugal, married to a Portuguese lady—for exercising his democratic right of free expression in favour of reunion with his Motherland, is yet another indication of the existence of a powerful urge among the people of Goa for reunion with India," says the protest note handed over by the Government of India on March 15 last to the Portuguese Legation in Delhi.

Dr. Gaitonde was arrested on February 17 and deported to Lisbon in Portugal on February 20, for publicly protesting against the continuance of Goa as a Portuguese possession and demanding its merger with the Indian mainland.

The protest note went on to say that "the Government of India would like to make it clear to the Portuguese Government that it cannot remain silent spectators to this form of repression on the people of Goa who are in no way distinguishable in race, language, religion or culture from the inhabitants of this country" and it concluded by saying, "It hopes that the Portuguese Government will yet acknowledge the necessity of extending the normal democratic and civil liberties to the people of Goa."

Protest Rejected

But, the Portuguese Government refuse to see reason. They have rejected the protest of the Indian Government as "incompetent." In the course of a statement issued by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, it has been maintained that activities aimed at encouraging the annexation of Goa to India were obviously illegal and that any intervention by "foreign States" was inadmissible.

This contention, apart from political considerations, is really very interesting. While India, of which Goa is an integral part, is made out to be a "foreign State," Portugal, situated thousands of miles away, as the "home State" for Goa, a suggestion that is on its very face simply preposterous.

Anomalous Position

It was in December 1948, at the Jaipur Session of the Indian National Congress, that the Indian position was made perfectly clear in regard to the French and Portuguese possessions in India, when the following resolution was adopted:

"The chequered course of India's history during the last 200 years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period, because India herself was under alien domination. With the establishment of independence in India, the continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any changeover, therefore, must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of those possessions desire, and for a measure of autonomy to be granted, wherever possible, so as to enable the people of those possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India."

And, ever since then, the Government of India has been making strenuous efforts to get this matter settled with France and Portugal in a peaceful and democratic way, but though the French Government has already transferred Chandernagore to the Indian Government and the question of the remaining French possessions in India is under consideration, the Portuguese Government has refused even to discuss the question of transferring these Portuguese colonies to India. It was this intransigent attitude of the Portuguese Government that compelled the Government of India to withdraw its envoy to Portugal recently, although the Portuguese Legation in India continues to function still. But, these conditions cannot continue to exist for long, and a showdown may be expected any moment.

In this connection, it is interesting to recall that the Portuguese were the first European Power to touch India's shore, when they established a vast maritime empire in the east; but, all this was soon afterwards snatched away from them by other rival Powers. It is only a chance that Goa, Daman and Diu have continued to be in Portuguese possession. Does this chance give Portugal any permanent right over these areas? Portugal does not claim today any of the areas that once belonged to it but were later taken away by others. Now, that the British Power has ceased to exist in India, Portugal should realise that its so-called "empire" on the Indian coast cannot continue to exist any more. The earlier Portugal realises this historical fact the better. Now that the people of Goa and the other two principalities want their part of the country to be merged with their Motherland, the merger has to come about, sooner or later.

An Ancient City

Goa is a very ancient city. It was formerly ruled by Hindu Rajas. Its name appears in the *Puranas* and certain inscriptions as Gove, Govapuri and Gomant. From the 2nd Century A.D. to 1312 A.D., it was ruled by the Kadamba dynasty, after which it came under the suzereinty of Muslim invaders from northern India till 1370 A.D., when it was annexed to the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar. Following the distintegration of the Bahmini kingdom after 1482 A.D., Goa passed into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah, king of Bijâpur. At this time, Goa was important as the starting-point for pilgrims from India to Mecca for the *Haj*, as also a mart with no rival except Calicut on the west coast, specially as the centre for import trade in horses from Hormuz. The mediaeval Arabian geographers knew Goa as Sindabur or Sandabur, and the Portuguese as Goa Velha.

VASCO DA GAMA'S DISCOVERY

India has always, since time immemorial, played a prominent part in the civilisation, trade and commerce of the world. It has had a great fascination for the people of the Europe in the middle ages. India and its gold were the great lure that led them to discover the sea-route to this country, as it was regarded as the richest country in the world, a country which supplied the markets of Europe with so many articles of commerce, and the land journey at that time was very risky and perlous. Columbus was the first European adventurer who thought of discovering this sea-route to India. For this purpose, he begged the leading sovereigns of Europe to equip him with a fleet. And, he set his sails to discover this country, but instead of touching the Indian coast, he landed in America and presented a new continent to colonise. He died under the impression that he had discovered India.

But, it was Vasco da Gama, a native of Portugal, to whom belongs the credit of having discovered the sea-route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. He landed at Calicut on the western coast of India on May 20, 1498 A.D. Accompanied by the small band of his companions, who were as brave, daring and unscrupulous as himself, they were well received by the Hindu Raja of the place, known as the Zamorin, and were very hospitably treated by him, as is the Hindu custom, little suspecting that these same people who were then sitting at his feet, praying him to grant them permission to trade in India, would soon uproot his authority and supplant his dynasty.

BUILDING AN EMPIRE

Vasco da Gama set up a marble pillar in Calicut as a mark of his discovery of India. He wanted to set up a Portuguese factory also, but he could not succeed in getting permission for it, as the Muslim traders there were opposed to permission being granted to the Portuguese to trade there. He, therefore, returned to Portugal in September 1499 A.D., when he was received by the king, Emanual I, with every mark of distinction and he conferred on him the title of *Dom*, thus elevating him to the rank of an untitled noble, carrying with it pensions and other property.

Another fleet of thirteen ships was then sen India immediately afterwards, under Pedro Al Cabral, and soon after its arrival in Calicut Portuguese had built a factory of their own. C then returned to Portugal. The people of Calicut revolted against this highhandedness and they rose in arms against the Portuguese whom Cabral had behind and killed them all.

To avenge this action of the Indian people Calicut, a powerful armament of ten ships was out from Lisbon under the command of Vasco Gama as the Admiral of India early in 1502 A Immediately on arrival at Calicut, Vasco da Ga bombarded the town, treating its inhabitants wi savagery too horrible to describe. He then proc to Cochin in November, doing all the harm he c on the way to all that he found at sea. After mak favourable trading terms with it and with other to on the sea-coast, he returned to Lisbon in Septem 1503 A.D., with richly laden ships. He and his cap were welcomed with great rejoicings in Portugal a he received additional privileges and revenues himself.

Vasco da Gama had left behind him an Portuguese adventurer named Alphonso de Albuquer as the Governor in India. He soon built a fortress Calicut in 1503 A.D. and in 1510 he plundered t town and burnt the palace of its kings, thus show his gratitude to the Zamorin for the patronage he given to the Portuguese.

BATTLE FOR GOA

Goa was then attacked by the Portuguese un Albuquerque on February 10, 1510 A.D., and the c was captured without much struggle, as the Portug had the advantage of the use of firearms, about w the Indian people were ignorant till then. Albuquer then entered tht city of Goa in triumph. But, t months later, the king Yusuf Adil Shah returned w an army of 60.000 troops, forced the passage of ford, and blockaded the Portuguese in their from May to August, when the cession of hosti due to the monsoon enabled the Portuguese to to sea and escape. But, in November, Albuquer returned with a larger force and after overcomi desperate resistance, recaptured the city and mass the entire Muslim population of the city. Goa t became the first territorial possession of the Por guese in Asia.

Albuquerque then started on a campaign extending the Portuguese Empire in India and the E Goa, due to its geographical position, was at this t a flourishing and opulent trading centre, and bec of this, it appeared to him most suitable for realisation of his dreams of founding an amb Empire. This was therefore made the centre of al commercial and imperial activities, and along Ormuz, the naval base at the head of the Persian G commanding the approaches to the Red Sea

Malacca, another bastion in the East Indies, controlling the spice trade, it was to ensure the security of his empire, and to open up at the same time further opportunities for fresh conquests in the Far East.

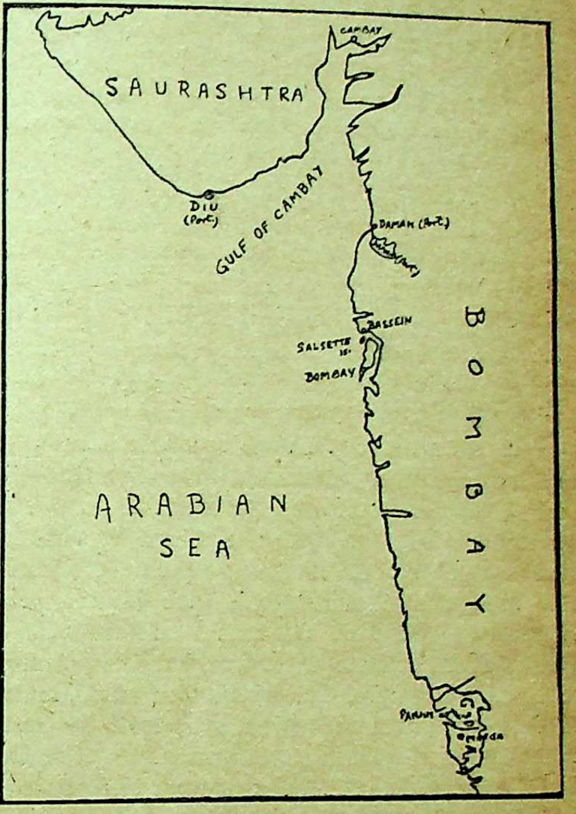
The disturbed political conditions in India prevalent at that time assisted his schemes, and with the help of their policy of *divide et impera, i.e.,* by playing one Indian prince against another on the Malabar coast, he prevented the Zamorin of Calicut from uniting the several states under his suzereinty. The result was that within a short time the Portuguese had explored the whole of the Indian Ocean as far as Japan, and their flag waved triumphantly over many Eastern lands. In this campaign of conquests, the Portuguese were greatly assisted by Christian missionaries.

Some Dominican friars came out to Goa in 1510 A.D., but no large missionary enterprise was undertaken until the arrival of the Franciscans in 1517 A.D. From their headquarters in Goa, these Franciscan preachers visited many parts of western India, and even journeyed to Ceylon, Pegu and the Malay Archipelago. For nearly 25 years they carried on their work of evangelisation single-handed, with such success that in 1534 A.D., Pope Paul III made Goa a bishopric, with spiritual jurisdiction over all Portuguese poossessions between China and the Cape of Good Hope. A Franciscan friar named Joao de Albuquerque was sent to Goa as its first bishop in 1538 A.D. In 1542 A.D., Saint Francis Xavier went to Goa and took over the Franciscan College of Santa Fe, for the training of native missionaries. This was then renamed as the College of St. Paul, and became the headquarters of all Jesuit missions in the East. On February 4, 1557, Goa was made an archbishopric.

EXTENDING THE EMPIRE

In 1521 A.D., a Portuguese sailing vessel was driven by storm to the shores of Daman, and soon afterwards an expeditionary force was sent there to conquer it. It was taken by them from the Sultan of Cambay in 1529 A.D., but it was soon reconquered by him. It was sacked and burnt by the Portuguese in 1531 A.D. It was subsequently rebuilt, and in 1558 A.D., it was again taken by the Portuguese, who made it a permanent settlement of theirs and have held it since. The territory of Daman proper was conquered by the Portuguese in 1559 A.D., that of Nagar Haveli was ceded to them by the Marathas in 1780 in indemnification for piracy.

In 1535 A.D., Bahadur Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat, when hard-pressed by the forces of the Mughal Emperor Humayun, was compelled to come to terms with the Portuguese, and he ceded to them Salsette, Bassein, and the islands of Bombay, Karanja, Elephanta and Trombay, along with rights to construct a fortress on the island of Diu, but they were besieged in 1538 A.D., and 1545 A.D., the second siege being one of the most famous in Indo-Portuguese history, but the Portuguese came out successful and they have made it another permanent settlement of theirs ever since.



In 1546 A.D., dissensions having broken out in the Adilshahi family still ruling at Bijapur, one of the contestants to the throne named Prince Male Khan sought the help of the Portuguese, who at the close of hostilities remained with the territories of Salsette and Bardez. These, together with the city and island of Goa make up the four districts known as the *Velhas Conquistas,* or the old conquests. The *Novas Conquistas* or the new conquests consisting of seven districts comprise the rest of the present-day Goa territory, which were acquired at different times after 1745 A.D.

The Portuguese power continued to prosper till the appearance of the Dutch and the British in Indian waters in the beginning of the 17th century after Christ, by which time they had become masters of Ormuz, Diu, Daman, Goa, Cochin, Mangalore, Nagapatam, and Ceylon. But, they waned in importance in the East, as they grew rich and rolled in wealth. According to Alfonzo de Souza, Governor of Portuguese India, who said in 1545 A.D.:

> "The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets. and not being able to hold them up with one hand—they were grown so heavy—they dropped the sword too ; being found in this posture

by those who came later, they were easily overcome."

The Dutch soon supplanted them in the Eastern Seas, taking their colonies and burning their ships.

As regards the condition of the people under the Portuguese, we learn from Nairne's *History of the Konkan*:

> "There is, in fact, nothing whatever either in their own histories or in the accounts of the travellers to show that the Portuguese ever took any trouble to protect or raise the condition of their native subjects as Shivaji did in the seventeenth century. With this fact may be mentioned their great establishments of domestic slaves brought in Portuguese ships from the African settlements and distributed at very low prices all over their Asiatic possessions. To this institution of domestic slavery may no doubt be ascribed the strain of Negro blood frequently perceptible in the Goanese."

TUSSLE WITH THE DUTCH AND THE BRITISH

The appearance of the Dutch was followed by the gradual decline of Goa. In 1603 A.D., the Dutch blockaded Goa, but were compelled to withdraw after a month. They returned to the blockade in 1610 A.D., this time assisted by the Muslim powers on land. In 1622 A.D., the British and the Shah of Persia joined forces to wrest from the Portuguese the naval base of Ormuz. The Dutch then seized Malacca in 1641, Ceylon in 1656, Quilon in 1661, Cragnanore in 1662, and Cochin and Cannanore in 1663 A.D. With the rise of the Maratha power, Portugal suffered still further losses in her dominions.

In 1683 A.D., Sambhaji invaded Bardez and Salsette and all but succeeded in taking the city of Goa itself, but was compelled to withdraw by an incursion of the Mughal forces into his own territories. It was on this occasion that the Portuguese Governor, Alvor, feeling that all was lost, placed himself under the protection of St. Francis Xavier and as a symbol thereof, surrendered into the Saint's hands his staff of authority, so that when the Maratha armies withdrew, it came to be believed that the Mughal armies had appeared on the scene at the right moment by the Saint's intercession. To this day, every new Governor of Portuguese India has to accept the staff of office from the hands of the Saint, where it is deposited by the retiring predecessor, in grateful memory of this miraculous deliverance.

THE MIRACLE OF ST. XAVIER

This miracle of St. Xavier has thus been described by the Portuguese:

> "The enemy forthwith took possession of Bardez and Salsette, besieged the fortress of Rachol which put up a vigorous defence, seized the three fortresses of Tivim and the fort of Chapora, despairing of help, they surrendered the town of Margao, and the island of Goa was in serious risk of being entered through S. Joao. The Count de Alvor, Governor of Portuguese India, seeing himself attacked on all sides so powerful a foe, *i.e.*, the army of Sambhaji, the common people panic-stricken and fainting fright, the meagre resources at the disposal of defending forces, and that the continuation of lities threatened them with complete disaster, recourse to the protection of St. Francis Xavier, going down to the Saint, took a long discipline ours, after which torches were lighted, the sa tomb was opened and the Viceroy delivered to the staff, royal letters-patent and a document in own handwriting and bearing his seal, in which the name of the most serene king of Portugal, entrusted to his care the Government of the S entreating him to defend and preserve it with miraculous patronage. The Count withdrew to spot where the Saint's head rested, and made pr to God with many tears and sighs, displaying as m courage and valour for the defence of Portug India with the sword as piety and devotion in st ing heavens with prayers. And, St. Francis Xav miracle was not long in coming. Forthwith, an of innumerable Mongolians was seen coming the gates, led by the Emperor Aurangzeb's eldest an unprecedented happening in the annals of dynasty. This was the succour the Portuguese rece from St. Francis Xavier. The enemy forces at set about making peace with the Portuguese."

MARATHAS ANNEX NORTHERN PROVINCE

But, in 1739 A.D., the Maratha General, Ch naji Appa, annexed the entire province of the comprising Salsette and Bassein. Only the for of Diu and Daman were then left to the Portug out of their vast stretch of territory, which in heyday extended over a coastline of thousands miles from Aden on the Red Sea to Macao and T in the Far East. And, today these three remnants her supremacy on the high seas constitute des momentoes of an age that is past long ago.

PEOPLE'S REPEATED REVOLTS

Although the Portuguese have been carrying the administration of these three areas ever they have had to face serious revolts from the of these possessions again and again. The first of revolts took place in Satari in 1852 A.D. Then, were uprisings in 1871 and 1895 A.D., in both which even the native garrisons also joined. latter of these was so serious a revolt that brother of King Carlos had to come to India suppress it. There was again a rebellion in 1912 but this was most ruthlessly suppressed and many the young leaders were deported to the Af colonies, where they died. But, the resistance Portuguese domination has gone on all through in southern communes of Goa, Assolna, Cuncolim Velim, so much so that the government had suppress the village communities there and to cate their estates, although such village communities have continued to exist undisturbed.

In 1946 A.D., a non-violent movement was initiated in Goa by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, but it proved ineffective in face of the great repression used by the Government, and the only result was the deportation of several popular leaders to Portugal after trial by a military court.

The Goan National Congress has continued to agitate for the end of Portuguese rule in these Portuguese possessions and for merger of these with India. The Goan representative in the National Assembly in Lisbon urged the grant of autonomy to the Portuguese Possessions in India.

INDIA'S NOTE

Early in 1950 A.D., the Government of India sent a note to the Portuguese Government in Lisbon asking that these possessions be transferred to the Indian Union, and it was suggested that the transfer might be made as a result of a plebiscite that might be held there for this purpose. But, the Portuguese Government sent an official reply refusing to discuss the question of transfer of sovereignty at all.

Portuguese India today consists of Goa, containing the capital, Nova-Goa, or Pangim, together with the islands of Adgediva, Sao Jorge and Morcegos, on the Malabar coast; Daman, with the territories of Dadara and Nagar Haveli, on the Gulf of Cambay; and Diu, with the continental territories of Gogola and Simbor on the coast of Saurashtra. The total area of the colony is only 1,537 square miles, with a population of 6,24,177 according to the census of 1941. It has a coastline of 62 miles. The settlement is hilly, specially in the *Novas Conquistas*, including a portion of the Western Ghats rising nearly to 4,000 feet. The two largest rivers in Goa are the Mandavi and the Juari, which together encircle the island of Goa Ilhas, being connected on the landward side by a creek. The population of the *Velhas Conquistas* is mostly Roman Catholic and that of the *Nova Conquistas* is Hindu.

MUNICH UNIVERSITY HONORS DR. TARAKNATH DAS

GERMANY honors India through extending recognition to one of Mother India's gifted son and patriot. Dr. Taraknath Das, of the department of Orientai History, University of Columbia and Professor of Public Affairs, New York University, New York, has been conferred a Degree of "Doctor Philosophaiac Honoures, Cousa" by the University of Munich, West Germany, on May 24, 1954.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Arts and Science

April 30, 1954

Dear Dr. Das,

The members of the faculty of the Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies of New York University are mindful of the very high honor soon to be conferred upon you, their colleague, by the University of Munich.

They wish to take the opportunity, afforded by one of their regular meetings, to extend to you their congratulations and to record their satisfaction that this honor is to come to you. In their opinion, it is an honor that has been well earned and that for many reasons. It is an appropriate testimonial to the many years of fruitful scholarship and research, to your splendid record as instructor on the faculty of this and other universities, and to the leadership you have given to many worthy public causes during your distinguished career.

They also wish to take the opportunity to record their gratitude for the countless acts of kindness and generosity of which they and the students of the Institute have been the recipients. They especially wish you to know how profoundly they appreciate the many efforts you have made to provide scholarships and other forms of assistance to worthy young men and women, times without number, during your long career as professor.

Dr. Taraknath Das

Your colleagues wish you *bon voyage* on your impending journey to Munich ; all the many satisfactions that come from an honorable career; and many additional fruitful years in which to enjoy the honor about to be conferred and many others that must come to one who so richly deserves them.

Sincerely yours,

Traian Stoianovich F. Ganther Eyck
Paul Alpert Ludwik Krzyzanowski
Feliks Gross Roman Michalowski
Basil J. Vlavianos Ilse Lichtenstadter
Arnold J. Zurcher

Editorial Note :

After receiving his honorary Degree at the Un sity of Munich, on his way back to America Hawaii, where he will be teaching International Af at the University, during the Summer Session f 23rd June to 7th August, 1954, Dr. Das will pay a v short visit to India. He will arrive at Bombay on t 3rd June, 1954, and be at Calcutta on 11th June, 1 He will leave Calcutta on the 15th June early mor for Hawaii (*via* Japan).

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'WHITE-COLLAR' UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA
A Paradoxical Phenomenon in Country's Economy

By Prof. G. P. GUPTA, M.A.

Ours is a country of contrasts and the contrast is not invisible in our modern economic life wherein our people are 'poor in the midst of plenty' and we have 'growing unemployment in the planned economy.' During the post-independent period India has suffered more than many upheavals in the economic life of her people but a question which has created a stir in the press, platform and the Parliament of the country is the 'problem of idle hands.' Economists, politicians, industrialists and social-reformers—all have been out to trace the origin and parentage of this menace, but in the absence of concrete figures none seems to have found out either the head or the tail of the problem. Unemployment, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, has become a 'riddle wrapped in a mystery in an enigma.' It is really a pity that some experts on the subject have designated it to be a problem of recent origin, a temporary phenomenon in the country's economic system and a purposive unrest created by the Reds. This evidences lack of imagination and indifferent attitude on the part of the people to really understand the problem in its correct perspective.

Not A New Phenomenon

Unemployment, to understand correctly, is not a recent phase of our economic life, though it has raised its head in the past sixteen months or so. To put it other way, unemployment is a 200-year-old child which is coming to its bloom in the fifties of the present century. Unemployment as we have it today was brought to this Holy Land long ago by Robert Clive and Lord Macaulay—the two great stalwarts of our British masters. To be factually correct, the germs of unemployment were laid in on the day when the East India Company decided to harness Indian agriculture for the development of British industries, and British-made manufactures were made 'white elephants' on Indian purses thereby leading our cottage crafts to decay and destruction. was the most inauspicious day in India's economic his when British manufactures were imported in our cou to uproot the 'wonders' of the Indian handcrafts from t economic map of India. The present under-emp ment (the term 'under-employment' has been coined lessen the impact of the problem) in our agricultu sector is the legacy of our British masters for wh we paid a very heavy price in terms of our 'cott glory.'

More tragic than this was the day when Lo Macaulay introduced for our youth the modern type education and started modern universities and colleges the manufacturers of paper-degree-holders and factories turning out the educated unemployed. What may have been the virtues of the modern pattern education given to us by Macaulay, it certainly snatc away from our young hands 'the dignity of labour' 'the gospel of dirty hands' which were the keynotes our culture and civilisation. The present 'white-co unemployment (the term 'white-collar' is used educated men and women who like 'table-chair jobs' do) is the outcome of this education which is compl divorced from practical training for life. Th unemployment is not a 'local product' but an 'impo phenomenon' brought over here for more than t centuries ago and which we have reared and nouris **to our own detriment.**

Groups of Unemployment

Unemployment in this country takes many forms it is difficult to measure. Nevertheless it is possibl distinguish the sectors in which unemployment can p a serious disease in the body politic from those in w ameliorative measures can provide some temporary r The unemployed in our country can be classified into broad categories, *viz.*,

(1) In the first category we include our cultivators and other landless labourers, who work on land for part of the year and for the rest of the period go without work. This is under-employment and has been a regular feature of India's agricultural economy. The chief characteristic of this phenomenon is that people have time but have no work. The lot of these under-employeds can be improved by developing agriculture, by providing them with supplementary occupations in the form of cottage industries and also by developing the industrial sector of our economy which would gradually absorb the surplus rural working population.

(2) The second group of unemployeds belong to the category of unskilled landless labourers who flock in the towns and cities in search of manual labour and domestic service. These people are either fully unemployed or under-employed or not gainfully employed. Their jobs are unstable, uncertain, uneconomic and insecure. Their lot depends upon the industrial development and on the economic prosperity of the upper middle classes which can hire such labour. Here comes in the role of the price factor and the cost of living which is not a subject of our present discussion.

(3) In the third group we have 'disguised unemployment.' It exists among those who have no independent income but who continue their hereditary occupation in the absence of alternative means of livelihood. This problem is peculiar to agriculture and is found in some degree in the case of artisans too.

(4) In the last category we put college graduates and other educated middle-class men and women who have either no work to do or who prefer to remain unemployed simply because they cannot get table-chair jobs of their taste and liking. This is 'white-collar' unemployment which forms the principal theme of our study in these pages.

WHY THIS IMPACT NOW ONLY?

As already stated, unemployment is not a recent phenomenon in our country. It has not emerged out Athena-like from the brow of some socio-economic Zeus, but it has existed in our economy for the last two hundred years. This presents before us two obvious questions as to why is the impact of unemployment felt by the people now only and why did the Government not view this problem with concern earlier than now? The reply to these poses is not far to seek. Previously, unemployment was a problem with the agriculturists, landless labourers, domestic servants and street beggars, who by nature are meek, illiterate, ignorant and neglected. These neglected classes of society, groaning under the pressure of unemployment or under-employment had no voice' to shout out their miseries at the doors of Government Houses, Assemblies and Legislatures. They did not know the technique of demonstrations, processions, strikes and hunger-marches, so as to break the silence and indifference of their rulers against their difficulties. Thus unemployment remained a subject of theoretical discussions only. Now, during the post-independent period when inflationery effects were subdued, military recruits were undone, retrenchments in civil services took place and universities and colleges multiplied indiscriminately, the scope of unemployment assumed a different colour. A new class of white-collar unemployeds came up in the field. Indisciplinary activities by the graduates, strikes and demonstrations in and outside the universities and colleges brought the problem of new unemployment to the forefront. Unlike their contemporaries, the educated unemployeds with their 'fertile' brains organised themselves in unions, demonstrated before the Government Houses and shouted for jobs. They indulged in violent activities and began breaking buildings, walls, window-panes and heads. Such happenings in the various parts of the country led the Government to give a serious thought to the problem of unemployment. It has been evident for sometime that the general anxiety about the growing unemployment in the country relates principally to the lack of jobs for the educated youth in the cities and towns. Clerical workers now account for nearly 30 per cent of the total registration in the employment exchanges and this is growing steadily further.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of white-collar unemployment is quite a serious matter to the country. It cannot be solved by relief work or doles; they will on the other hand worsen the problem. It may be noted here that this is not altogether a new problem in the country. There was a substantial volume of educated unemployment in the thirties during and after the worldwide depression. But the numbers of unemployeds involved then were much less than now. Moreover, the prices of food and raw-materials were then low and consequently the distress was not so acute as it is today. The most unsatisfactory aspect of educated unemployment now is that there are no reliable statistics to measure the magnitude of the problem. Even educational statistics are nor available for recent years. According to an *ad hoc* enquiry conducted in 1952 by the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment applicants for technical jobs were 10 times the number of vacancies available; while for clerical jobs there were nearly 30 times the vacancies. Roughly speaking, over a million students pass High School every year and half that number receive professional and university education. For this vast army of educated young men and women who forget their hands in the class-room while coming out from the colleges and schools it is not possible to provide jobs of their liking. Obviously supply far exceeds the demand and the quality goes on deteriorating.

FAULT OF EDUCATION?

For the mounting number of educated unemployeds the system of education is at fault. Education, as it is today does not make the students self-reliant and resourceful. Universities and colleges are agencies to distribute paper-degrees and these can be safely compared with factories 'manufacturing educated unemployed.' In the varsity education there is absolutely no provision of manual work with the obvious result that the graduates coming out from there decry manual labour and hanker after table-chair jobs. University doors are open to all and sundry irrespective of capacity, capability, taste and inclination of the candidates. Literacy seems to have been confused for higher education. In fact, India first needed literacy on a large scale but she has sailed in the dangerous waters of higher education for the masses. Right that higher education is essential for the success of democracy in the country but presently we need consolidation and not expansion. Every person who completes his course becomes almost automatically an applicant for a job of one kind or the other. But finding fault with the system will not help its helpless victims; for such victims are powerless to get over them. The state should try to forge out some new and novel measures to overcome this problem.

PROVISION IN THE PLAN

To the increasing educated unemployeds who have cried out for bread the Finance Minister has thrown out stone by saying that he saw no easy and immediate solution to the problem. The solution of the problem depends on the capacity of the Government to increase the outlay in the capital expenditure under the Five-Year Plan. To the Finance Minister the Plan is like the Mahabharata with magnificent asides on almost everything, so that from its treasures of irrelevance something on almost anything can be found. In the Plan, for the educated unemployeds who are waiting without there is a desperate interest in quick decision within. As desired by the Finance Minister the Planning Commission has increased the outlay of the plan by Rs. 175 crores to Rs. 2244 crores. Against this the employment targets of the Plan are :

Industry	4,00,000
Construction of Multipurpose plans	2,50,000
Agriculture in newly irrigated areas	14,00,000
Repairs & Improvements of tanks	1,50,000
Reclamation & Cultivation of lands	7,50,000
Mining	4,000
Industrial Housing	1,00,000
Road building	2,00,000
Cottage Industries	20,00,000
Total	52,54,000

The basic weakness of these estimates at the present time is obvious. Firstly, it does not tackle the urban unemployment problem. Secondly, the employment possibilities in the primary sector depend upon the display of the private initiative by cultivators. They are therefore not related directly to the Plan expenditure. In fact, further outlay on the working capital for current expenditure on agricultural operations will be necessary before agricultural development can provide the contemplated employment.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

The central scheme for educational expansion in rural areas provides for the employment of about 80,000 additional teachers in villages in the next two ye This is one of the most obvious lines in which absorption of the educated unemployeds can be achi As part of a general programme of finding jobs for educated young men and women this expansion of r education is quite appropriate. But as a major towards more employment it is apt to prove inade for several reasons. Firstly, the pressure of the e cated youth is mostly in the cities and towns and it extremely doubtful if this pressure would be diver by providing employment in rural schools, particul when the tendency in educated persons is to hunt urban jobs. Secondly, it is doubtful if the M.A.s B.A.s who seek neck-tie and coat-collar jobs w at all agree to work in rural areas away from cha and attractions and that too on petty sums of digits. Thirdly, the type of teacher who will be im diately ready to seize this opportunity will most prob be one who is already in a village or small town who is not quite the same kind of problem as the y in the cities. Last but not the least, the scheme wil a palliative to solve a part of the problem wit assuring the permanent solution to the ever-increa numbers of the educated idle. In any way, the Gov ment's efforts seem to aim at avoiding the pre pressure of the problem without finding out a perma remedy to it.

THE WAY OUT

The problem of educated unemployment needs check, remedy and a prevention. The gravity of the situation demands for long-term and effective meas to round up this growing menace. The followings meas if carried out immediately and wholeheartedly can a long way to lessen the existing intensity of the p lem and also to check its further complications. T suggestions are :

(1) Education must be diversified. Polytech institutions should be set up on decentralised basis impart technical training to our youth. In pri stage, basic education as envisaged by the Father of Nation should be provided for.

(2) Universities and colleges should not be all to crop up indiscriminately. Strict restrictions sh be imposed on further increase of Universities colleges until the existing ones consolidate their pos from the points of view of finance, standard, manage and discipline.

(3) The curriculum and the standard of teac in seconday schools should be revised on the lines gested by the Expert Bodies. Adequate provision manual labour must be made in the syllabii of standards so that men and women after their co life may not be mere 'Babus' and 'Mem Sahibs' may take up to the dignity of manual labour. T is no reason why the recommendations of the H Secondary Education Committee be not imple from the next session. In countries like Am

where new educational experiments are not frowned upon the system of study through practical work has been found very successful. There is no reason why silmilar experiments should not be made here.

(4) The doors of the University education should not be kept open indiscriminately to all and sundry irrespective of capacity, capability, taste and aptitude. A policy of 'elimination' should be followed in admitting the students to the University stage. Only those who are brilliant, have real aptitude for learning and can find place in society should be allowed to go in for higher education. Others should be 'filtered' and checked at the University 'gates' and be diverted to other jobs or to other branches of technical training as they may like to take up. Such 'filtered' youth, we are sure, will not make problem to the Government and will take up to the manual work more easily and willingly than when they are full-fledged graduates. The present mounting number of students in the Universities and colleges is not there because all of them have a craze for learning or have aptitude for academic pursuits but because they had no alternatives after their High School stage. If some alternatives are provided even now, we are sure many of the collegiates will quit class-rooms and join these alternatives. Such alternatives as suggested earlier should be provided for just before the students enter the universities and Colleges.

(5) To persuade the educated youth to take up to the jobs on petty salaries in the name of national service (the Government has done now in its scheme of rural educational expansion) attempt should be made to narrow down the gaping gulf between the salaries being offered to them and salaries being already drawn by incumbents of equal qualifications. This will remove a sense of fear, suspicion, hatred and frustration from the minds of our young graduates and they will then lend their unstinted support to powers-that-be in solving country's problems.

(6) Positive schemes of assistance should be devised wherein doctors should be tempted to stay in rural areas by providing them medical education and equipment on that specific condition. Similarly a compulsory stipendary training scheme for industrial engineers should be put into effect if the education of engineering graduates is not to be wasted through long years of unemployment. Similar schemes may be introduced for teachers, technicians and other professionals and field-workers.

Besides these, a many-sided effort is needed, but the primary condition of such effort should be the rejection of the present attitude of helplessness in matters of finance and of organisation of opportunities. In any way, the permanent solution of 'white-collar' unemployment lies *inter alia* in revolutionary changes in the system of edcation. No short-term measures however effective can bring permanent end to this problem. The ecnomists and economic planners cannot afford to ignore education as an important item in the scheme of economic development and full employment. But employment here does not mean simply giving work whatsoever to the idle hands; on the other hand it must result in productivity. Only then permanent solution to this economic malaise will be discovered.

'White-collar' unemployment is a question which demands immediate solution and any delay in this respect may lead the country to unforeseen consequences. Who knows the educated unemployeds if allowed to continue as such may burst out and change the political map of India. Let the Government shed all feelings of fear and pessimism, for if the salt lose its savour wherewith shall it be salted? Presently there should be no cause for helplessness and pessimism; efforts sould be made to prevent this growing menace.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEVAGRAM AND SOME REFLECTIONS

By CHANDOS REID RICE *and* THEODORE D. RICE,
Fulbright Professors in India, 1953-54

One characteristic of a democratic self-governing nation is that it begins almost immediately to place heavy responsibility on education and to raise high expectations with regard to its results. Whether the leaders of the country initially contend that education should be for all the children of all the people or not, the people of the country very quickly begin to demand this right. As this expectation increases, the question arises as to the purpose of education. It can no longer continue to be designed to meet only the needs of the elite. Nor can it be designed to be purely vocational, whether for the professions, for civil and clerical positions, or any other vocation, skilled or semi-skilled. Rather it must be designed to meet the needs of an increasingly literate population which is seeking for improvement. This insurgence precipitates a crisis in that the average man may be apt to say, "Now my son, you too must have the opportunities which previously were provided only for the few." He may therefore resent attempts to change the patterns of the existing educational system for he may consider these changes to endanger the chances for his child to have an education similar to that which the most successful have had. Yet the concept of education must be changed, and the purposes of education for the total population must be redefined. This must be done without creating discrimination against any group, without denying opportunities, and without setting up different school systems for rural and urban areas, or for technical or non-technical students. The purposes of education designed to meet such varied needs would seem to have two main themes. The first is that of improving the neighbourhood, the village, the community and the general social condition of the area which the school serves. The second is that of improving the quality of living of the individual himself. This means that education should be closely related to the life of the community and should have an emphasis on progress and improvement rather than upon acquisition of information alone. It means that education must deal with the development of those attitudes, skills and patterns of action which are essential to any group who are responsible for defining their own ways of living. In other words, education must be designed to teach the individual how to be a contributing citizen as well as to give him information.

Our brief time in India has made us aware of many ways in which educationists are attacking this problem. While India is committed to compulsory primary education, the overwhelming task of finding teachers, of providing books and materials so that all may attend school, is yet to be mastered.

At the same time the number of persons actually continuing their education through the secondary school and the college has increased to the point at which the educated unemployed are one of the nation's first problems. This crisis sharpens awareness of the need for broadening the purposes and the program of the secondary school and for concentrating on the improvement of all walks of life rather than on training for a limited number of vocational choices.

Because the preponderance of India's population is rural and the economy is agricultural, it is quite natural that the emphasis on education as related to life should find its focus in the improvement of village life and industry. It is for this reason that the Basic Education program at Sevagram seems to offer promise in setting a new direction for Indian education.

We visited the school and training centre for four days during which we took an active part in the program and felt ourselves so much a part of it that we were loth to leave.

First of all we were impressed with the fact that here is a staff fully dedicated to its task of developing good education. They are a close-knit, thoughtful, creative group seeking for new ways to achieve an educational program which is dedicated to a better way of life. There was evidence of wide understan of common purposes, of group thinking about the at hand.

Second, we felt that our visit to Sevagram wa spiritual experience for us. It was not alone dedica of the staff to high purposes, nor the gather together of people of many faiths in common wor although both of these factors contributed to spiritual reality. This quality came rather from lifting of the individual out of himself into a sense common purpose, of identity with the group as a th bigger and more significant than the individu something of which he was a part. We were aware this quality in the early morning when the sound spinning wheels formed a background for medita just before the dawn. This was a social experien something in which one felt an inner compulsion take part, to carry his share.

We were impressed with the courageous efforts found here to undertake education within the lim tions of the resources of average village life. Found upon the belief that universal education must be s to the life of the community in which people l this program embodies all the natural tasks of vill life, teaches how they can be carried on effective efficiently, and co-operatively, and uses them as t basis for problem solving, for reading, writing, ari metic, science, music, and the arts.

The self-government practised at Sevagram seem to us particularly effective. Every one shares in t common tasks, and those designated for specific dut are held responsible by the group for performing th well. Staff and students alike are called upon to perfo the common tasks, whether cooking, cleaning, puri ing the water, operating the dairy, maintaining acco or harvesting the crops. Incentive is high, for if fo is poorly prepared or wasted, there may be no repla ment. If money is not accurately accounted for comes from the common pocket. If a crop fails th will be less variety in the meals.

There is greater commitment here to learn through doing, through genuine problem solvi through utilizing common purposes of daily liv than we have found in any other schools in o experience. These are no make-believe situations. Th are genuine; they are not "learning to live"; th are living.

The complete identification of the staff wi whatever tasks are carried on contributes to th success of the program. The teachers do not sit ap as overseers of the field work. They pull weeds plant cotton side by side with students. The teacher considers the planting of trees, the clean up of the grounds as a legitimate part of art w in the school.

These features of the program of Sevagram se basic and universal enough to serve as tangible as the reappraisal of education in India goes on. They are characteristics to be envied and sought after both by primary and by secondary schools. They are challenges to schools outside India as well. It is the spirit of looking forward that has impressed us as we talk with Sevagram's leaders. Because of their quest into further possible qualitative improvement we are encouraged to look at problems which appear to us to need attention if the purposes of Sevagram are to be fully realised. We find similar aspects of these problems standing in the way of the realisation of similar purposes in the United States. We therefore raise them in a spirit of mutual inquiry, for any light upon them will benefit education everywhere.

The outstanding feature of the program at Sevagram is the way in which the many aspects of village life have been analysed and utilised as a basis for what is done. We are concerned that there seems to be a tendency to pick up the Sevagram program *per se* and transport it to other settings. How can those who have contact with this dynamic enterprise learn to transpose its spirit and the processes of community analysis in order that the Basic Education may serve needs peculiar to the community whether it be in a city, a mining area, a fruit-growing area, a fishing village, a tea or a coffee plantation? We were impressed with the fact that Sevagram is extending service to twenty villages in the area in which it is located. Here, however, is another of the major problems facing Indian education. How can the way of life at Sevagram school be extended to villages so that they develop their own programs, their own communities of interest, their own search for improvement rather than deferring to services proffered from outside? The concept of basic education takes the school out of isolation and makes it a part of the total community life. Yet because the implementation of this concept is difficult to achieve, there is a tendency for the school to become its own model community rather than for it to be integral with the village in which it exists.

When the work day is so long for children and teachers, how can they be helped to express a variety of interests? How can they be encouraged to read, meditate, discuss in areas beyond the limits of their experience? What steps within budgeting and other limitations can be taken to encourage creative activities?

Even though teachers and students know each other well through their mutual responsibilities, should not objective records be developed to increase the insights of teachers into the changes which are or are not taking place? Such records help the staff to recognise more clearly the goal they seek, and help identify strengths and weaknesses in a program. If they are co-operatively developed and maintained they also help both teacher and student in developing a better understanding of the individual.

We were impressed with De. Aryanayakam's statement that he give much thought to introducing some new practice, some new feature each year so that the program never becomes stationary or monotonous. This is a precept which might well be followed in every school. We were reminded of a similar program in the United States. In the school we have in mind students and teachers had developed a cannery, a chicken hatchery, fruit tree spraying, a home science cottage, a farm implement repair shop and many other essential agricultural services. However, some eight years after the school had brought many of these services into being, the school newspaper carried an editorial in which student editors challenged other students to the effect that the earlier school generation had developed what they had, but that the present groups were resting content to operate what had been created without making further contributions. We raise the question, then, as to how those participating can engage even more fully in evaluation of how well their purposes are being realised and wherein these can be further developed. The critical and continual self-evaluation and search for new developments among the student group might aid them in looking objectively at their work and at their own part in it.

As was indicated, these questions are posed in a spirit of mutual inquiry. We note with regret tendencies in our own country to propagate form and not spirit, and the difficulties encountered in developing the thinking process and habits of procedure that engender local initiative and drive. We find too that much readily available data for counselling and self-evaluation is overlooked because no effort is made to keep a running record of student development. We find further that some of our leaders with high dedication are struggling to help raise the level of expectation with a sense of isolation which forces them to exercise individual initiative when those with whom they work should be sharing with them every step in critical analysis of the adequacy of effort and of next steps to be taken.

The quest for an educational development that makes a difference in communities and in homes is one of foremost importance throughout the world. The development of Basic Education in India, and particularly the pioneer work at Sevagram, is a beacon and a challenge. It is all the more so as it moves into the "cutting edge" of such problems as have been raised here. We are humbly grateful to have had opportunity to visit Sevagram and to have felt the devotion, the spirit and the purposing which it typifies. We go on with our work much inspired and sobered by the immensity of the task that lies ahead.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Rajeswar Das Gupta"

MY attention has just been drawn to an article under the caption "Rajeswar Das Gupta" published in the September 1953 issue of your esteemed journal, in which my name appears as its author. I was naturally taken by surprise as I did not write it nor was it sent to you with my knowledge or approval. I first thought that some one else holding my name was probably the author; but the academic degrees and the official designation as published leave no doubt that it went to you as if I sent it.

This has created a very embarassing situation as while I am strongly in favour of commemorating the memory of persons like that of the late Rajeswar Das Gupta whom I knew personally and held with regard, yet I am under the painful necessity of addressing my note of dissent as the article contains incorrect statements and in some, out of conformity with truth. There is at least one very important omission also. I invite your attention to a few of them :

1. The late Das Gupta has been head-lined as "The Pioneer Agriculturist in India" and has also been called "a pioneer in Agricultural Research." He was cretainly one of the pioneers, but certainly not "the Pioneer" even in Bengal. If he had been living today he would have himself disclaimed it, as this honour really belongs to his great preceptor, the late N. G. Mukherjee whose life-sketch (copy sent separately for favour of your perusal) I had the honour to read at the last anniversary of the State College of Agriculture on August 25, 1953 when H. E. the Governor unveiled his portrait. As for calling him a pioneer in Agricultural research, the term would have been equally disowned by him as an officer whose duties were propaganda and extension had so little to do with research that to call him a pioneer in research is a complete misnomer.

2. It has been stated that Mr. Milligan "was the first Agricultural Expert to come out to India." He was not even the second or third but was preceded by a good many. Even in Bengal there were one and possibly two who had joined service in India before Milligan came. Moreover, his name was "S. Milligan" and not "E.S. Miligan."

3. I wish I could associate myself with the high eulogy paid to Das Gupta's book; but I had not the remotest opportunity to go through it. I had seen the first part published probably in the thirties. It has since had a second edition as stated in the article, but I have neither seen it nor the second part. I am therefore in a position to make any comment on book.

I think it was about a year ago that Das Gup son had been to me. I had told him that I w gladly lend my hand in the matter, but before th must go through the book. I was left completely the dark until the information on the publication of article came to me indirectly and made me aghast.

4. The article states that Das Gupta joined Sibpur Engineering College "with agriculture as special subject." This statement is as much mislea in its direct implication as in the more important of agriculture. To impart agricultural education in t days an agricultural section was attached to s Engineering Colleges like Sibpur and Poona. Gupta had his training in this section at Sibpur w the late N. G. Mukherjee was the professor. I w not have referred to it but for this historical aspect f which the reader is bound to be misled from the way has been stated in the article.

5. The article has omitted a crucial aspect in t life of Das Gupta, *viz.*, the circumstances of his s and premature death. He was a man given to h work and toil unequalled by few. No task was di for him, and the way he would get things done in face of immense odds will ever remain an elo tribute to his wonderful parts, energy and resource ness. It is his hard incessant work during the vis the Royal Commission on Agriculture which overstrai him to such an extent that on return from one of tours with the Commission he felt very uneasy and d soon after. The circumstances were too tragic for t and his biography will be incomplete without incorporation of this important fact.

You will thus see, Sir, that if I had not been k in the dark while his biography was in the course publication, vital facts like the above would not b been omitted, and gross inaccuracies as cited in preceding would not have lowered the standard precision leading to a highly embarassing situation.

I earnestly hope that in the general interest of you will publish this note in the earliest issue of esteemed journal.

INDUBHUSAN CHATTERJEE, M.SC (AGR), L

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI (711-1526): *By Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. Published by S. L. Agarwala and Co., Agra. 12 maps, and 12 illustrations. Pp. xiv+420. Price Rs. 10.*

The first edition of this very useful and scholarly book was favourably reviewed in our January 1951 number. In three years a new and greatly improved edition has been called for proving the value and readability of the book. In many respects it marks a much needed improvement on our current college text books on pre-Mughal history. Dr. Ashirbadi Lal's scholarship has raised him to a place of honour among our research workers, and he now proves himself also a master of popular but true history writing. His independence of view brings him into conflict with the upholders of popular theories, but his reasons are all here. The printing is neat and clear.

INDIAN ART OF WAR: *By Major Alfred David. Published by Atmaram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. iv+82. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a rather popular attempt to trace the course of Babur's battles, for the benefit of young military students. But while the tactical study is good, the history does not go deep enough. The maps and plans are very clear. The preliminary study of the Mughal, Maratha, Rajput and Sikh military systems is good, but necessarily does not rise above the class-work level.

J. Sarkar

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION: *By K. C. Chakrkavarti, M.A. With a Foreword by Dr. M. R. Jayakar. Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Arthur Probsthain, London. 1952. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 9-8.*

In this work the author claims "to give in a simple, lucid, popular and attractive style the main development of India's cultural history" and "to deal in greater details with her main contributions to civilization." It consists of twenty-one chapters of which the first explains the continuity and individuality of Indian culture and the second tells the story of the discovery of Sanskrit literature and the decipherment of the Brahmi and Gupta scripts by Western scholars in recent times. In the following chapters the author traces the development of Indian culture from pre-historic times down to the end of the Gupta period, special chapters (XIV-XVIII) being devoted to India's achievements in the branches of the mathematical sciences, art and architecture, education, philosophy, medicine and chemistry, while other chapters (XIX-XX) deal with the expansion of Indian culture in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The concluding chapter (XXI) attempts an estimate of South Indian contribution to Indian culture. The book is enriched with a number of maps, plans and other illustrations. An Appendix, a Bibliography, and an Index bring it to a close. It will be noticed that almost all the important aspects of our ancient culture and civilization have been brought by the author within the compass of his work. For the energy and enthusiasm displayed in this task the author deserves full credit. And yet it must be admitted that his work is disfigured by serious blemishes. He seriously takes (p. 76) the Ramayana and the Mahābharata to represent the Heroic age of India covering the post-Vedic and the pre-Buddhist periods (1000-600 B.C.). His statement (p. 159) that "Asoka became a monk with yellow robe" rests merely on the evidence of late traditions. His identification of Gandhara with "Afghanistan and the Frontier Province" (p. 119) and "the modern Kabul Valley" (p. 123) is wrong. His reference to Amarasimha the lexicographer as "one of the nine gems in the court of King Chandragupta Vikramaditya" (p. 207) involves a number of assumptions. The *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopodesha* do not belong to the branch of "juvenile literature" (p. 224) in the usual sense of the term. Of the two Indian Buddhist monks who are said to have visited China in 65 A.D., one is wrongly called Gobharana (p. 305). The statement (p. 299) that "the Iron Pillar of Delhi was set up about 415 A.D. by Kumaragupta in honour of his father Chandragupta Vikramaditya" is based on a series of guesses. The identification of an Ajanta painting as a representation of Bijay (*sic*) Simha's invasion of Ceylon (p. 310) and of another painting as a commemoration of the Persian King Khusru II's embassy to Pulakesin II (p. 329-30) reflect obsolete views. On page 312, Pali is wrongly described as "the spoken dialect of Magadha." On page 325, we have the astounding statement that "the spread of Aryanism was complete in the Deccan before the 12th century B.C." Instances of careless composition are the references to Sir William Jones as "Chief Justice of Calcutta" (page 25), to the derivation of "Sanskrit written in modern times and known as Devanagari" from "an older type of Devanagari" (p. 27) and to "Sanskrit character of the second century A.D." (p. 304). The long list of errata at the end of the work is not exhaustive as is shown by the examples Telegu (p. 69, etc.), Erythrian Sea (pp. 172-186), Purogupta (p. 192), Kuchu (p. 303) and Rummindie (p. 307). The complete absence of diacritical marks is deplorable. The inclusion of obscure and obsolete works in the bibliographical list is inexplicable.

U. N. Ghoshal

ASOKA FOR THE YOUNG : *By Sri Atulananda Chakravarty. With a Foreward by Dr. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Published by The Good Books Co., 39-D, Golf Club Road, Calcutta-33. Popular Edition Rs. 2-8; Library Edition Rs. 6.*

Deliberate distortion of facts, fortunately, is still the least of history's problem in countries outside the Iron Curtain. It is so because in these countries there is yet no Big Brother in whose interest thought-crimes have to be eliminated and the past has to be brought continually up-to-date. Historians of the free countries are thus really free to write whatever they like; and if the result appears in some cases to be a distortion of facts, it becomes deliberate only in this sense, that the author was trying to establish a particular point of view, stemming from perhaps no more than a mere conceptual idiosyncrasy.

In any case nobody is under any obligation to accept such findings as either correct or final. Devout Roman Catholics, for example, are not bound to accept the theory of Prof. Coulton that the Puritanism of the Middle Ages was intense and suffocating; in fact, they are welcome to refute as best they can the testimony of the documents which Prof. Coulton had the bad taste of reading and producing. The result, if sustainable, will gladden the hearts of not only the Catholics but all lovers of the Middle Ages as well.

To do that successfully would require not only proper evidence but also the proper interpretation of such evidence. This brings us to the central problem of *writing* history. The days of Gibbon, Grote or Todd, when history covered the facts with the sweep, grandeur and hospitality of an epic, are no more. Under the impact of philosophers like Croce and Spengler, anxious men in search of the exact explanation of human misery began to hunt historical facts for new meanings, and history began to take on the aspects of chemically pure philosophies. The result has been extraordinary, if not bizarre. Civilisations have been held by some to have declined due only to soil erosion. Nirod Chowdhury gave climate this determining pre-eminence. And now Karl Jaspers has tried to show that in the great Axial Age of the world, the world of the Greeks, the Jews and Gautama, there could grow a philosophical conception of life only because tn people did not know the use of horse ! No wonder the common man finds history confusing while the uncommon man, Mr. Henry Ford, calls it bunk.

Practically in despair, therefore, G. M. Young concluded that a satisfactory philosophy of history could not be constructed because the materials necessary for a valid induction were not adequate. If so, how then can the *teaching* of history to youngsters be made the easier ? The inherent difficulty of the task was recognised long ago by that elegant but wise joker, Chesterton, whose inimitable language put the problem squarely, "What is the good of talking about the Constitution carefully balanced on three estates to a creature only quite recently balanced on two legs ? What is the sense of explaining the Puritan shade of morality to a creature who is still learning with difficulty that there is any morality at all ?"

Only now are the true dimensions of this difficulty coming to be appreciated. Two recent pamphlets published by the Unesco, *Suggestions on the Teaching of History* by C. P. Hill and *History Textbooks and International Understanding* by J. A. Lauwerys, discuss the whole problem from the practical angle, emphasising the supreme need for clear communication with the child. The sugg given are indeed very good. Nevertheless the blem has succeeded in over-awing courage and experienced man like C. V. Wedgwood has declared, "History is, by its nature, unsuitable a school subject."

Must we then banish all history from schools? An answer in the affirmative would be worse than even the deadening despair of present because history, properly presented, is only subject still capable of teaching how to criminate between a fact and an opinion. In o words, by abolishing history we abolish the discipline for forming balanced judgments.

In that case it is essential to have at least working formula to judge the presentation of Viewed empirically the best formula appears to the one which Chesterton laid down, "The hi and noblest thing that history can be is a story. Then it appeals to the heroic heart of generation, the eternal infancy of mankind." It then appeared too naive to the pundits. The U has now proved that between the joker and pundits, the pundits were the more rash.

About the small book of Sri Atulananda, least that we can say is that he has given us fascinating story in a fascinating way. The story Asoka, as an individual and a King, is itself story of high dramatic intensity. As we all know, glory lay not in the Kalinga War nor in the sh way he obtained the throne but the way in wh he became, acted and lived the ideal of the phi sopher-King, an ideal which was never realised well or completely either before or after. He to be known, as Radhakrishnan points out in Foreward, not for any great originality of doc but for the qualities of piety, charity, huma and commonsense. And the splendour of his faith worth remembering in this age of crisis which both the reason and the justification for this ve of Sri Atulananda.

But this book is more than the story of As It is the story of India as it once was and as aspires to be again. This last may seem to be a statement, in the midst of the corruptions, industriolatry and the people's hourly stru against various difficulties and discomforts, w form the visible features of Indian life to Nevertheless it is true that the Asokan heritage not been fully forgotten or disowned. The man whom the common man of India still looks guidance, Pandit Nehru, cherishes it and his in ence on peace and neighbourliness, in the fra work of general well-being for all, is but an atte to resuscitate the ideals and tradition of the As way of life, which alone can resolve the crisis of modern world. If Nehru fails, it will not be his It is, however, up to us to see that his chances failure are absolutely minimised, if, of course, care for the great message of Asoka. And this mess is brought home to all by Sri Atulananda in a cha ing manner and one leaves this book with the fe that there is still scope for us to try rising above selves. There is no doubt that this, if any, is the to write history for the young, and we hope the a will give us other books of this type. Mea the present work should be translated in all vernaculars of India and reached to every ho

SAMBHU CHATTE

IDEALISM AND PROGRESS: *By Govinda Chandra Dev, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Surendranath College, Dinajpur, E. Pakistan. Published by Das Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta-12. August 1952. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 10.*

Dr. Dev has approached the subject of Idealism and Progress from a new standpoint. Idealism, more particularly that of Vedanta, as interpreted by the author, does not reduce the world to nothingness and belittle the material world. In his thesis the learned professor has made an attempt to find the philosophic basis of many contemporary social movements and to justify a religious attitude against a background of *Advaitism.* Synthesis has been his main plank of approach. The thesis is couched in proper philosophical terminology.

Historically viewing he is in line with the modern current of thoughts. Ancient ethics rested upon explanation of reality similarly pre-supposed. Kant, Fichte, Hegel and other master-minds of the 18th century reached their explanation of reality by complicated operations of thought. But under the pressure of realistic and scientific method of thinking these logical castles in the air gave way. Approach was again made to reality, as it is, for motive. This too failed at the horrors of stark materialism. In the 19th century Rammohun and Keshub Chunder chalked out new lines of comparative study and synthetic thinking respectively. Keshub Chunder Sen went ahead and propounded the Religion of Harmony and Church Universal. Rammohun, after hard studies and wide travels all over Northern India, got a new meaning of Vedanta which was in consonance with human progress in the material world as well. Keshub was not satisfied with that much. He gathered round him a group of scholars and philosophers for synthetic study of all Scriptures and Systems of Philosophy. To name two out of them, Upadhyaya Gourgovinda Roy wrote *Vedanta Samanvaya Vashya* and *Srimat Bhagavatgita Samanvaya Vashya* and Prof. Benoyendra Nath Sen wrote *The Intellectual Ideal.* Keshub himself in his famous *Town Hall Lectures* (in English), *Lectures in England* and *Sermons at the Bharatvarshiya Brahma Mandir* (in Bengali) expounded a synthetic view which received hearty response from Dr. Martineau, Maxmuller and others. It gradually permeated the thought of the East and the West. At first there arose in India antagonism from rationalists of the school of 18th century Western philosophers. This, however, gradually died out. On the other hand, the savants, who adopted Keshub's line of synthetic thinking, showed marked confusion and contradictions due to sectarianism lingering in them. Sri Aurobindo after years of hard work gave it a great push forward. Of late Dr. Albert Schwertzer's views have brought about a revolution in the Western world.

The thesis of Dr. Dev is a definite sign of progress in our land of synthetic thinking with an open mind which in time is destined to evolve a new humanity.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

ECONOMIC TRANSITION IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY: *By Hari Ranjan Ghosal. Patna University, Patna. Pp. 346. Price Rs. 12.*

This book was a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of Patna. It covers the period between 1793 and 1833. During the period the Bengal Presidency, including Bengal proper, Bihar, Orissa and parts of Assam, witnessed an unprecedented overhaul in her economic condition. The book is mainly divided into three parts, namely, (I) Industries, (II) Trade, and (III) Agriculture, Labour, Currency and Banking. Part I consists of 1. Cotton Industry: Its Organisation and Decline, 2. Sericulture and Silk-weaving Industry, 3. Sugar Industry, 4. Indigo Plantations, 5. Salt-petre Manufacture and 6. Subsidiary Industries. Part II gives us a clue into 1. Internal Trade and 2. External Trade of the period. Part III tells us of 1. Agriculture and Labour and 2. Currency and Banking.

Mere enumeration of these chapters sufficiently proves that the author does not tread on beaten tracks. The political history of India has been shaped and influenced by the economic policies of the British Government at Home and the monopoly of the key-industries as also trade and commerce by the East India Company here. The story of the decline of Bengal's industries is very sad and depressing, but none the less instructive. It may be said as well that the Britishers built their Eastern Empire on the ruin of the Indian industries. With the spread of politcial power in Bengal, and for the matter of that over the whole of India, Bengal's vital industries, such as, cotton, salt, tobacco and the like came to be controlled and monopolised by the Company's government. During this period of forty years, Great Britain reaped the fullest benefit of her scientific inventions and appliances in starting new industries. She utilised the political suzerainty of the East India Company by importing raw materials from India and exporting finished goods made out of them to this unhappy land. To take only one example, in the beginning of the period India was self-supporting in respect of cotton-goods. But at the end of it the table was turned India's cotton industry was almost ruined. She became an importing, instead of an exporting country on this count. The Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth Century England spelt disaster over our country. Law and Science were on the side of the Britishers. At the end of this period, they came to the country in large numbers as free-traders and exploiters. As "free Britons," they spread in the districts for the purpose of exploitation and trade. This also proved disastrous for the people as Indigo plantations proved later on.

There arose a class of Bengalis who by their contact with the British adventurers, made sufficient money. Some of them became landlords, but a larger section remained to constitute the middle-class. But the country as a whole got impoverished day by day owing to the perpetual drain of wealth from India through the monopoly of industries, trade and commerce and the control over agriculture. The Britishers here and their henchmen, the newly born Bengali middle-class, faced reverses for the freaks of the money-market. But the loss ultimately fell as a heavy burden on the masses of Bengal. The author has described all these aspects of the economic condition threadbare, and most of his conclusions have been based on records, published and unpublished. The book is all the more welcome today when we have been trying our best to resuscitate our dead and dying industries. Latterly we have adopted modern scientific methods for industrial improvement. But our national industries should be revived to give health and succour to the people at large. The book presents the tragic picture of their ruin. It also shows the ways and means of reviving them though in an indirect way. This book should be perused by the leaders of industries as well as by the publicists. Students of eighteenth and nineteenth century Bengal can hardly do without it in appraising the real state of things in this respect.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

IDA S. SCUDDER OF VELLORE: *By Dr. M. Pauline Jeffery, M.A., M.D. Jubilee Edition. Published by the Wesley Press and Publishing House, Mysore City. 230 pages of text and 64 pages of illustrations. Price Rs. 5.*

This beautiful book, bound in blue reinforced cardboard with coloured dust jacket, contains the life-story of Dr. Ida Sophia Scudder M.D., the founder of the Missionary Medical College for women and the Christian M.B.,B.S. Medical Co-educational College at Vellore, South India. For her life-long distinguished medical services at Vellore for over half a century from 1900 to 1950 was added to her American degress of M.D.,B.Sc.,F.A.C.S. her Indian honours, the Kaisar-i-Hind with gold Bar and the Rose both conferred by the Government of India. The Vellore Medical College and the Hospital of Christian Missions have received all-India recognition, nay, international reputation.

On the American edition of Dr. Ida's dedicated life published for the first time in 1938 was passed the appreciative verdict that it is a great book of Christian internationalism. This encomium applies to all other editions—the Indian in 1939, the Danish in 1949 and the Burmese and Jubilee Indian editions of 1950-51. In 1950 the eightieth birthday of Dr. Ida and the Jubilee anniversary of the Vellore Hospital were celebrated when continued showers of loving tributes came from America, England, Iceland, Denmark and other countries. This shows that Dr. Ida has become an international figure. This book is not only a biography, but also a brilliant record of Christian philanthrophy. It registers many interesting events of how Dr. Ida, like an angel from heaven, heartily treated and cured her incurable and uncared-for patients.

Dr. Ida's life should be written in Bengali, Hindi and other Indian languages. This book deserves to be a constant companion of those who have dedicated their lives for humanitarian and selfless services.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HANDBOOK OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY (Vol. II) : *By Siva Prasad Mookherjee. Published by H. Chatterji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a detailed study of India and Pakistan. The author gives a clear picture of the country now divided into two independent States, in all economic aspects including manufacture, transport and trade and the subjects are illustrated by 59 useful maps. The book will be extremely helpful to those for whom it is meant.

FOR DEMOCRACY : *By Amlan Datta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, Calcutta. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book in two parts discusses Freedom of Thought, the Class and the State, Socialism and Equality, Dictatorship, Soviet Way of Industrialism, Gandhism, March of Communism, Materialistic Interpretation of History, etc. It is a critical and rational study of the subjects selected by the author. The author has tried to keep himsef above bias in his treatment of the most controversial subjects of the day and has been able to throw a flood of light in the discussions which will enable the readers to draw their own conclusions. The essays are thought-provoking.

A. B. DUTTA

FACTS ABOUT PEPSU: *Director of In tion and Public Relations, Pepsu, Patiala.*

This small booklet of 56 pages with an gives detailed information about the State, are not easily available here in Eastern India. statistics given are accurate. We wish every had published such short accounts of their tive States.

J. M. D

BENGALI

CHALTI PATHE (On the Way of Life): *Mrinal Kanti Basu. Messrs. Chakravarti Chat and Co. Price Re. 1-4.*

In twenty-three chapters the author has pre some of the lessons he has culled out of his experience of life. A journalist and political lead renown, he has just put forth his thoughts and in a simple manner with no pretension to li embellishment. To the man of the world it wi doubtedly prove to be of interest as well as pro

D. N. MOOK

SANDHANIR CHOKHE PASCHIM: *By Shefali Nandi. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim terji Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 2-12.*

The authoress who went to England to lear Montessori or Kindergarten system of educatio little children, alone and unaccompanied by hus and son, has written this book of travel in E which has a special charm of its own. Wherever toured she kept an open eye, not over the outwa material features of the West but attempted to the inner workings and aspirations of the common in Europe. She saw that in consequence of the i of two World Wars, the backbone of high- Imperialism is broken and the question is every in everybody's mind, how the economic superiority stability of Europe is to be maintained and imp upon, for on that basis alone the liberty, prosperity happiness of every individual and every home secure. She observed the ways and standards of of London and noticed several admirable featur London of which any civilized country in the may be proud and say the last word almost to p tion. She visited Ireland and had a very inter talk with De Valera who prided upon his bei schoolmaster himself, and visited the mighty cent European culture and civilization, *viz.,* Paris, Sw land, Venice and Vienna. We hope the thinking will appreciate and enjoy this well-written boo

B. K. S

HINDI

DHUNDALI TASVEEREN : *By Narendra Na Lal. Published by Lakshmi Prakashan Mandir, K Kuan, Patna. Pp. 160. Price Re. 1-14.*

MRITYU MEN JEEVAN : *By Arun. Pu by Nishkama Press, Meerut. Pp. 157. Price Re. 1*

The first is a collection of twenty-two s stories delineating with skill and sympathy som the regrettable and reprehensible aspects of our s life, such as, the penury and privations of the as well as of the writer, temptations and sedu in the path of youth, the neglected and ill-tr young widow. With a few strokes the young can paint a scene vividly or portray a cha impressively. His "blurred pictures," as he has his book, have, indeed, the mystery and beauty bride behind the veil.

Mrityu Men Jeevan consists of a novelette (from which the title is derived) and eighteen short stories. The novelette is a fine psychological study of a devoted wife and mother who, once conscious that she has fallen victim to an incurable, obnoxious ailment and is consequently unable to discharge her appointed duties to her family as before, voluntarily instals a refugee cousin of hers in her place, thus crowning her life with supreme sacrifice. The short stories, which show in a marked manner the author's proficiency in technique and in *turns* in images and expression, deal with the gaiety of youth, mutual suspiciousness of people at the time of the country's partition and other allied subjects. A creditable achievement on which the author is entitled to praise.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) VIJNAN VICHAR: *By Papatlal G. Shah, M.A., B.Sc., C.S.I., I.A. D.C. (Retd.), Bombay. Published by N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Bombay-2 for the Gujarat Research Association, Bombay-1.*

(2) KHORAK: *By Dr. J. D. Pathak. Published by the Gujarat Research Association, Bombay-1. Thick card-board. Pp. 255 : 107. 1949. Price Rs. 2-8, As. 8.*

Vijnan Vichar has run into four editions during a period of twenty-two years. Shrijut P. G. Shah has retained his love of science, cultivated since the time he was a Professor of Science in the Foreman Christian College, Lahore and has never relaxed it. And even before founding that unique and useful Institution, the Gujarat Research Association (1936), he was pursuing his self-imposed task of enriching the literature of his Province by publishing popular scientific works. This is one of them and furnishes information on all matters relating to science which an ordinary reader should have. The Book on Food, with appropriate tables, charts and statistics, tells us what part food, rather diet plays in our life, in health and in sickness. It is a valuable guide to health, but the pity is that no one needs this advice and continues to suffer as before.

DANG: *A Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 2.*

A very serious and bitter controversy is raging at present on the question of the Dang forests, near Surat, and its aboriginal dwellers, *viz.*, whether they belong to Gujarat or the Deccan. Two of the ministers of the Bombay State are of the opinion that their mode of life, habits and dialect, are more allied to the South (Maharashtra) than to the North (Gujarat). This bulletin, which sets out *in extenso* the personal inquiries made on the spot by the members visiting the forests, reports that the dwellers or tribesmen of the Dang Forests are allied to Gujarat, and should be declared to belong to it. It is a very elaborate Report and all conclusions of the Committee are supported by maps, charts, illustrations, linguistic tendencies, wedding songs, rituals and customs current amongst them. The Sabha is to be congratulated on thus establishing a precedent, which other literary bodies might follow with advantage.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The March 1954 issue of the **PRABUDDHA BHARATA**, is a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It contains a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number: *Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukharji; Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A.; Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C. T. K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C. C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A.* and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

Pags 160

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

What the West Expects from India

The present struggle is between two ideologies, not between two nations or two races. Sunder Kabadi writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The countries which are described with brevity as "the West" hold different opinions on the major issues of our time as well as what should be the Western approach to them. There have been different opinions before, depending on class, religion, politics or individual experience, but what is important about the present ones is that they are in the process of change. The spiritual and psychological effect of two world wars within half a century has been to make people look again at the foundations on which their civilization has been built. The great question is: can a peaceful world be built on such foundations? If not, how and with what can they be reinforced?

At the present time, what may be called the conventional thinkers, those who have no doubts about where they are going and how they are getting there, are guiding the destiny of the West. But one only has to recall the prophecies made by such men as H. G. Wells, George Orwell, Bertrand Russel and others, to realize that there is widespread uncertainty and apprehension as to the pattern of the future. And responsible leaders like President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill confess, even as they shape the affairs of their countries, that Western civilization is on a razor's edge. One false move and civilization will bleed to death.

Because Western civilization is on this razor's edge there are many voices raised in doubt and criticism as each new step is taken. Should the Germans be rearmed? Should Christian nations build atom bombs? Are not conditions too brutal in Kenya? Is there real interest in the cause of democracy in Malaya or in the price of rubber? Should an attempt to reach a settlement with Russia be made by bringing about a meeting of the heads of the principal nations, or should it be assumed that Soviet Russia is a conspiracy to enslave the world?

It is possible for a nation, like an individual, to become so engrossed in its own ideas that it will not listen to other points of view, particularly if these call for a readjustment in its thinking. This is very likely to be the case if the nation, or group of nations, has for long held undisputed mastery over the destiny of the world, as has Europe. Even up to the beginning of the 20th century, as Sardar Pannikar has observed, the European nations, in the enjoyment of unprecedented economic prosperity and political prestige, "remained unshakably convinced that they had inherited the earth, and that their supremacy in Asia was permanent and was something in the nature of a predetermined Divine Order."

Sardar Pannikar was writing on the theme of "Asia and Western Dominance," but Western Dominance did not stop at Asia. The white man was supre Africa, in Far and Middle East, and in Asiatic P Even in the meanest streets of London, Berlin, P or Vienna, there was, up to the turn of this cen a climate of permanence, of durability, of assurance.

Today in Europe there is a reluctance look too far into the future, and a nosta for the past.

There are deep psychological reasons behind fact that the age of tht First Elizabeth is now b endowed with highest virtues; and that the Ox Union is taking as a subject for debate the ques whether the Elizabethan age is to be preferred to Welfare State. One of the reasons for this hanke after past glories, real or imaginary, is that people can see their way clearly into the futu apart from those professional men, like generals unrepentant imperialist, a few of whom still surv who are obliged to reduce life to the terms of struggle for survival in which sheer material stre is the deciding factor.

While the physical and psychological destru caused by two World Wars has contributed to uncertainty and doubt in the West, the Ru Revolution, the revolution in China and the awak ing of Asia have had a very positive effect Western thought. Europe is no longer feeding it intellectually and spiritually solely on a Europ diet, but is beginning to recognize that other pe and other civilizations have knowledge and tr which they want to share with all who are sear for the answers to their problems.

I would not say that there is conscious realiz among thoughtful people in the West that In ancient heritage has some of the wisdom and kn ledge that the West stands in need of in this certain period of its history. Statesmen and na do not consciously set out to influence each o They influence each other because they are what t are, just as the sun melts snow or lightning strik tree. The influence that India is exerting on Wes minds is already evident in many spheres: in t manner in which political freedom was transferred us; in the more tolerant attitude being taken t ward colonial questions: in the importance that being attached, (as the Berlin Conference illustrat to talking patiently but firmly with those whom y fear.

This note of toleration comes at a time w the physical power of the Western world is gre than ever. Its physical technique for domina has not deteriorated in the past half century. fact it has been vastly strengthened.

Despite this development of phys strength, the moral and material ascend of Europe was finally shattered in India.

Since India achieved her independence the very word "imperialism" has become a term of reproach in the Western political and moral vocabulary. This is an outward sign of an inner change. A statesman who continues to uphold the ideals of imperialism —as some of them occasionally do—strikes his contemporaries as a rather ridiculous and forlorn figure.

The Germans, by pushing the "Master Race" ideology to its logical conclusion, finally killed the idea of racial or national mastery. The consequences of this are becoming increasingly evident in the political, religious and moral thinking of the West. What all men of significance subscribe to now is international liberty, equality and fraternity. These ideals, having made some headway in the social and economic affairs of various countries, are now projected as the highest ideals and those that should govern the relations of all nations.

Because this great shift in world outlook, or what the Germans call *Weltanschauung*, has taken place, it enables countries like India to work in harmony in many fields with those believing in this new world concept.

It may be believed in all sincerity, but the world being in a state of transition, the old and the new attitudes are both at work at the same time. The ideal of "partnership" is being substituted for the old idea of colonialism. But what we must regard as the last vestiges of colonialism are working themselves out in the struggles in Malaya, Indo-China and Kenya; and in the shame felt by intelligent men and women when they see people being discriminated against on account of their colour.

In Malaya, Indo-China and Kenya, it must be remembered, the colonial powers do not believe they are fighting against inferior colonial peoples but against Communism or terrorism. Britain, declared the *Observer* recently, is in fact and theory "anti-colonial."

Alone among the colony-owning powers, Britain has given proof that she will voluntarily relinquish her control of dependent peoples when they become ready for self-government. Hence our much-vaunted multi-racial Commonwealth.

It is the multi-racial aspect of the Commonwealth that is Britain's greatest contribution to the cause of Western democracy outside its own historic shores.

Colonialism or imperialism involves the division of the world into inferior and superior peoples or nations. It means the division of the world into two blocs, the white bloc and the coloured bloc; the roots of whose antipathy and antagonism stretch much further back in history than the roots of the struggle between Communism and Capitalism. In such a division, the Russian cause would have everything to gain because it has no history of colonialism behind it and it has challenged the centuries-old ascendency of the imperial powers.

The present struggle is a struggle for ascendency between two sets of ideas, not two nations or two races.

Ideas have already proved themselves more powerful on the material plane than the most powerful weapons devised by miltiary science. The great task confronting Western civilization is to live down its historical association with the Asian and African peoples whose good-will, at least, it cannot do without if it is to resist the challenge of Communism peacefully and over a number of years.

All sorts of movements have been started in Britain to promote understanding and good-will between Westerners and Asians and Africans. "There obviously can be no holding down of coloured people because they are coloured," declared the political columnist of a Tory newspaper.

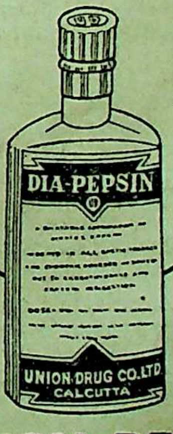
In the British Empire coloured people are being given as much responsibility, in the higher positions, as they can and will take . . . There must be a way to win the hearts of millions of coloured people in the British Empire and in the world. The most frightening fact in the world today is the criminal encouragement of blacks to hate whites just because they are white. A coloured versus white strife in the world would be worse than the present strife of Communism versus decency.

India can, because the integrity and honesty of her approach to world problems is universally recognized, help the West and Russia to preserve a sense of perspective as they try to prevent their differences precipitating into war. India could, after achieving national independence, have retired into her shell to grapple with her great domestic problems—increasing food production, industrialization, developing social services, eradicating illiteracy—and have left the rest of the world to solve its problems. No one would have blamed her, considering the great tasks that face the country. Instead, Jawaharlal Nehru has brought some of the spirit of India into the counsels of the world, and what India has been able to contribute to the discussion of the complex problems that divide the nations has been appreciated.

When Canada's Prime Minister, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, addressed a joint meeting of the Houses of the Indian Parliament in New Delhi on his recent

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

visit he paid tribute to the role India has been playing in world affairs. Canadians were glad, he said, that Mr. Nehru and other Indians have found it possible to spare time from their pressing pre-occupations at home to help in the solution of world problems and India has assigned so many able public servants to work in the international field.

What India has helped the world to understand by achieving her national emancipation in a non-violent manner is that the era of world dominion by a single group of nations has ended. It follows that if an enduring world society is to emerge in the second half of this seething 20th century it will be longer delayed if any nation or group of nations continues to aspire to a position of world mastery. With some adjustments here and there—as in the colonies—the nations of the world have to agree to live together *as they are,* with all their good qualities mutually recognized and all their bad qualities mutually tolerated.

We are now in a period when the world is not dominated by one nation or a group of nations.

Is this to be merely another interlude, or the new foundation on which world society will be fashioned? Generals and some politicians in the West are heard talking about the West's "mission" to save the world from Communism. Voices are heard d ing preventive wars. Military strategists, like G Van Fleet, write about the need to raise Asian ar so that Asia can "save" itself.

It would be unnatural if such ideas were heard and if such policies were not pursued in age of transition. What India can do, and enlightened opinion everywhere expects that she do, is to continue in the many ways open to h foster spiritual opinions throughout the world, by deeds as in Korea and by her sentiments as a United Nations. This will act as the greatest rent to war. Restraint must eventually come everyone from within, not through external co There is no other country in the world better a help bring about restraint through spiritual than India. There is everything in the Indian ter, history and culture to enable her to colla with other nations who believe in these ideals, with all people who seek an honest peace, th they often seem to be going down strange paths find it.

No one expects India to be able to presen world with a cut and dried solution or panac the problems that make for war. We know that some time the fresh young shoots of the new nationalism will be overshadowed and obscured the decaying foliage of the old order.

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India and Indonesia

L. N. Palar, the Indonesian Ambassador to India, writes in *Careers and Courses:*

India and Indonesia stand very close to each other in the political field. Both are young nations—their independence came after the 2nd World War. During centuries of colonialism, our people have lost in several degrees their national personalities. We have lost much of what was dear to us in our culture, in our economic potentialities, in our political inspirations, etc. After independence we are trying to rediscover our personality, trying to recognise ourselves again. In doing so we have to conduct the same policy, of course, adoptive to the situations of each of our countries. We are involved in efforts and activities to strengthen ourselves economically, politically and in matters of our culture. In these activities we do not want to be disturbed by events abroad. That means that we should not try only to keep foreign influence and disturbances from abroad outside our territory, but also that we should try to influence events abroad, try to have a say in their developments—especially in cases concerning Peace or War. That is one of the most important reasons why we have joined the United Nations—one of the most important fields of International political activities.

In conducting their foreign policy, India and Indonesia usually meet each other and march together. India is fortunate in getting its freedom earlier than my country by graceful withdrawal of the British. Recognition of other big powers was also achieved easily. My country had a tougher course. Although we proclaimed our independence in 1945, that is earlier than India's independence, we had to fight two wars with the Dutch before achieving freedom duly recognised by the Big Powers and other independent countries.

During our fight for freedom, India and Indonesia met each other as reborn nations after centuries of Colonialism. When Holland started its first Military Action against Indonesia, India rushed to our help. In co-operation with Australia, India brought the Indonesian case before the United Nations and fought gallantly before the Security Council and General Assembly to secure Indonesian independence and its recognition by the big powers. While Indonesian guerilla fighters were giving the Dutch army a hard time, India and other friends of ours were mobilizing the majority of the members of the United Nations to demand from Holland the fulfilment of Indonesia's desires.

After achievement of our independence both India and Indonesia carried out almost the same foreign policy, that is *an active and independent policy to secure peace.* This policy is not merely what is usually called neutral policy. It is in the first place directed at bringing together the parties involved in the Cold War in order to give them the opportunity to settle their differences by negotiations, by peaceful means instead of by Arms.

India and Indonesia have co-operated closely in carrying out the active and independent foreign policy in the United Nations. We have tried to be mediators between the opposing power blocs. Indonesia has wholeheartedly and very actively supported the Indian efforts to solve the Korean problem, by conducting a policy of conciliation and mediation. We could support that policy especially because it was an expression of our own views, of our own foreign policy. We are proud of the election of India as Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and as the Custodian of the prisoners of war in Korea. We have shared the anxieties and concerns of India during the performance of this extremely difficult task and we are proud with India that it has done this job with honour.

India and Indonesia have co-operated closely in trying to get support from other countries for this active and independent foreign policy. The emergence of the Asian African Group in the United Nations is largely the result of the efforts of India and Indonesia. It is well known how this Asian African Group has influenced the efforts of the United Nations to solve the problems of peace and war. It is well known also that this Asian African Group is the active and alert champion of freedom of still dependent countries. The struggles for freedom of Tunisia and Morocco have been brought before Security Council and General Assembly by the Asian African Group. They have met there with the determined efforts of the colonial powers to continue their obsolete grip over these nations. But the fight is still on and you can find India and Indonesia on the advance fronts.

We are not only co-operating in fighting for freedom for dependent nations, but we also work together in trying to improve conditions in so-called Non-Self Governing Territories.

India and Indonesia take the same stand on questions of racial discrimination. In her efforts to bring about a reasonable solution of the apartheid problem in South Africa—India always find Indonesia at her side.

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Co-operation on Economic Plan

Both countries, only a few years old as independent countries, can be considered as economically young countries in the modern sense of that word. Both are producers of raw material and have just started large-scale industrialisation. Producers of raw materials are not usually economic complements. Thus, exchanging goods each of the countries needs, cannot be a strong basis for close co-operation. This co-operation may, however, be conducted in trying to get for both of us a good position in the world market for raw materials. This takes place where India and Indonesia co-operate in getting the so-called Commodity Agreements, where regulations are made for producing, stockpiling and selling of raw materials and commodities.

Producers of raw materials can also help each other in establishing a more balanced productive system for each of their countries or for their common area. They can help each other in providing for know-how, technical assistance and training of personnel. If they are not able themselves to provide for their requirements out of their own resources, they may act together in getting the requirements from more fortunate countries. This happens, for instance, in the Colombo Plan.

If we compare India and Indonesia it becomes clear that India has advanced further in industrialisation. This means that there is a possibility of India providing for some of Indonesia's requirements in the field of manufactured goods. India, for instance, can export to Indonesia—textiles, small machinery, tools and jute products while Indonesia can export to India oil products, vegetable, fats and sugar. This exchange of goods has, in fact, already started to a certain extent, but it can be largely extended. Here close co-operation is imperative and it is one of my tasks to bring it about.

Cultural Contacts

From beginning of the Christian era, for almost 15 centuries, Indian culture has influenced and inspired Indonesian culture to such an extent that the still existing expressions of the Indonesian culture of those times are almost similar to Indian culture of the same period. Sanskrit words and Sanskrit names are so common in Indonesia that the well-known Prof. Raghu Vira, of the International Academy of Indian Culture at Nagpur has written a volume entitled *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Dr. Raghu Vira, who visited Indonesia in 1951 said that what struck him most was the number of Sanskrit words used in Indonesia. He continued to say that in Indonesia the whole life from the cradle to the grave was one vast memorial of the past ages where India and Indonesia worked in co-operation with each other and developed common habits and modes of life, of thought and their expressions in literature and arts.

Ancient survivals of Hindu Indonesian architectures are still to be found, especially in Java. The Buddhist stupa called the Barabuder was erected in the 8th Century A.C. and also the Javanese Hindu temple Prambanan, which is mainly dedicated to Lord Shiva.

The first contacts between India and Indonesia are not known. Students of Indonesian History assume that it must have been at the beginning of the Christian era. Indian merchants brought it about while sailing their route between India and China. It is also possible that the gold riches of Indonesia had attracted the foreigners, because even the Greeks had mentioned these gold riches already in their classics.

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The island of Sumatra was called in Sanskrit *Swarnadvipa*, which means gold island. Arab historians told that the kings of Sumatra used to throw gold in the sea just to store it there. The island Java, then called Javadvipa, is mentioned in the epic Ramavana as the gold and silver island.

As already mentioned, Hinduism has played an all important role in Indonesia for about 15 centuries. Hinduism still exists in Indonesia, but only on the island of Bali. It has finally retreated to that island, after the appearance of Islam and the almost general conversion to Islam in Indonesia. Hinduism then isolated itself in the Island of Bali and succeeded in maintaining its hold there, but of course mixed with the elements of original old Indonesian culture. But it is predominantly Hindu in its classical form. If one wishes to study Hinduism of about five or six centuries ago, he has just to go to Bali—to the world-famous island of Bali. Indonesia is now predominantly a Muslim country. About 60 per cent of the population is Muslim. It does not mean, however, that the Islam has simultaneously destroyed all expressions of Hinduism and Hindu culture in Indonesia.

It is a well known fact that in Java, where more than two-third of the population of Indonesia lives, the great majority of the people which is Muslim has Sanskrit names. It is rather strange thing here in India to meet a Muslim with a Hindu name. In Java, you can meet them everyday, every hour and practically every minute. Our President, Sukarno has a Hindu name; my predecessor Dr. Sumrsono also has a Hindu name. And I have been told my own name is of Sanskrit origin though I come from the Northern part of Celebes, now called Sulawesi where Hinduism has not played any role at all.

The relationship had been so close between India and Indonesia in those times. These extremely strong cultural and religious relations came to an end when the Dutch appeared in Indonesia and the British in India as conquerors.

The Dutch isolated the Indonesian people, destroyed their connections with countries and peoples abroad and used Indonesia and its population exclusively as producers of merchandise they needed. The change in their colonial policy, started in the beginning of the 20th century, was not enough to prevent them from losing Indonesia. India and Indonesia have recently freed themselves from the Colonial bonds. Their struggle to achieve freedom was in the first place a political struggle. After having achieved political freedom they have started the struggle for economic freedom. In their activities to establish and to maintain themselves as free nations, they have to co-operate closely. These co-operations cannot be close enough. Cultural relations and co-operation between India and Indonesia are only natural because of the old bonds that still express themselves in forms, which each of us recognises as our own. This is a strong basis on which to strengthen our political, economical, social and cultural relations.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Iqbal (1873-1938)

The 16th anniversary of death of Allama Iqbal is being celebrated in Pakistan and abroad on 21st April, this year.

A poet, philosopher and prose-writer, linguist, jurist, statesman, educationist and art-critic—that sums up the genius of Mohammad Iqbal.

Iqbal was born on 22nd February, 1873 in Sialkot. His family originally came from Kashmir. He received his early education in Sialkot, passing his Intermediate examination from Murray College, Sialkot. In 1895 he moved to Lahore for higher studies. He obtained the degree of M.A. in 1899. Soon after this he was awarded McLeod Arabic Readership in Oriental College, Lahore. In 1905 he went to Europe for higher studies. He obtained his degree from Cambridge and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1908. Before returning home he furthered his philosophical studies at Munich and was admitted to the Ph. D. degree on a thesis which was published in London under the title "The Development Of Metaphysics In Persia."

On return home Iqbal started practice as an Advocate at Lahore, and also continued as a part-time professor at his old college. All inclination to write Urdu verse was shown by him at a very early stage of his student life. Iqbal wrote some great poems in Urdu before turning to Persian as a vehicle for his poetry. The first poem he published in Persian was Asrar-I-Khudi in 1915. The poem was translated in English by Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge in 1920. Steady output of poetry continued till the poet's death. Asrar was followed by Rumuz-I-Bekhudi in 1918. After Rumuz came Payam-i-Mashriq, a collection of poems composed in response to Geothe's West Ostlicher Divan. This was followed by the Zabur-I-Ajam and the Jawid Namah. After this Iqbal turned to Urdu again and published two books of poems Bal-I-Jibril and Zarb-I-Kalim. Two small poems in Persian, Musafir and Pas Chai Baid Kard, published about this time, also deserve mention here. His last book of poems Armughan-I-Hijaz containing poems in Urdu and Persian was published.

Iqbal continued his philosophic studies throughout his life and he delivered a series of lectures which were published as 'The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam". A revised edition of these lectures was published by the Oxford University Press in 1934. Iqbal took a keen interest in politics all his life. In 1927 he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In 1930 he was elected as president of the All India Muslim League. In 1931 and 1932 he attended the Round Table Conference in London. And in 1933 he was elected as the president of the Muslim Confrence. He made out a case for Pakistan in his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930.

After a protracted illness Iqbal breathed his last on 21st April, 1938.

THE POET OF THE EAST

Year after year, 21st April is celebrated as the anniversary of the death of philosopher-poet of the East—Dr. Iqbal. Sixteen years have passed since he but his poetic message of hope, courage and continues to inspire the people throughout the He used Urdu and Persian as the vehicles of expres but spoke a universal language—the language of

Iqbal was truly a poet of revolution. His po points a fierce finger of light on the deepening caused by conflicting ideologies of godless commu and heartless capitalism and shows the way out, of spiritualism. Deeply conscious of the changes, poetry was sure to bring about in the world today said :

"After me, they will read my poetry and find meaning and say that world was revolutionised by man who knew himself."

He upheld the cause of a down-troden and perple humanity. His outlook on life was based on intensely humanistic system of thought which was to the world by the Prophet. He realised that mystic philosophies of the ascetic inaction had sent Asiatic nations to sleep. Most of the Greek influe the Vedanta, and its other-worldy teachings about Illusion and Nirvana had led the Orient to its pre decadence. It was very simple. When the world not matter, you would not want to worry about betterment and pograss. You would merely give it

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in order to achieve your own personal Nirvana or Salvation. You would go off to some remote jungle or monastry.

In Islam it had to be different. A Muslim was to live in the world as a good citizen and a useful member of society and while maintaining a balance between the Love of God and his own material requirements, he had to work out his salvation. No priests or church were to be responsible for him. In his environments he had to attain the highest perfection which a human being can ever get, and thus be nearer God.

Here Iqbal in his poetry laid utmost stress on the individual, who was also to be an integral part of humanity. Iqbal wanted man to attain highest dignity and then, unlike the mystics who in their pure spiritual existence wanted to be absorbed in God, man had to become so perfect and exalted that he absorbed God into him. This Man of Iqbal is not Neitzsche's reactionary and destructive Superman, it is the common man, belonging to every nation, and every race, the down-trodden man, who was to bring the Kingdom of God on earth.

Thus he defied the Death-wish and fatalism of the Eastern mind by his Will to Life. He defies God and lovingly challenges him in the following lines :

It is like this mention not aught.
Man said : verily it is like this, but it ought to be like that !

And again he addresses God :

Thou didst create night and I made the lamp
Thou didst create clay, and I made the cup
Thou didst create the deserts, mountains, woodlands
I produced the orchards, gardens, and the groves;
It is I who turn stone into a mirror
It is I who turn poison into an antidote !

In England about this time T. S. Eliot wrote "Wasteland"—the epic of a disillusioned and dejected humanity, emphasising the futility and emptiness of life. And in the end he fell back on 'Shantih, Shantih, Shantih,'—the peaceful escape of negation.

In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, Iqbal was singing of hope for man's final victory in the struggle for a better would. He had infinite faith in people's destiny, in their own selves. He sang of the final victory of the workers when the worth of a human being will be at last recognized.

He was not merely another emotional revivalist indulging in romantic flights of imagination. With classical restraint he warns against dangers of anarchy. He hated subjugation whether it was by the Mulla, (the Priest) or by the Khwaja (the capitalist). He was bitterly against imperialism.

Thou hast agreed to remain Europe's bondsman
I blame thee and not thy masters.
And, only slaves have plenty of leisure
The soldier-man has no time to waste.

Iqbal's ideal man is not a Muslim or an Indian, or an Asiatic :

This mortal made of clay is Gabriel's neighbour
His abode is not Bokhara or Badakshan.

Iqbal's God is not a sectarian, nor a national God. He is the God of Love, who in every verse of the Quran reminds us of His infinite Mercy and Beneficence. His Prophet was not the prophet sent to the Arab or Semitic people. He was God's Messenger to all Mankind. Iqbal was inspired by this universal love. Addressing the Mosque of Cordova in Spain he wrote :

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Love is the Word of God
O Mosque of Cordova! love is thy existence,
Sanctifying the soil of Andalusia.

With so much life in his heart for humanity he was grieved by the aggressive and oppressive attitude of strong nations:

Iqbal admires the good will of Europe.
Which is ever ready to buy off the beaten people.

According to Iqbal self-pity and dejection were the greatest of crimes. His optimism when seen against the sickening background of the present day world is staggering, and his vision exalting.

No prophet in these times could have given us a greater message.—*Pakistan Today*, April 15. 1954.

A Great Scholar

The passing of Syed Suleman Nadvi has left the world of scholarship a great deal poorer. He was an eminent figure among the leaders of the old school of Orientalists produced during the re-awakening of the Indian Muslims after the establishment of British rule in the sub-continent, and his literary remains comprise an impressive number of erudite works on Islamic culture and Oriental literature. The *Ma'arif*, which he edited for a very long time before his migration to Pakistan, still ranks high among the leading Urdu Journals of the sub-continent. His constructive genius is embodied in the great literary institution which he founded—the Da Musannifin at Azamgarh; there is perhaps no existing institution that has made a greater contribution towards the promotion of Islamic and Oriental studies and research in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.—*Pakistan Today*. December 1953, reproduced from *Pakistan Times*, 24th November, 1953.

'World Health Day'

David A. Morse, I.L.O. Director-General, writes in the *I.L.O. News Service*:

Each year for several years I have asked the workers and employers who collaborate with the representatives of sixtysix governments in the work of the International Labour Organisation to support observance of World Health Day on April 7.

This year we shall have a twofold reason for taking part. This year the World Health Organisation is saluting "The Nurse—Pioneer of Health"

For many years the ILO has been studying ways to be of greater service to the professional and salaried workers of the world among whom nurses often are among those who toil the longest hours for the smallest gain with great sacrifice of personal comfort and repose.

At the present time our Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers has before it a proposal for a study of working conditions of nurses which would directly affect these loyal and courageous men and women who have won for theselves such high standing and esteem.

I could not permit the occasion to pass without special mention of the rapidly-increasing band of industrial nurses who are doing so much to make our mines and factories and other fields of industry healthier, safer and more comfortable.

The modern industrial medical service relies on the factory nurse to keep the worker fit and to help protect his valuable possesion—his health. Without her calm and reassuring influence—an influence no less necessary in the rush and bustle of today than in the filth and confusion which Florence Nightingale found at Scutari a hundred years ago—the heal

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morale and earning capacity of industry today would be in a much sorrier state.

Weizmann Exhibition

An exhibition devoted to the life of Israel's first President, the late Dr. Chaim Weizmann, was opened in Tel Aviv on the fifth anniversary of his election to the presidency.

The exhibition is a chronological history of Dr. Weizmenn's life and contains several documents exhibited publicly for the first time. At the opening of the exhibition the Director of the Weizmann Institute of Science lectured on "Dr. Weizmann as a Man of Science" and a short documentary film on the life of the late President was also shown.—*News from Israel*, April 15, 1954.

Nobel Prize-Winners on Weizmann Institute Bord

Four Nobel Prize-winners are among the internationally famous scientists who have recently accepted nomination to the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot. They are: Prof. Felix Bloch of Standford University, California; Prof. Niels H. D. Bohr of the Institute for Theoretical Physics, Copenhagen; Prof. Ernest B. Chain of the Instituto superiore di Sanita, Rome; and Prof. Sir Robert Robinson, O.M. F.R.S., of Oxford University.—*News from Israel.*

Machine Tool Output Expands 13 Times

China's young machine-building industry produced 13 times as much last year as in 1949, the year of the founding of the People's Republic. The average output of each engineering worker increased nearly four-fold during the same period. These figures are based on statistics for all state and joint state and privately-operated enterprises under the First Ministry of Machine Building.

Previously only able to do repair and assembly work, the industry now produces a variety of heavy machines and precision tools. Last year alone, nearly 600 new products were successfully turned out.

Among the new products for use in the mining and heavy industries was a conical ore crusher, weighing 61 tons and with a crushing capacity of from 500 to 800 tons of ore per hour. There were also powerful rotary rock drills, winding engines and 60-ton self-dumping trucks.

New electrical machines produced last year included a 6,000-kilowatt hydraulic turbine generator, 20,000 K.V.A., 44,000-volt and 13,500 K.V.A., 110,000-volt transformers, high-voltage oil circuit breakers, explosion-proof motors, electrical instruments, wire and cable and electrical control equipment.

Among the new machine tools there were planers capable of handling 10-ton work-pieces, vertical lathes capable of handling work-pieces one metre in diameter and three metres in height, radial drills and turret lathes.

Last year marked the beginning of a large-scale expansion of the machine-building industry. Total state investments in the industry were 141 per cent more than in 1952. Among the major projects, on which work started last year, are China's first automobile plant, a heavy machine-building plant, an electrical machinery plant, a machine tool plant, a shipyard, a measuring instrument and cutting tool plant, a pneumatic tool plant and an electrical wire and cable plant. Over a hundred other engineering factories were extended or reconstructed. —*Hsinhua News*, March 25, 1954.

Shanghal Launches First China-Made 1,500-ton Ship

The first inland water passenger ship made entirely of Chinese materials by Chinese works was launched in Shanghai on March 20 from the Kiangnan Shipyards.

Named the *Mingchung, meaning* 'the masses,' it has a displacement of over 1,500 tons and a speed of 28 kilometres per hour. It has sleeping accommodation for 974 passengers between its four decks and can also carry 350 tons of cargo. There is a dining room, a barber shop, shower baths, a library, a clinic and many other amenities.

The *Mingchung* will ply along the Yangtze River between Shanghai and Chungking during both high and low water seasons. In the past passengers had to transfer on the trip to Chungking from deep water boats to shallow water boats.

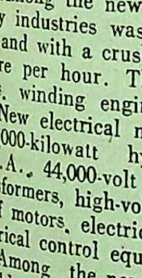
The ship, designed by Chinese engineers, has three special rudders controlled by hydraulic pressure to ensure safe sailing through the torrents of the upper Yangtze gorges between Chungking and Ichang.——*Hsinhua News*, March 23, 1954.

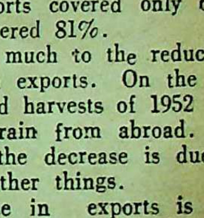
French Trade Balande In 1953

The trade balance between France and foreign countries showed a definite improvement in the course of 1953. Imports dropped from 1,231 billion francs in 1952 to 1,092 francs in 1953, whilst exports rose from 818 billion francs in 1852 to 886 billion in 1953. The trade deficit is thus brought down from 413 billion francs to 206 billion. In other words, it has been reduced by half. In 1952 exports covered only 66% of the imports, in 1953 they covered 81%.

This improvement is due as much to the reduction of imports as to the increase in exports. On the import side, on account of the good harvests of 1952 and 1953, France had to buy less grain from abroad. As regards industrial raw material, the decrease is due to reduced needs for coal, among other things.

On the other hand, the rise in exports is due almost solely to the demand for French manufactured





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goods from abroad. Before the war textile products headed the list of exports. Now they hold the second place, after iron and steel products. The progress made by he French iron and steel industry is the most considerable as recorded from year to year. For iron and steel products the figure for exports rose from 112 billion francs in 1952 to 144 billion in 1953. The wool industry also showed progress. The exports of wool thread and materials rose from 19 billion francs in 1952 to 32 billion in 1953.—*New from France*, 15th April, 1954.

The Zagreb Fair's Contributin To Yugoslavia's International Trade

The Zagreb International Fair is the oldest institution of its kind not only in Yugoslavia (the first Zagreb Fair was held in 1910), but in the whole of South-eastern Europe, has always been an indicator of economic developments in Yugoslavia. The commercial success of the exhibition can be compared with any other fair of international standing. In the international exchange of goods the Zagreb International Fair has found the place it deserves according to its tradition and importance. After the war, the Zagreb Fair, following its traditional repute and the sudden development of New Yugoslavia's economy, increased its activity from year to year. In terms of space it has trebled, and by number of exhibitors, its displays have become an increasingly important meeting-ground for business men from many European and overseas countries, thus enabling them to steadily increase the trade.

The number of foreign exhibitors and the exhibition space available have shown a marked and steady increase since the war, particularly in the past two years :

Year	Foreign exhibitors	Foreign countries	Exhibition area in sq. meters
1947	52	12	7,787
1948	221	15	13,570
1949	234	13	20,717
1950	283	15	18,519
1951	247	12	14,007
1952	680	13	18,963
1953	731	16	26,218

The number of foreign visitors increased proportionately with the above figures. As regards domestic exhibitors and visitors, the development here was in another direction. If one considers actual figures, one can see that the number of domestic exhibitors in the period from 1947 to 1949 rose by about 20% per annum, (731 exhibitors in 1947, 927 in 1948 and 1126 in 1949), but in the period from 1950 to 1953 this number fell to only 458 domestic exhibitors. While in the first post-war years the Yugoslav exhibitors at the Zagreb Fair desired to show an outline of the general economic development of the country under the Five-Year Plan, from 1949 onwards the domestic exhibitors at the Zagreb Fair were primarily seeking commercial effects. Therefore, the products displayed by the domestic companies and factories now have a purely commercial character, and offer the visitors a picture of the sales and export possibilities of the exhibitors. The commercialisation of the exhibits at the Zagreb Fair took place parallel with the reorganisation of the Yugoslav economy by liberalising all economic enterprises. The result was a steady improvement in the quality and finish of the country's products. Thus, the samples of the domestic exhibitors at the Zagreb Fair now represent articles which, by their quality, can in every respect be marketed on any international market. This fact is reflected in the even-incre business deals closed at the Fair, and the increased rest of foreign exhibitors and buyers for this insti

It is true, certain confusion arose among t businessmen owing to certain restrictive measures ta by the Yugoslav Government regarding imports. T was necessary, however, to mitigate the consequences serious droughts which struck the country. Neverthel all these measures were correctly interpreted by m foreign business circles, and this is proved by the rec number of foreign exhibitors and exhibits. The manag ment of the Zagreb Fair was only able to accommod all applicants by enlarging the exhibition area by a 30%.

The business deals closed in 1953, amounting 50,000 million dinars, entirely satisfied the foreign m facturers' optimism and confidence in the Yug market and in the Zagreb International Fair as one its major manifestations.

It is also interesting to examine the composition the foreign exhibitors by nationalities. When the f post-war Zagreb Fair was held in 1947, the participants apart from the USSR and her satel Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Pol were Beligum, Italy, Holland, Switzerland and the F Territory of Trieste. In 1949 the USSR and all count of the Soviet Bloc abstained from exhibiting, but in s of this, the number of countries taking part at that Fa remained almost at the same level, and subsequently creased, reaching its peak in 1953 with 16 fore countries participating. At the same time the Fa grounds were enlarged by 80 per cent in order to acc all the goods registered for exhibition. In 1953 exhibiting firms at the Zagreb Fair were from Austr Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Greece, India, It Israel, Japan, Holland, Western Germany, the Free Te tory of Trieste, Sweden, Switzerland, and USA. Ap cations were also received from firms in Finland, I and Turkey, and from four Latin American countr Columbia, Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador. T importance of the 1953 International Fair is also refle in the fact that seven countries had organised collec exhibits.

The Yugoslav part of the Zagreb Fair repr a rounded-off picture of all national export possibil taken as a whole, and the visitors will see there m products not shown on other fairs, or shown elsewh only in limited number. Apart from improved a diversified products of the heavy industry, the Yug companies exhibit timber and wood products, impor chemical products and building materials, toba industrial and medicinal herbs, leather, furs, plastic consumer goods made of plastics, and finally a wide ch of high quality food products, alcoholic and soft be rages. Foreign manufacturers are able to market thr the Zagreb Fair such products as tools, industrial, min building and agricultural equipment and machin motor vehicles, precision instruments, electrical goods telecommunication apparatus, chemical and pharmac cal products, and to a lesser extent, other consumer go

Encouraged by successful exhibitions in the p many foreign exhibitors filed their applications during 1953 Fair for participation at the next Fair, to be h in Zagreb from 3rd to 14th September of 1954. F the applications received up to the present, it is evi that interest is not lessening. The past results of Zagreb Fair and the interest shown for it by dom and foreign exhibitors and buyers, is a guarantee fo further successful operation of this Fair.—*Jugoslav N Bulletin*, April 30, 1954.

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কৃত্তিবাস রচিত

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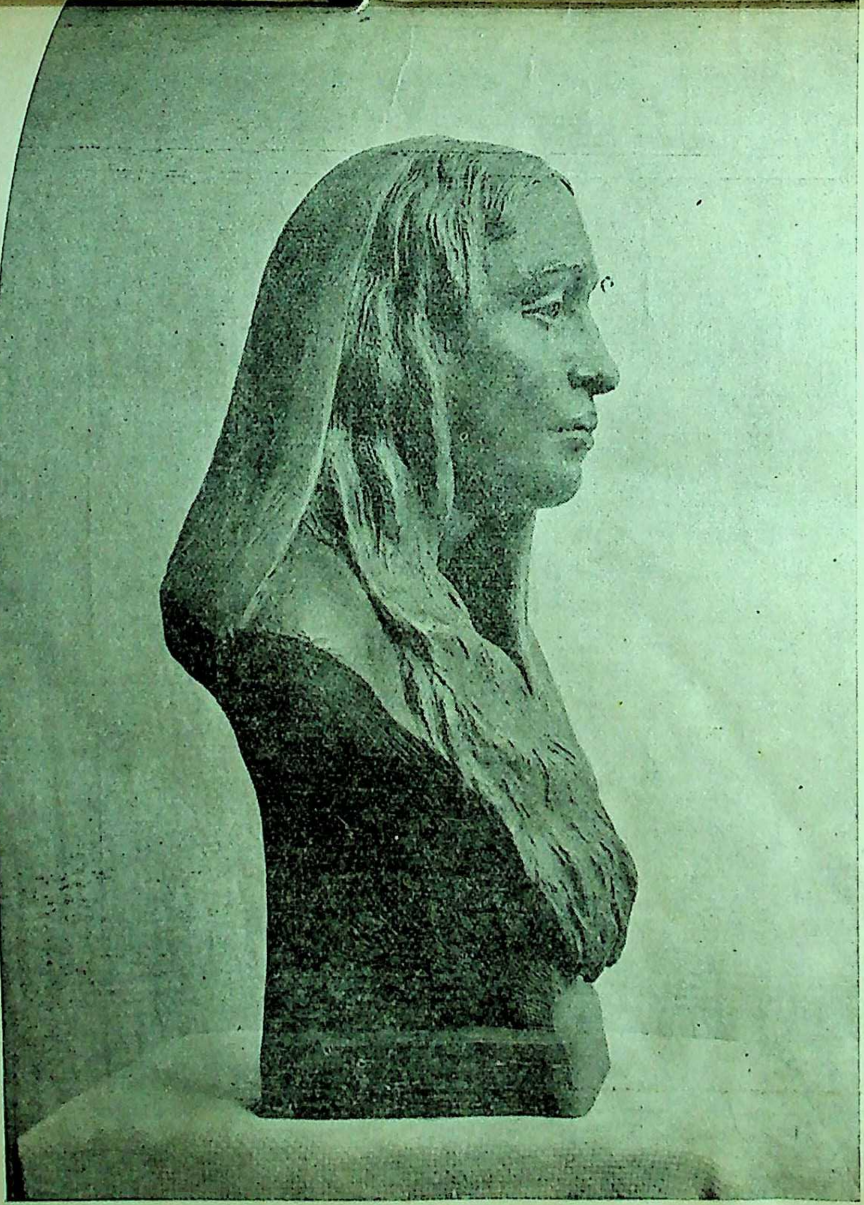
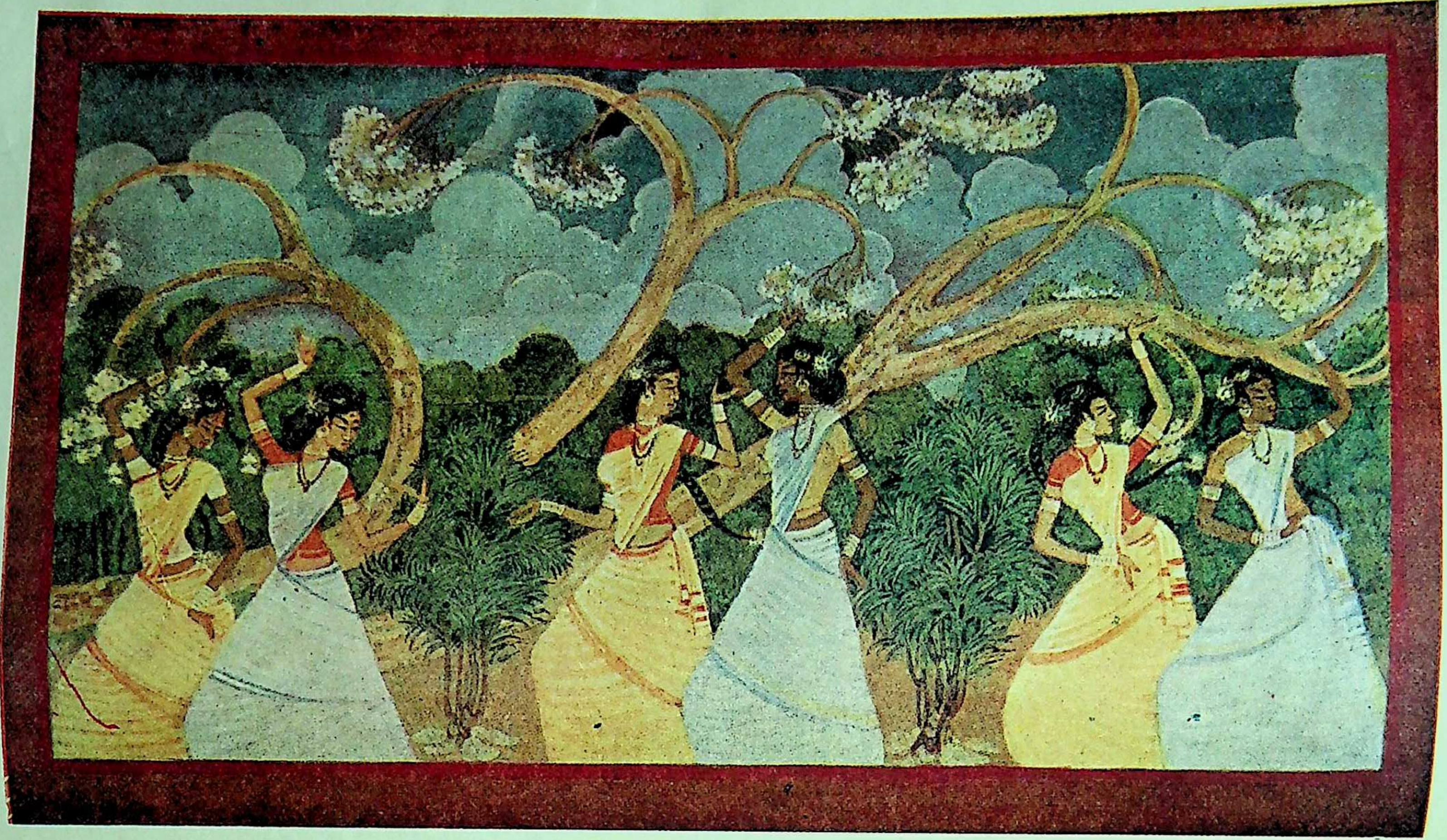


The bronze bust of Sri Sarada Devi, wife of Sri Ramakrishna and the Holy Mother of India, made by Malvina Hoffman

The bronze bust of Sri Sarada Devi has been made by Malvina Hoffman for the chapel of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York



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INVOKING THE RAINY SEASON
By Bireschandra Ganguly

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World in Travail

The month of June was full of events of world significance. The heads of four great nations, two of the West and two of the East met, at Washington and New Delhi respectively, to discuss matters that carry grave possibilities for the future of the world. At Geneva, where the latest attempt is being made to reduce the rising tide of belligerency by means of direct negotiation between the warring camps, the whole trend of pourparlers took unexpected turns. In Indo-China, the French command decided to fling all questions of "saving-face" to the winds, in order to face realities of a ruthless war of attrition, much to the surprise of its principal backer. Nearer home the events in East Pakistan, and the break-down of the talks over the Canal Waters of the Indus Basin, further aggravated the existing differences between India and Pakistan, which had steeply mounted up, thanks to the U.S.-Pakistan arms-aid Pact.

A minor flare-up in a tiny Central-American country, Guatemala, is the latest addition to the "Shooting-War" eruptions, there being a lull in Korea and a pause in Indo-China.

World-tension having mounted to almost the breaking-point, major partisans of both the opposing camps are now forced to face the grim realities of World War III. Serious differences of opinion have arisen, as a consequence, within the several camps of the allied nations, in both the Blocs, and the leaders of the nations-in-arms have been placed in difficulties in trying to assuage the uneasiness and discontent of their own followers. This is particularly true of France, and, to a lesser extent, of the British Commonwealth. It may be assumed that a somewhat similar situation has developed in the Soviets dominated Bloc, though the manifestations are not so clearly visible, due to the rigid controls of the Communist regimes.

All these events having crowded together within the short space of a month, a puzzled world is unable to analyse the portents thereof with any semblance of lucidity or accuracy. The comments, given by the Pundits of the West, seem to read like the fable of the seven blind men who described an elephant, each assumption being limited to the particulars of the part of elephantine anatomy felt by the speaker.

We are far too near the events, we feel, to be able to grasp the full import of the events, separately and collectively. Nothing much, therefore, can be attempted, in the way of an analytical and logical commentary, beyond putting on record each event, with as much of its background material as possible. This is what we have attempted to do in this month's editorials.

In so far as the events that have taken place within our own sub-continent, it needs some comments, we feel, over and above what we give, with the record, elsewhere.

The chief event in India has been the visit of the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The visit was an unexpected pleasure, for not even Pandit Nehru was aware of it prior to the acceptance of a long previous invitation by the Chinese Premier. The suddenness of the decision of a visit to India, on the way back to China, took the world by surprise, and a flood of speculation followed as to the main objective of the meeting.

There has been a tendency to write it down as a counterblast to the Eisenhower-Churchill meeting, and much shadowy deliberation has followed on these conjectural premises. Here, in India, we are babes in arms in the world of diplomacy, and the best plan for us would be to take things at their face value. Instead of which we find that there is a tendency to jump to conclusions, some of which seem to be totally unwarranted at this early stage. Foreign opinion and comments should be deeply studied, undoubtedly, for they not only reflect considered opinion on future implications, but also their attitude towards India and her chief executives.

We would, therefore, like to take the Nehru-Chou En-lai joint statement and the public statements of the

Chinese Premier at their face value, and wait for further elucidations in due course.

In the context of world events, this visit—and the happenings in Pakistan likewise—connotes a minor set-back for the American diplomatic campaign, as it is shaped in this part of the world of today. It is a logical corollary to the panicky moves of the Foreign office of the U.S.A. in Asia, with its uninformed and hasty actions, in search of camp-followers in South-East Asia and the Asiatic "Near East."

No other country, with a vestige of sanity, would have taken such strong and significant steps as the U.S. has taken, without calm and considerate assay of all cogent facts, gathered after an expert and intensive search for information on all points. The steps taken are significant, in as much they plainly signify a virtual betrayal of all friendly and democratic forces in our little comity of nations, that stood in favour of the country that followed the ideals and traditions of Abraham Lincoln, up to the last Presidential election.

The Peoples Government of China, being wedded to realism of the most concrete type, has quite properly taken advantage of the time and the opportunity. With the fiery deluge of World War III approaching, it behoves all responsible governments to strengthen ancient bonds of friendship and to remove all barriers that stand in the way, rather than renounce old friends and look for new satellites. For the present, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we see nothing against assuming this as the main motive behind the Chou En-lai visit.

There are forces in the U.S.A., that are yet fighting in the cause of the Four Freedoms and Peace. But as yet their voices cannot be heard above the din created by power-drunk *Weltmacht* maniacs and Inquistadors of the McCarthy witch-hunt. It is about time the people of the United States understood that if all Communists in Asia and Europe were totally destroyed by H bombs without the soil or the people of the Americas being hit, there would be hardly any chance of humanity surviving in the New World. Ocean currents and atmospheric currents being saturated with radiation over all Asia and all Europe, it would be only a matter of a few years, if that, before the American continents are rendered barren of all living organisms.

Nehru-Chou En-lai Statement

The world was agog to learn the secret that lay behind the sudden decision of the Prime Minister of China to pay a visit to India. After a series of talks, held in strict privacy, a statement was released.

The following is the full text of the joint statement of Prime Ministers of India and China on their talks issued on Monday, June 28th:

His Excellency Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, came to Delhi at the invitation of His Excellency Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Republic of India. He stayed here for three days.

During this period the two Prime Ministers d ed many matters of common concern to India and C In particular, they discussed the prospects of p in South East Asia and the developments that taken place in the Geneva Conference in regard Indo-China. The situation in Indo-China was of importance to the peace of Asia and the world and Prime Ministers were anxious that the efforts that being made at Geneva should succeed. They with satisfaction that some progress had been made in talks at Geneva in regard to an armistice. T earnestly hoped that these efforts will meet with s in the near future and that they would result in a tical settlement of the problems of that area.

2. The talks between the Prime Ministers a at helping, in such ways as were possible, the effor peaceful setttlement that were being made in Ge and elsewhere. Their main purpose was to arrive a clearer understanding of each other's point of view order to help in the maintenance of peace, both in operation with each other and with other countries

3. Recently India and China have come to agreement in which they have laid down certain p ciples which should guide the relations between two countries. These principles are:

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial i grity and sovereignty ;

(2) Non-aggression ;

(3) Non-interference in each other's inte affairs ;

(4) Equality and mutual benefit ; and

(5) Peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles a felt that they should be applied in their relations w other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of world. If these principles are applied, not only betw various countries but also in international rela generally, they would form a solid foundation for p and security and the fears and apprehensions that e today would give place to a feeling of confidence.

4. The Prime Ministers recognised that diff social and political systems exist in various parts Asia and the world. If, however, the above-menti principles are accepted and acted upon and there no interference by any one country with another, th differences should not come in the way of peace create conflicts. With the assurance of territorial in grity and sovereignty of each country and of n aggression, there would be peaceful co-existence a friendly relations between the countries concern This would lessen the tensions that exist in the w today and help in creating a climate of peace.

5. In particular, the Prime Ministers hoped th these principles would be applied to the solution of problems in Indo-China where the political settle should aim at the creation of free, democratic, unif and independent States, which should not be used f aggressive purposes or be subjected to foreign interve

This will lead to a growth of self-confidence in these countries as well as to friendly relations between them and their neighbours. The adoption of the principles referred to above will also help in creating an area of peace which as circumstances permit, can be enlarged, thus lessening the chances of war and strengthening the cause of peace all over the world.

6. The Prime Ministers expressed their confidence in the friendship between India and China which would help the cause of world peace and the peaceful development of their respective countries as well as other countries of Asia.

7. These conversations were held with a view to help in bringing about a greater understanding of the problems of Asia and to further a peaceful and co-operative effort, in common with other countries of the world, in solving these and like problems.

8. The Prime Ministers agreed that their respective countries should maintain close contacts so that there should continue to be full understanding between them. They appreciated greatly the present opportunity of meeting together and having a full exchange of ideas leading to a clearer understanding and co-operation in the cause of peace.

Reactions to Nehru-Chou Meeting

It is impossible to gauge as yet the repercussions of the Nehru-Chou En-lai meeting on the West. We give the following extracts as straws-in-the-wind:

June 29.—Coping with one communique of the kind usually issued after international conferences is difficult enough, but two on the same day put an almost intolerable strain on interpreters, and London's interpreters have solved the problem by concentrating on the Washington announcement.

There is another reason for this priority—it is obvious, but nevertheless deserves emphasis in Asia: the problem of British security is largely a European one and alliance with the U.S.A. is ultimately the key to British survival should the worse come to the worst.

But the official mind scanning farther horizons attaches equal importance to the outcome of the Nehru-Chou meeting and the foremost impression derived from the Delhi announcement is that India's Prime Minister has shown no deviation from his determination to pursue a policy of non-involvement.

Satisfaction over this has been increased here by the suspicion that Mr. Chou sought something more positive than he has obtained. The reference to the Tibet treaty has not been well received in London for India's revulsion to Chinese use of force is remembered and it is thought that Indian gains by the treaty were slight compared with what she surrendered.

Nevertheless, extension of the "five principles for peace" to other Asian areas is fully endorsed. A fuller appraisal of the implications of the Delhi talks waits on fuller information from the Indian capital.

New York, June 28.—American comment on the Chou-Nehru talks in New Delhi generally centres on the theme that China had emerged on to the world diplomatic stage and the question was posed whether Mr. Chou En-lai would help to draw Mr. Nehru towards Moscow or Mr. Nehru would draw Mr. Chou En-lai away from Moscow.

Some papers viewed the results of the talks from their possible impact on U.K.-U.S.A. policies as formulated by Mr. Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill, and their effect on Indo-American relations.

The *Christian Science Monitor* finds that "Americans today have little idea of the extent to which their Government and nation are becoming isolated from nearly all other free Governments and nations. They would find it hard to understand the anxiety other free peoples feel as they try to follow American leadership.

"Most of America's allies—like Britain—also see the sense in Mr. Nehru's meeting with Mr. Chou. For the meeting provides Mr. Chou with an important non-Commusist contact which could prove useful to his dealings with Moscow."

The *New York Times* calls Mr. Chou's visit a "masterpiece is timing and staging. It has added enormously to the prestige of Communist China, and Mr. Nehru became apparently a willing instrument in building up the position of the still unpurged Korean aggressor. The appeal to the largely mythical 2,000 years' friendship between India and China and the astonishing tongue-in-the-cheek reference to a happy agreement over Tibet may reach a high level of mendacity and presumption, but they obviously were accepted at face value by millions who are unwary."

The *New York Post* said: "The Delhi meeting underlined the growing alienation between Washington and Delhi. It reflected Mr. Nehru's view—which is also the British views—that the door of escape from the Cominform should be left open for Chinese Communists, and that our total commitment to Chiang has served only to consolidate the Moscow-Peking axis.

"The gap between America and India has steadily widened. Has the Eisenhower Administration written off India? Will Mr. Dulles now refuse to speak to Mr. Nehru because Mr. Nehru is speaking to Mr. Chou? Is Mr. Nixon's new absorption with the history of China designed to mask the Eisenhower Administration's present debacle in India?"

The Hague, June 29.—The Liberal newspaper, *Algemeen Handelsblad,* said today the talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai in New Delhi and those in Washington between Sir Winston Churchill and prefer. The idea overlooks, too, vast differences and hostilities among the lands involved.

All along the line just now, Mr. Dulles, together with the Washington Administration, is playing a dangerous game of loose ideas and loose talk. The dramatic siege of Dien Bien Phu was built up as if it were a key to the whole Indo-China conflict, though it has been in French hands less than six months. With a clairvoyance no one else possessed, Mr. Dulles and the President took it for granted that the loss of Indo-China to Communism would inevitably mean the loss of all South-East Asia. May be so, more likely not so at all. Besides, if it did go Communist, it would plainly be because the people on the whole would rather have it that way than to fall under their Western protectors. A real French move for independence will help but it will take time for another French pledge to be believed.

No difficulty seems as great as for simple-minded Westerners to understand what is in Asian minds. To the West it is clear—and the West is right—that for Communism to take another country would be tragic. But the Asians have their own memories and outlook. To them, it is hard to see why the Chinese Communists are any more aggressors for aiding their side in Indo-China than are the Americans for helping the French cause; the Chinese are next door, the Americans 9,000 miles off. As for aggressive invasion, Thailand, about which we are worried was really invaded a number of times and minor territories taken—but by the French, from Indo-China!

To the glib westerner, Ho Chi Minh is not only a Communist, but as such a thoroughly bad egg. The Asians, however, remember that during the war with Japan, Ho was admired and backed by Chiang Kai Shek, and was promised post-war help (even against the French) by certain O.S.S. agents from the United States. Asians don't forget that greedy Frenchmen in 1945 overvalued the Indo-Chinese piastre, for speedy profits, and that because of this, Ho Chi Minh was able to stretch his slender funds to acquire more arms for his struggle than he had ever dreamed possible. Asians recall that when Ho was invited to Paris to negotiate a settlement, in 1946, he had scarcely left when the French High Commissioner, Admiral d'Argenlieu, broke the agreed status quo and created three "independent" puppet states. Thus when Mr. Dulles takes the line that we can't trust Communist pledges, Asians admit it is probably true, but they tend to lack trust in anybody. Thus no mere military threat or action will win the Asian mind.

Anglo-U.S. Relations

It is no secret that the current talks between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill was conceived for bridging the widening gulf between the American and British foreign policies. For a quite considerable time before the recent talks were announced press reports spoke of those differ The visit of Mr. Dulles to the European capitals before the opening of the Geneva Conference also designed to the same objective and it app as if the points of difference had been settled for time being with their agreement to hold consulta on a Security Pact for S.-E. Asia. But it was long before the differences came to the level at the Geneva Conference itself it was unmistak The *Statesman* reported from London on May that it could no longer be disguised that Anglo relations were at the lowest ebb since the end of war.

According to *Reuter* the differences co several issues:

"(1) Whether there should be immediate to set up a South-East Asia defence Pact, as Am wishes, or whether this should wait until the ou of the Geneva Conference, as Britain wishes.

"(2) Whether projected five-nation sta on Souts-East Asia's future security from a mil point of view should or should not be connected the proposed South-East Asia treaty organi America wants a link between the two sets of Britain wishes to avoid this.

"(3) The question of actual military inter tion in the field, which Britain refused and wh again being disoussed directly between France USA." (May 20).

On June 15, Prime Minister Churchill annou in the British Parliament that he had accepted invitation of the American President to visit W ington on June 25. Political circles considered though the invitation had been sent earlier the of the date was a snap decision brought abo the trend of international events

In a dispatch on June 18, the Washington co pondent of the London *Times* writes that the A American differences were definitely much d than anyone liked to admit in public and ex "well below such superficial divergencies as that the timing of the conference to consider united in South-East Asia." The correspondent repor strong attitude on the part of the US Govern on matters that had been the object of dis discussion not so long ago and writes that as at on policies that had long been flabby have s hardened and were being tempered to resis onslaught of Sir Winston Churchill's arguments

"Indeed," the correspondent writes, "exce Europe, the differences are thought in Washing be more important than the areas of agreement many of them will not be easy to resolve." (S *man*, June 19).

In another despatch on June 25, the corresp writes that during his talks Mr. Churchill come up against problems "different in kind as as degree from those faced by any British before the war." The USA was reportedly of the opinion that the Anglo-US alliance was "to close" and needed re-examination and a redefinition. The US Secretary of the State was of the view that where British and US views coincided a formal alliance should be negotiated. The correspondent writes: "Mr. James Reston reports in the *New York Times* that about 10 days ago Mr. Dulles wrote out a list of differences between the two countries which must be discussed in the next few days. It ran to three foolscap pages and included everything, from the recognition of Communist China and the possibility of a top-level meeting with the Soviet Union to the exchange of atomic information and, of course, there were innumerable references to countries in those areas where the Administration thinks it is losing ground because of its support of British and French colonialism—Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and nearly every other Middle Eastern country."

"Since Mr. Dulles made the list, he has had no occasion to crowd out any items. Instead, he has probably made a number of additions, many of them as a result of Mr. Eden's speech in the House of Commons on Wednesday (June 23). One phrase in particular seems to have caused misgivings in Washington—his reference to the South-East Asian pact being 'a future safeguard' rather than a 'present panacea'."

Eisenhower-Churchill Communique

Following is the 400-word communique which President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill issued at the end of their reviews of international problems on June 28th :

"In these few days of friendly and fruitful conversations we have considered various subjects of mutual and world interest.

"We are agreed that the German Federal Republic should take its place as an equal partner in the community of Western nations, where it can make its proper contribution to the defence of the free world. We are determined to achieve this goal convinced that the Bonn and Paris treaties provide the best way. We welcome the recent statement of the French Prime Minister that an end must be put to the present uncertainties.

"The European Defence Community Treaty has been ratified by four of the six signatory nations after exhaustive dates over a period of more than two years. Naturally these nations are unwilling to disregard their previous legislative approvals or to reopen these complex questions.

"In connection with these treaties the United States and the United Kingdom have given important assurances, including the disposition of their armed forces in Europe, in order to demonstrate their confidence in the North Atlantic Community and in the E.D.C. and the Bonn treaties.

"It is our conviction that further delay in the entry into force of the E.D.C, and Bonn Treaties would damage the solidarity of the Atlantic nations.

"We wish to reaffirm that the programme for European unity inspired by France of which the E.D.C. is only one element, so promising to peace and prosperity in Europe, continues to have our firm support.

"We discussed South-East Asia and, in particular, examined the situation which would arise from the conclusion of an agreement of Indo-China. We also considered the situation which would follow from failure to reach such an agreement.

"We will press forward with plans for Collective Defence to meet either eventuality.

"We are both convinced that if at Geneva the French Government is confronted with demands which prevent an acceptable agreement regarding Indo-China, the international situation will be seriously aggravated.

"We also discussed technical co-operation on Atomic Energy.

"We agreed that both our countries would benefit from such co-operation to the fullest extent allowed by U.S. legislation.

"In addition to these specific matters, we discussed the basic principles underlying the policy of our two countries. An agreed declaration setting forth certain of these will be made available tomorrow."

"Let's Thank McCarthy"

The McCarthy witch-hunt is a product of a rabid "complex" that is affecting the U.S.A. administration, both internally and externally. Fortunately some people in the U.S. are now awake to the dangers of such a situation.

This article, which appeared in the *Worldover Press* for April 16, from which we append extracts, is by Mr. Barrett the former Under-Secretary of State for Information, U.S., author of *Truth Is Our Weapon*, and now the head of an organization for expert advice on publication problems. His article is adapted from a speech made in New York at a dinner celebrating the 20th anniversary of *Worldover Press*.

"We can be thankful that we had him at this particular time in our history. Experience has taught and is teaching us lessons that a young and buoyant people had to learn sooner or later. They have been terribly costly lessons, but the learning of such lessons might have been infinitely, more costly, indeed disastrous, if it had come at a different time and under different circumstances.

"For example, we can shudder at the thought of Americans having their first full experience with an equally crafty and forceful character at, say, the depths of a great depression or in other times of great stress. And let us suppose that at such a time the individual involved bore at least the superficial hallmarks of truthfulness. The result might not have been just costly, it could have been altogether tragic.

"Now as this brazen and curious character, in my opinion, nears or passes his zenith, we can be thankful that the shabby spectacle of important Americans fawning before him has produced an arrogance that is helping to undo him.

"Advisedly I use the words 'nears or passes his zenith.' For at long last we have seen in recent days on all sides of us disconsolate headshaking by some of the very same Americans who not so long ago were thoughtlessly mounting the comment, 'I don't like his methods, but. . . .' This head-shaking, happily, has been seen increasingly on the editorial pages of our best conservative journals, and, miracle of miracles, it has begun to show up occasionally in our worst conservative journals.

"We may yet be thankful, I suspect, that some distinguished members of our Congress are beginning to shake their heads and wonder about the wisdom of yielding to political blackmail. Ours is a young and not altogether mature nation; we have to learn such lessons. We probably have to learn them the hard way. Thank heaven we did not have to learn them from a more plausible character in even more critical days. Under those circumstances the freedoms we cherish might never have survived."

Mrs. Roosevelt on Freedom

Mrs. Roosevelt's article is adapted from a speech made at a dinner on "Freedom and Responsibility of the Press," celebrating *Worldover Press's* 20th anniversary. We give some excerpts below, to show how a sane elder stateswoman views her own country:

New York.—"When we think of all the efforts made in the United Nations to write a covenant on freedom of information, we realize it is very difficult to get a meeting of minds on what you really mean by freedom of information and on what you really want to achieve.

There is censorship in many parts of the world, and there are different kinds of censorship. We have censorship, too, in this country. It is not a government censorship, but censorship we certainly do have.

Perhaps what we need to do is to examine ourselves as citizens and ask whether today we are doing our job, in every area, of trying to keep freedom and justice. Always before, the people of this country have held to freedom as one of our main objectives. But not long ago I was reading the history of 25 years' work by the American Civil Liberties Union, and it brought home to me something I had almost forgotten. It made me stop and realize that civil rights, freedom, justice, have to be fought for all the time.

We talk as if we had these rights from the very beginning. As a matter of fact we have fought for them every step of the way. Only, we tend to forget how much we had to fight, how slowly we made gains, and how easily they can be lost. The minute things seems simple and quiet, we are delighted to fold our hands and close our minds and say everything's all right in the best of possible worlds and we don't to do anything.

It is in reading the history of what has a happened in this country through 25 years of f for civil liberties that one is reminded of the fa we are not in any different situation today from we have been in, many times before. The chief d ence is that for some strange reason it seems to a little more to arouse us, and leaders seem a little difficult to find.

Nowadays, people are called "traitors," yo told that something is "treason," and that's i stops right there and nobody pays any attention just accept it as so many words, which don't mea thing any more. You find the head of a Ju Committee in the Senate actually bringing out c against the head of the Supreme Court, charges t when looked at with reason are so utterly foolish picayune and ridiculous you wonder whether, i were brought against some small individual in a local election, would they be believed, would an pay attention to them? And yet they are brought by the head of a responsible committee about a Justice of the United States.

Now I hope that at last the people of the c have been awakened to the fact that there co time when they must take individual responsibility making their voices heard. There are times wh voice of the people is essential, to convince th legislative and administrative posts of what the p want. And this is one of the cases when our papers, it seems to me, at least those I have reading, are actually seeking out the facts and r ing what a great many of our people think.

I do not like Communism. I have had o with people who had to act under Communist r ments, and I have frequently wondered how they stand facing themselves. What you come to re and what you fear under Communism is a sl the body and of the mind. It is not the differe systems alone that matters; we can have differe tems in the world, and try to resolve those dif in normal ways. But free minds cannot live wi tolerate, a slavery which obliges you to say thi know are lies. I have seen intelligent, educated having to do that, and I think this kind of sl what we are most afraid of.

But not to understand what you are afraid of going to help you fight it. As I have been s this country, I have had some people say th "Senator McCarthy is a wonderful person—he sh the dangers of Communism." I have said, "Ju is Communism?" Not one in twenty would c to tell me what they think Communism is. they have accepted, many of them, the fact th is something you must fight. But until you kn it is, you aren't going to get anywhere. Or w have some positive idea that the way to fight i *believe in freedom and justice and fight for that faith.*

In Japan I met a professor who remarked to me: 'Oh, we think the things you say democracy means are wonderful! But in what we read and in what we see, we are not always quite sure you live the things you say.' Such a comment is a bit difficult to answer, especially with what is happening to us at the present time."

The H Bomb

Revealing comments on the real nature of the H bombs and the helpless position of all humanity—inclusive of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—are given in the May 28 issue of the *Worldover Press*. We give extracts below, to show how helpless the world is:

A Little Girl named Sumie Yukuhiro died a few weeks ago of radiation injuries which no one suspected until 1953, but which were suffered when Sumie was only four and happened to be a mile and half from the Hiroshima A-Bomb blast of August, 1945. Sumie never knew it, but the tragic fate caught up, as by a symbol, a lot of problems that are bound to beset the West in forming a *Nato* pact for South-East Asia and in trying to build united defenses among the Pacific nations.

When Native Leaders in the Marshall Islands entered a protest at the United Nations against the Pacific hydrogen bomb tests conducted by the United States, they received a kindly, sympathetic—and almost meaningless—reply from Henry Cabot Lodge. Lodge said the U.S. would give injured islanders the same medical care afforded to Americans hurt in the tests. That was meaningless because, according to the testimony of frank medical experts, doctors just don't know what to do with radiation injuries. Many of the best ones have been so quoted. And when Lodge explained that the current series of bomb experiments were now ended, that too was meaningless, because radiation may continue for incredible periods near the center of the explosions.

From the Japanese point of view, the people's livelihood is often at stake. A *Worldover Press* correspondent in Tokyo reports that many of the large fish brought to Japanese ports were not at first contaminated but had become so after swallowing smaller fish which had been. A vast region is considered so unsafe for fishing that Japanese scientists themselves, now trusting no one, are starting to make elaborate and detailed tests of waters totalling thousands of square miles. The fishermen injured by proximity to the Marshall Islands are not recovering as glib Americans said they would. Popular opinion in Japan—on which the U.S. wishes to lean for a stronghold-defense against Communism—is said to be at the lowest ebb in years.

The Philippines had also been selected by Washington as a great defense bastion, through the military and naval bases it said it owned there. Attorney-General Herbert Brownell gave a legal opinion to the effect that these bases were genuine U.S. property. Friendly as are the leading Filipinos to Uncle Sam, they are dissenting vigorously. Their own legal experts say that when the bases pact was negotiated in 1947, the U.S. declared it should not have to pay rent. You don't even consider paying rent for your own property, so say Philippines spokesmen. Nothing is said on the record about the H-Bomb, but more and more the Pacific peoples are showing an anxiety not to have them stored or used from their soil. Being given "protection" of this sort is like a kiss of death.

The American people, on their own home grounds, are showing no interest whatsoever in the appeals made by civil defence authorities. And no wonder, for the "experts" themselves are confused and contradictory, and anything but frank. After at last coming around to an admission that underground shelters are worse than useless—which this column pointed out last October—they are saving the only hope for cities is their speedy evacuation. There are 70 critical cities, with a total population of 30,000,000. Only an utter fool could think these cities could be evacuated safely or usefully inside of a week, yet we are told that by another year and a half we may have six hours' warning. Where are the people to go, without possessions, without any preparations to be received properly—something which, again, would require years?

Admittedly it is hypocritical for the Russians, with their own tests, to complain. But Gordon Dean, former atomic energy chief, is no Communist. He has said: "It does no good to reach the point where we would be able to wipe out an enemy 20 times over, if he reaches the point where he can wipe us out just once."

Events in Guatemala

Guatemala is a small State in Central America adjoining Mexico, Honduras, San Salvador and the Pacific. The country with an area of about 45,452 square miles has a population of 3,706,205. Agriculture being the main avocation of the majority of the people. The chief products are coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. Since 1950 a leftist Government under President Jacobo Arbenz has been in power. This leftist Government was not looked upon with favour, to put it mildly, by its powerful neighbour in the north.

Recently Guatemala was reported to have been purchasing arms from Communist countries of Europe. The Government of the USA, in order to stop the import of arms, requested the European maritime powers to allow their ships to be searched on the high seas.

Reuter reports from New York on June 19 that an anti-Communist "army of liberation" had seized about one-third of the territory of Guatemala within 24 hours of a powerful attack by land and sea. The rebel forces led by the exiled Colonel Castillio Armas were reportedly operating from the territory of Honduras. The invaders' airforce, consisting of about 16 planes, carried out strikes against Guatemala city, San Josi and Puerto Barrios.

Official Guatemalan sources said that the invaders were using arms recently sent by the USA to Honduras and Nicaragua. The Guatemalan Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Senor Alferdo Chocano said: "Where did 10 P-47 (Thunderbolt) and other planes of US manufacture come from? These are the planes which have been bombing and strafing various places in Guatemala."

Senor Guillermo Toriello, Foreign Minister of Guatemala, said in a Press Conference that the Government of Nicaragua was directly involved in the interventionist move against his country. He accused the USA of an "absurd and criminal campaign" against Guatemala. The invasion was described as the culmination of a well laid out plan.

The Government of Guatemala immedaitely requested for a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to "put a stop to the aggression now in progress." The Security Council was asked to send an observation commission to investigate her charges of aggression by Honduras and Nicaragua, which had been instigated by certain monopolies.

In a speech before the Security Council, the delegate from Guatemala, Dr. Eduardo Castillo Arriola declared: "The battle of Guatemala has started. The battle that has been looming for so long has now started. Guatemala is being invaded by international forces under the treacherous guise of exiles." The invading army was "part of an illegitimate international organization," he said.

"We have been unjustly accused of being a threat to the other countries of the continent," Dr. Ariolla said.

The Security Council unanimously approved a French resolution calling "for the immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed" and requesting "all members of the UN to abstain in the spirit of the charter, from giving assistance to any such action.

An earlier Brazilian-Colombian resolution to pass the question to the organization of American States was voted down by the USSR.

The attitude of the US Government was that the present chaos in Guatemala was due to an internal uprising against the present regime in the country. The US Government was not at all willing to have the issue dealt with by the Security Council. They wanted it to be tackled by the organisation of American States—an American prototype of NATO.

In an editorial article on June 21, the *Statesman* writes: "A fortnight ago, after arrests in the capital, Guatemala's Minister of the Interior spoke of the unearthing of a plot and said that those arrested were 'the vanguard of forces based on foreign soil.' If the Government had still earlier information about the contemplated invasion, as seems likely, it i surprising that it sought arms wherever it co

The latest news, at the time of our going to runs as follows:

Guatemala City, June 29.—Col. Carlos En Diaz, who took over the Guatemalan Presidency days ago, has been arrested following the formation o new Government.

The new governing junta is: Senors Jose Luiz C Elfego H. Monzon and Mauricio Dubois.

Orders have been given for the arrest of all k Communists. There will be a general amnesty all prisoners jailed for political offences by pre regimes.

New York Radio stations quoting a broadca the Guatemalan Government Radio announced t that the Military junta headed by Col. Carlos En Diaz had resigned.

Rebel "Rodia Liberation" reported tonight tha columns of troops were marching on Guatemala (after a bombing raid by bombers.

The bombings were reported by the Guatem Government Radio. The Radio was left on during raid and the explosions could be heard here.

The Rebel Radio said that the fighting would on despite the fact that the President Jacobo Arb Guzman has left the Government and was flying Argentina.

The insurgents claimed that President Arbenz h not acted within the Constitution and should have han the Government over to the President of the Con or in his absence to the President of the Supreme Co instead of Col Diaz.

Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

The *Worldover Press* presents this contras May 21 issue:

No greater contrast could be found betwee United States and the Soviet Union than in agricul management and production. All over the vast S controlled areas, efforts are going forward to placate peasants, and one scheme after another is tried order to get government officials off the hook. many years, until last fall, Russian and satellite fa at harvest time, were compelled to thresh their g then first deliver to the state, following which seed gr had to be stored, and finally the residue was distri to the farmers themselves. Seed storage, some m ago, was put first.

The most revolutionary change was inaugu when government prices were increased to far while consumers' prices were kept at the same le and, later, actually reduced. In short, the farm co had failed so badly that fundamentals of Soviet ec mic theory had to be shifted. Until very lately, e emphasis was being placed on an increase of ca

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but in the last few weeks even this has had to be somewhat modified, simply because there was insufficient grain in sight to feed growing stock.

In the United States, however, what a difference! True, farmers are sometimes in revolt against government ideas, but because of a very contrary situation. American food production has piled up surpluses so tremendous that they stagger the imagination. The National Council of Churches, which has been working on plans for expanding if possible its distribution of food to the world's needy, points out that if U.S. food reserves were loaded in 50-ton railway cars in a single train running through the United States, the engine would be in Europe and the caboose in China. It would take 7,000 shiploads of 200 carloads each to move these reserves. Stocks now owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation or under loan, are closed to the value of seven billion dollars.

You can look at this in two ways. One would be to gloat over the obvious failure of the dictatorial system, compared to the freer system by which American agriculture works. Certainly, the weakness of dictatorship is apparent, but we cannot yet be certain that farmers in the U.S. can remain prosperous without strong government intervention.

There are sore spots, for that matter, in our handling of farm output. The dust bowl amounts to a perpetual disgrace. Floods are still allowed to go on the rampage,, year after year, in many areas of the country, with no provisions for speedy control.

Indo-Pakistan Canal Waters

New Delhi, June 26.—Indo-Pakistani talks on canal waters under the auspices of the World Bank, deadlocked for many weeks, have broken down.

Having accepted the World Bank proposal in its entirety, although it conferred only 20% of the water of the Indus Basin on this country, India enjoys the moral gain.

India now feels free to use the waters of the three Indian rivers in accordance with the agreement of 1948 which, in India's opinion, still prevails although Pakistan has repudiated it. India is also free from the standstill promise given to Pakistan under the terms of the World Bank letter of March 13, 1948, which initiated the talks.

All the same, it is stated that solely for humanitarian reasons and the interests of the common man in Pakistan India does not propose to withdraw more water than can be replaced by the Balloki-Sulaimanki link. This is called a self-imposed sacrifice by India which seeks neither reward nor recognition by Pakistan.

Diversion of waters now flowing into Pakistan from the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi, whose use is exclusively awarded to India by the World Bank, will take about five years to complete. During this period, in the World Bank's view, Pakistan, if it desires and tries, can create alternative irrigation resources. This time-limit has also been accepted by India.

The World Bank proposal had included a transitional arrangement for about five years. A proper time-table had to be drawn up for withdrawal of waters by India.

Although no works were proposed for joint construction by the two countries, some link canals in Pakistan were needed to replace supplies from India. India was to bear the cost of such works to the extent she benefited from them. This amount was variously estimated. It was a large sum amounting to about Rs. 60 crores, according to one estimate. India had agreed to pay this amount. Now there will be no question of doing so following the breakdown of the talks.

Ceylon Indians and U.S. "Aid"

The recent press reports of a proposed US-Ceylon Pact have significantly coincided with a stiffening of the attitude of the Government of Ceylon in their relations with the Government of India over the fate of Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin. The New Delhi agreement between Sir John Kotelawala and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, while weighting very much in favour of Ceylon, was nevertheless welcomed as a mark of desire on the part of both Governments to reach an agreement. Many, including this paper, were sceptical about how the pact would turn out to be implemented. The recent events have unfortunately confirmed those misgivings.

The Government of Ceylon proposed to deprive "stateless" citizens from their employment, ration-books and their places of abode. The "statelelss" persons were those whom the Ceylon Government had refused to accept as citizens.

The Nehru-Kotelawala agreement was based on the fundamental thesis that no one would be forced out of Ceylon though legitimate facilities would be provided by the Ceylon Government to those Ceylon Indians who would like to become Indian citizens. But it would hardly be conceded by any reasonable man that deprivation of employment and food were friendly and legitimate inducements.

The Government of Ceylon, however, did not stop there. They introduced in the Ceylon Parliament a new piece of legislation which curtailed the rights of registered citizens. The bill proposed to segregate the registered citizens to a particular area and introduced the vicious system of communal representation. The Ceylon citizens of Indian origin could elect and be elected only from the areas specified for registered citizens. They could not take part in the political activities in other parts of the country.

Naturally enough there was much opposition to this move of the Government. The Ceylon *Tribune* vehemently criticizes the measures as "segregation on racial lines with a vengeance" and protests against the infringement of rights of the registered citizens.

Explaining the implications of the proposed legislation in another editorial article on June 19, the newspaper writes that it was the thin end of the wedge to crush all opposition to the ruling United Natoinal Party. The citizens of Indian origin were being pigeon-holed because they had opposed the UNP in 1947 elections. In this connection the paper recalls the statement of the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala in the Ceylon Parliament in which he had openly threatened to punish Opposition Constituencies until they returned Government candidates.

The paper writes: "Under the garb of solving some of other problems that arise from Indian immigrant labour being brought to Ceylon by British planters, the Government now seeks in the best style and manner of the great Malan to isolate and segregate a community that has contributed a great deal to the development of this Island so that it would be politically ineffective."

The newspaper warns the people of Ceylon that if they agreed to that piece of legislation being passed they would thereby help the fascization of the Island, because by curtailing the rights of registered citizens the Government was "opening the door to similar disenfranchisement and political crippling of other sections of this country whose politics do not meet with the approval of the bigwigs of the UNP.

"Already the Premier has threatened that he would 'denationalize' and 'de-citizenise' all citizens of this country whose politics appear to him to be un-Ceylonese . . . "

It refers to press reports which stated that the Ceylon Premier, Sir John Kotelawala, was contemplating the formation of pseudo-fascist military units in the police and the public services as well as the setting up of screening committees in the MacCarthy tradition. There were also attempts to introduce legislation to penalise all those whose politics differed from those of the party in power.

In conclusion the paper writes that if those neo-fascist tendencies went unchallenged Ceylon would soon be overwhelmed by fascism and totalitarianism and would lose all her liberties.

That the recent anti-Indian moves were inspired by foreign imperialist powers was best illustrated by an article in the *UNP-Journal,* official organ of the ruling United National Party of Ceylon of which Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister, was the chosen leader.

The article written by a British national, Stanley Morrison, columnist of *UNP-Journal,* pointedly attacked the Ceylon Indians and their leaders and said: "It is now time that all loyal citizens began to organize their own resistance movement against the treacherous tactics of these Indians, who claim Ceylon citizenship while perpetually appealing to India for support. If India is justified in making things hot for foreign enclaves in India, has Ceylon not got the elementary right to protest against the infiltra Indians, who make no secret of their ambition mately to swamp this country and thus make part of India? Has Ceylon at last attained inde dence in order to surrender to Indian imperial Morrison stated, Ceylon was conscious enough become a second Kashmir.

According to the Colombo correspondent of *Hindu,* from whose report the above has been q "To save Lanka's independence Morrison has gested the following course of action: (1) Government should take steps to deprive Thondamon and other members of the Ceylon D cratic Congress (formerly known as the C Indian Congress.—Ed., *M. R.*), 'who are Indians and last,' of their citizenship rights; (2) freeze al funds in banks; (3) close down all Indian ba the island for the duration of the Indian cam of coercion and terrorism; (4) permit all Cey organizations to organize in the island a b movement for the boycott of Indian trading blishments, big or small; (5) immediately pass compelling firms and individual employers as w local bodies to dismiss Indian employees, who cipate in strikes organized by the Congress; (6) if the strikes on estates continued for ove week, the Government should compel estate-ow to stop the issue of rice to the workers."

U.S. Intrigues in Nepal

The hostile demonstration against the In Parliamentary Delegation in Kathmandu high the American intrigues in Nepal. The Dele went there on a goodwill mission, invited by Government of Nepal. But on reaching Kath they were faced with abuse, brickbats and blac demonstrations organised by the Gorkha Paris party of the feudal Ranas of Nepal.

The US ambassador in India, Mr. George V Allen, promptly denied that there was any Am intervention in the internal affairs of Nepal. But to "prove" the worth of the ambassador's state only two days later, the Nepalese police inte a parcel of four sets of the latest model Am military wireless receivers and transmitters add to a pro-American leader of the reactionary Go Parishad, General Mrigendra.

Referring to the American role in Nepal *People* comments as follows: "The main duty of every American, official and non-official, dip or technician, appears to be to foment trouble tween Nepal and India, and to promote civil f Dismissing the American ambassador's denial paper asks why then had those wireless sets sent.

"In particular American diplomats are to create as much trouble as they can for In the bordering areas of Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and in the land of the Nagas," the paper writes.

The New Delhi correspondent of the Ceylon *Tribune*, Sri Sibdas Banerji, writes in the June 12 issue of the paper: "Three years ago when the feudal Rana regime was being overthrown in Nepal, I happened to be there. Strange things happened then before my eyes but stranger things are happening now. The discredited Ranas have been, it seems so clearly, picked up by Dulles for a game south of Tibet. Ceylon will remember that her Mr. Philip K. Crowe (of the USFBI) accompanied by two top US diplomats in New Delhi paid a surprise visit to Nepal sometime ago."

India and Events in East Pakistan

Referring to the reported official comment in New Delhi that the events in East Bengal were the internal affairs of Pakistan and India had no concern with what was happening there, the diplomatic correspondent of the *People* wondered what it actually meant "unless it be the merest of poses." That attitude was rather strange once it was admitted that foreign influences were at work in the dismissal of the Huq Ministry and there were high international policy ?"—*People,* 12.6.54.

The correspondent writes: "Questions that bear heavily on India are: If Pakistan is to be converted into an American base in connection with the scheme of collective security for South-East Asia, will not India be squeezed in between the two Pakistans, very well armed and equipped by America?

"Are not troop concentrations taking place on the borders?

"Will it not be, in effect, an attempt to hold India in fear and make her change her present policy?" *People,*

We consider these comments as being curious examples of undiplomatic and uninformed wishful thinking. We should like to know whether the *People* still has the same semi-official status as it had some time back.

The U.S.A. and East Pakistan

The *Hitavada* writes that while the events in East Bengal were a domestic affair of Pakistan, the larger issues raised by those developments could not be passed over. In the light of press reports of great American pressure on the Pakistan Central Government for the dismissal of the Huq Ministry the newspaper thought it was significant that the main promoter of Turco-Pakistan and Pak-U.S. military pacts was made the Governor of East Bengal, where the people had clearly signified their disapproval of those pacts by voting the United Front to power. The USA claimed that they were the supporters of democracy and they upheld all their policies with this claim. But was there democracy in Pakistan ? Pakistan was still being ruled by the undemocratic Government of India Act, 1935 with some adaptations. Under that Act, the Governor-General could dismiss any Ministry. Under the British rule, that power was exercised only once. But after the formation of Pakistan the dismissal of popular ministries, which were inconvenient to the ruling clique at Karachi, became a common occurrence. The Khan Saheb Minitsry of North-West Frontier Province, the Mamdot Ministry of West Punjab, the Khuro Ministry of Sind, the Nazimuddin Ministry at the Centre and now the Huq Ministry in Eastern Pakistan had all been dismissed by the Pakistan Governor-General. "Do all these show that democracy is functioning in Pakistan? By allying with Pakistan, are not the Americans assisting in the burial of democracy while professing to be great upholders of democratic rights?"

The *Hindu* in an editorial article on the deposition of the Huq Ministry writes that the full story of the real causes behind the recent events in East Pakistan would, perhaps, never be known. Analysing the Pakistan official contention that the steps taken were intended to prevent Communist subversion, the paper is unconvinced about calling up the mass arrests a round-up of Communists. The newspaper has two explanations to offer. One was that the Pakistan Government saw in the present crisis "an opportunity to show, by action, to the United States how much they can be depended upon to pursue actively the anti-Communist line." The second was that it was the first sign of the emergence of a kind of MacCarthyism in Pakistan. Neither of those could be construed to have any relation to any genuine effort for bridging the misunderstanding between people of the two parts of the country, the paper concludes.

Deposition of Huq Ministry

The Central Government of Pakistan dismissed the East Bengal Ministry, formed under the leadership of Mr. Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq. After Muslim League Party had received a crushing defeat in the recent elections from the United Front, composed of the Awami League, headed by Maulana Bhashani; Krishak Shramik Party, headed by Mr. Huq and several other minor parties. The newly elected Provincial Legislature, however, was not dissolved and the decree proclaiming the dissolution of the ministry assured that with the return to normal conditions, power would be reverted to a popular ministry. Later on the Provincial Assembly was suspended, thereby stopping all monthly allowances of the members.

This decision apparently was not reached smoothly and much 'outside' pressure was reported. Even the Governor of the province, Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman was reported to have been opposed to the imposition of Governor's rule. He was replaced by Major-General Iskander Mirza, until then Defence Secretary of Pakistan.

The announcement of the decision of the Pakistan

Government to overrule the East Bengal ministry was followed by a wave of mass arrests in both parts of Pakistan and according to the *Statesman's* staff correspondent in Dacca, 1051 persons including 33 M.L.A's were arrested by June 20. The arrested included two members of the dissolved ministry, doctors, journalists and public workers. Mr. Huq was interned in his own house guarded by military pickets. A warrant of arrest was issued againt Maulana Bhashani who was away in Berlin to attend a conference of the World Peace Council. The Secretary of the Provincial Awami League was also put under arrest. Orders of pre-censorship were served on several Dacca dailies. Though pre-censorship was withdrawn on June 11, the newspapers could hardly come out with the truth. Military patrols were posted throughout East Bengal. Meetings were banned and Section 144 imposed. The meeting of the United Front Parliamentary Party, scheduled on the 6th June, failing Government attempts at disruption, was banned at the last minute in spite of the Governor's earlier assurances that no hindrances would be put in the way of the meeting being held.

General Mirza said in a Press Conference at Dacca on June 5, that his Government would ruthlessly crush any trouble. While noting that the situation in the province was peaceful he said that "most ruthless action to destroy Communists" and prevent a recurrence of labour trouble, in industrial concerns in Eastern Pakistan would unhesitatingly be taken. If necessary the Government would even declare martial law. There were "more than enough troops deployed throughout the province" and there were more than 40,000 police in East Bengal, declared the Governor. The District Magistrates who were not ready to go the whole hog with the new administration in the imposition of a rule of coercion and repression of the general population were replaced by those who were more amenable to the policy of the new regime.

The Governor declared that screening boards would be appointed to screen workers and weed out "Communists" in all industrial concerns employing over 5,000 workers which would be declared protected areas. Workers would be allowed entry on production of passports containing their photographs. In smaller undertakings the managers should see that no Communists were taken in on their staff. A screening committee was set up at the highest level for the purpose. Others were to follow. The Screening Committees would cover a total of about 200,000 workers.

Most of the Colleges were closed for the summer vacation when the ministry was superseded. But in some cases, fearing student movement, the authorities ordered for a prolongation of the vacation beyond the usual date. In Dacca, students stayed away from their classes and examinations when the colleges re-opened after the vacation. Arrests and threats of expulsion seemed to have been of little avail in convincing the students to join their classes and examinations. Barring this, the situation throughout the province was rently very quiet. Nonetheless Section 144, ba assembly of more than 5 persons, was re-impo Dacca.

The Governor in his press interview on June 5 stated that they would revoke the order suspending realization of the jute license fee passed by the U Front Government. This was done in a Press issued on June 15. The Government also anno its decision for compulsory destruction of jute in excess of the quantity required to produce 42 bales of jute this year.

Fantastic charges were made against India. following comment of the *Star*, a weekly from La was typical. "Adamjee Tata Mills, Dacca, which is biggest jute mill in whole of Asia has had to down . . . indefinitely due to the Communist spo recent Narayanganj riots. The Communists, alleged, infiltrated into East Pakistan from Bh (June 14, 1954).

In this respect Mr. Mohammed Ali, the Paki Premier, gave the lead. Immediately after the nouncement of the suppression of the East Bengal Ca Mr. Ali took over the Information and Broadca portfolio in his own hands from Mr. Shaib Qu Since then the Pakistan Radio has been leading a paign of unremitting lies and slander against India.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, former Minister in dismissed Cabinet and a prominent leader of the Aw Muslim League said in a statement issued to the P that the promulgation of Governor's rule had "br in its wake a sense of deep frustration if not righ indignation in the mind of every lover of democra The Government had let loose a reign of terror, Rahman declared, and "a large number of pe having left their hearths and homes, are roaming the country for fear of being arrested."

Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, President of Bengal Awami League, said in a statement issued London on May 31 that the dissolution of the Bengal Ministry by the Pakistan Government so after the general elections was an unprecedented in the history of parliamentary democracy. He ref the charge of the Pakistan Premier that the Comm were responsible for the riots in East Pakistan. the contrary, he said, Mr. Mohammed Ali, the Pre and the Muslim League were themselves respo for the tragic events. He regretted the appointment military man as Governor. He said that though Communists were a party in East Pakistan they outside the United Front.

Mr. Suhrawardy, who was reported to be gra ill, in a statement issued through Mr. M. H. U President of Karachi Awami League, expressed extreme regret at the action of the Pakistan Gov ment in dismissing the Huq Ministry. In an statement published on the 5th June, he characterised as unprecedented.

Diplomatic Relations with S. Africa

The Government of India decided in response to a request from the Government of the Union of South Africa, to close the office of the Indian High Commissioner at Capetown from July 1, 1954. Future contact between the two Governments would be maintained through their High Commissioners in London.

India had been maintaining a diplomatic establishment in Capetown since 1927. The diplomatic representative was at first designated as Agent and later on, since 1941, was known as the High Commissioner. The last High Commissioner, Sri R. M. Deshmukh was recalled to India for consultation in May, 1946, when the Union Parliament, despite strong Indian protests and suggestions for consultation, approved of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, which prohibited the occupation and acquisition of property by Indians in Natal except in certain exempted areas. The Government of India had protested even when that bill was being introduced in the South African Parliament and had given notice of the cancellation of their trade agreement with the Government of South Africa in order to regain freedom of action. It had been pointed out to the South African Government that the Act "was more far-reaching in its effect on Union citizens of Indian origin than the Areas Reservation Bill of 1926, which the Union Government abandoned as a result of the discussions leading to the Cape Town Agreement."

The Government of the Union of South Africa had ignored all protests and requests for the postponement of the legislation. Thus the Indian Government had become convinced that no useful purpose could be served by having a High Commissioner stationed in Cape Town. They had not, however, done away with the High Commissioner's office in the hope that some day conditions might improve facilitating the High Commissioner's return. But after the *Aide Memoire* of the South African Government handed to the Indian High Commissioner in London on May 27, the Government of India had no alternative but to close down the Indian High Commissioner's office at Cape Town.

In an editorial article on the matter the *Hindu* writes that there should be no regrets at the closure [illegible] the Indian High Commissioner's office since no useful purpose was being served by India's continued diplomatic relations with South Africa whose Government was following an ideal quite opposed to India's. While India believed in liberty and equality for all mankind irrespective of race, colour and creed Malanite South Africa was wedded to a policy of white domination of the coloured peoples. India had, moreover, earned the particular wrath of Malan fascists by her very active efforts to focuss international attention upon the racial tyranny practised by the Government of South Africa.

The newspaper concludes by saying that after the severance of diplomatic relations "there should be no flagging in the efforts to compel the Malanists to change their racial policies under the pressure of all humane international opinion."

Movement of Foreign Capital

The need for development capital is now urgently felt by underdeveloped countries and the process of development in the initial stages involves a large-scale use of capital on projects which do not yield immediate visible returns. Thus roads, railways, transport, public health and education are all capital-consuming projects which yield little direct return, but which are all the more needed and desired in backward countries. And the paradox of this economic malady is that while domestic capital formation is much too inadequate, political atmosphere does not permit large-scale inflow of development capital. It would require a change in the attitude of many underdeveloped countries in order to encourage the inflow of foreign capital and at the same time to foster internal savings.

But it is a great surprise to note that most of the foreign direct investment in manufacturing industries has, in recent years, been made not in underdeveloped but in economically advanced countries. This is the main conclusion reached by a study of international movement of private capital over the period 1946-52, recently made by the UN Department of Economic Affairs. The Latin American countries are the exceptions, as large amounts of American capital have moved into those countries. The petroleum industry accounts for a large proportion of foreign direct investments in recent years. In other extractive industries, such investments have largely increased, particularly in the dependent countries of Western Europe. The U.N. study notes other main features of the international flow of private foreign capital as follows : (1) The floating in international capital markets of foreign Government bonds, once so important in international financing, is now limited to special cases of loans between countries maintaining close commercial or political relations with each other; (2) similar floating of shares and debentures of business enterprises and trade in outstanding securities have also lost importance ; they are limited to transactions which are related to so-called direct investments, involving managerial control through enterprises in the investing country. Such investments, accordingly, account for the great bulk of private long-term capital flowing between countries ; (3) the growth of direct investments does not result mainly from the transfer of fresh funds from the capital-exporting countries, but from the re-investment of a large proportion of the profits earned ; (4) underdeveloped countries in Latin America get most of their supply of foreign capital from the United States and dependent territories from their respective metropolitan countries in Western Europe.

Relatively little capital is moving to the independent countries in South-East Asia; (5) there is no flow of private capital to countries with centrally planned economies in Eastern Europe and Asia; and (6) new private foreign investment in public utilities have been more than offset by the liquidation of such investment, particularly in railway properties. The outstanding amount of such investment has tended to decline.

In the early days of colonial expansion, and particularly in the nineteenth century it was the United Kingdom that was the main supplier of investment capital to underdeveloped countries. With the disintegration of colonies and for other reasons, the UK is no longer in a position to supply risk capital to backward areas for development purposes. It has now devolved upon the USA to continue the historic role of Britain, especially after the second world war. But another factor has also cropped up simultaneously and this the rehabilitation of the war-damaged economies of advanced industrial countries. The USA is called upon to provide capital to underdeveloped areas for their industrial development and also to war-damaged countries for rehabilitation of their industries. As a result, American aid to underdeveloped countries has been of limited extent. Nevertheless, the USA's aid during the period 1946 to 1953 was of unprecedented magnitude. The value of the United States' economic aid to foreign countries aggregated 41.7 billion dollars (nearly Rs. 20,000 crores). Of this amount, 33 billion dollars went as economic aid to advanced countries.

While the US Government aid has been less plentiful to underdeveloped countries than to industrially advanced areas, the outflow of US private capital has also followed a similar course. The private capital invested by the USA amounted to $21 billion at the end of 1952. Countrywise, the US direct investments at the end of 1950 (in million dollars) were as follows: UK 847; Continental Europe 873; Canada 3,579; New Zealand 25; South Africa 140; Argentine 356; Brazil 644; Chile 2,540; Cuba 642; Mexico 415; Venezuela 993; Other Latin American Republics 79; India 38; Pakistan 8; the Philippines 149; Indonesia 58; Egypt 39; Israel 15; Liberia 82; UK dependencies 297; other European dependencies in Africa 43; and other countries 659.

The flow of private foreign capital to underdeveloped countries has thus been relatively much less than what it has been to advanced regions. The backward areas could not push on with their economic development programmes for lack of industrial capital. India with its well-organised capital market is seriously handicapped for lack of risk capital. According to the estimate of the Five-Year Plan, the mobilisation of domestic capital during a period of five years would amount to only Rs. 1,704 crores, taking into account deficit financing for Rs. 290 crores. The overall deficit of Rs. 365 crores was estimated to be met from external sources, or, in the absence of it, by additional
measures of internal taxation and borrowing o
further deficit financing. The expenditure und
Plan has recently been increased by Rs. 175 cro
provide additional employment. A major cri
against the Plan was that the rate of economic de
ment contemplated by it is too slow to evoke p
enthusiasm. And in the event of a recession, the r
of the estimated internal funds would be difficul
view of this position, the Government of Indi
earnestly looking for the inflow of foreign capi
an increasing scale. The USA is now the only c
which is in a position to supply large industrial c
to underdeveloped countries. United States ai
foreign countries reached a peak of nearly
million (about £2,320 million sterling) in 1953
tapered off at the end of the year. France wa
biggest individual recipient and Western Europe r
ed about 80 per cent of the total. Aid to Asia r
half and military assistance to the Far East was d
Net transfers to foreign nations of goods and servi
all gift or loan programmes reached $6,400 m
The 1952 total was $5,042 million. Despite Am
opposition the US Administration has recomm
economic and technical aid to India for $104 m
(Rs. 50 crores).

But such aid on Government level cannot
permanent feature in a country's economic structu
sooner or later this type of foreign aid is bo
disappear. Eventually India will have to stand o
own legs in respect of her requirement for ind
capital. But it is a matter of conjecture when
will be self-sufficient in her own resources. Befor
is achieved, this country will have to fall upon f
aid. Assuming that the Government-to-Gover
economic aid will cease before long, there ar
alternative ways whereby capital can flow i
country. The first is the loan raised by the G
ment of the country in foreign countries and the
is the voluntary investment of foreign private ca
Raising capital by loans from foreign countries is
rigid and costly affair. The borrowing cou
obliged to set apart large sums every year towa
demption and for that purpose large sums of f
exchange have to be provided. Moreover, mere c
will not be able to step up industrial developme
less foreign technical aid is available simultane

Thus the prospects of economic aid on Stat
and loans in foreign countries being not too enco
what remains is the last alternative and this i
inflow of private foreign capital. In this case, the
lem of finding foreign exchange for periodical
tances will not be serious and the main advanta
private foreign capital is that it will come bein
ported with its own technical knowledge and fo
no extra cost need be incurred. At a recent sp
the Rotary Club, Mr. Turner, the US Consul-G
Bombay, has sounded a note of warning that A
capital must hereafter be obtained mainly from

sources, not from Government grants or aids. He emphasised that American capital is always eager and ready to flow into any situation where it can be secure from undue controls and interference, and where it can be reasonably assured of the right to remit a fair amount of earnings. Now that negotiations are going on for the establishment of a Development Corporation with help of the World Bank and also American private capital, the Government of India should enter into a commercial treaty with the USA so as to ensure the flow of American private capital to this country. Such a treaty is the need of the day to dispel doubts in the minds of the borrowing country that no political string attaches to the inflow of foreign private capital and also to assure the lending country that its right is assured and is placed on the same par with domestic capital.

Finance for Private Sector

Now that the eagerly awaited report of the Shroff Committee has been published, it remains to be seen how the implementation of the 66 recommendations of the Committee is effected to ensure a steady flow of capital to the private sector of the industry in the country. The Committee observes that while some progress has been registered in regard to investment in new capital, it has not been commensurate with the expectations; and, in order to reach the planned targets, annual investment in new capital will have to be raised to about double that in the period 1951-53. As regards investment in modernisation and replacement of equipment, very considerable leeway remains to be made up in the remaining years of the Plan. Finally, in respect of working capital, the problem has so far not proved acute for the large-scale industries. But medium and small-scale industries have suffered from lack of liquid funds; and further, the planned increase in working funds to sustain a higher output has yet to materialise. If present trends in savings and supply of liquid resources continue, finance would undoubtedly be a major limiting factor to industrial development in the private sector.

The Committee's main terms of reference were to examine ways and means of increasing the finance available to the private sector through sources other than those under the consideration of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, and in particular through the organised banking sector.

With a view to facilitating larger private investment in industries, the Committee has suggested that in respect of large investment in scheduled industries which take time to fructify, it should be possible for Government to give some assurance of immunity from nationalisation, at least for a reasonable period. The Committee has also stressed the need for co-ordinating the work of various licensing authorities and simplifying the procedure so as to avoid unnecessary delay and the consequent loss to enterpreneurs. The Committee considers that a major factor impeding private investment is the variety of additional obligations to compensate labour imposed by legislative measures of the Union and the State Governments and also by awards of Industrial Tribunals. Although the Committee feels that these measures may, from the welfare point of view, be good in themselves, their cumulative impact on industries is onerous.

In dealing with the factors affecting the supply of investment funds, the Committee observes that recent changes in the pattern of income distribution have been responsible for the reduced flow of savings into the organised capital market. At the same time, borrowings by Government and Government agencies have been substantial. The combined effect is the limitation of the scope for financing the programmes of expansion and rehabilitation of the private sector through new issues on the capital market.

The Committee's approach is marked by realistic outlook and their report is more practical than academic. It is of great interest to practical businessmen, bankers, insurers and brokers connected with the capital market. Critics may, however, say that the Committee has recommended too many corporations and financial institutions. A mere increase in the number of such institutions will not necessarily lead to increased flow of finance to private industries. The Committee's recommendation that a Special Development Corporation, with a capital of Rs. 5 crores and a loan of Rs. 10 crores from the Central and State Governments, be established for financing small-scale industries, may not find favour with the authorities. They may naturally doubt the need for such a corporation when almost every State will be having its financial corporation for financing small-scale industries. The Committee's recommendation, if followed, will lead to overlapping and duplication of effort in this connection.

On the question of providing long-term finance to industries, the Committee has made several suggestions. It is plainly not in favour of mixed banking, notwithstanding a strong pleading made by a section of the business community. Unrestricted mixed banking in an underdeveloped country like ours, is fraught with dangers. Banks in India, however, in a limited way have already been participating in the provision of long-term finance to industries through their investments in industrial securities and through lending on such securities. The Committee favours an extension of this indirect form of providing long-term finance to the private sector. It feels that there is no harm in making available such finance by (a) adding to their investment in the shares and debentures of the first class industrial concerns where they are satisfied about the transferability and the marketability of the scrips; (b) making larger advances to approved parties against such shares and debentures, and (c) subscribing to a greater extent to the shares and bonds of the Industrial Finance Corporations. The Committee feels that the liquidity position of the banks will not be materially affected, if banks start long term financing of industries by subscribing to the securities of such special corporations.

Theoretically this suggestion may be alluring, but it is doubtful if much long-term finance can be made available to industries in this way. There is also considerable risk in encouraging banks to extend their commitments in industrial equities and debentures, as this may lead to misuse which may undermine the confidence of the public in the banks. The Reserve Bank's powers of inspection and control do not constitute a sufficient safeguard from preventing banks misusing their powers. Moreover, a slump on the stock exchange will lead to a run on the banks with substantial industrial investments in shares and debentures, and this in turn, may adversely affect the entire banking system.

Another specific suggestion is made by the Committee in respect of supplying long term finance. It feels that indirect participation by banks in long-term industrial finance would be considerably facilitated if the leading banks in India, in co-operation with insurance companies, could form a consortium or syndicate for underwriting or investing in new issues of shares and debentures of industrial companies wherever they are satisfied about the soundness and prospects of the projects. If banks in India would invest, say, an amount equal to 5 per cent of their deposits in shares and debentures, they could make available a further sum of over Rs. 30 crores for the long-term finance of industries in the private sector, without seriously jeopardising their liquid position. Such a consortium could appropriately function under the leadership of the largest joint-stock bank in the country, namely, the Imperial Bank of India. Under the Imperial Bank of India Act as it stands at present, however, that Bank is prohibited from investing in the shares and debentures of joint-stock companies, though it is authorised to accept fully paid-up shares as collateral security for advances, and is also empowered to make advances against the debentures of companies with limited liability. It is presumed that the present statutory restrictions are a relic of the times when the Imperial Bank functioned as a banker to the Government of India. The Committee considers that in the present-day conditions, such restrictions are out of date and the Imperial Bank of India Act may be suitably amended to enable the Bank to participate actively in providing long-term finance for industries through such investments.

This proposal is attractive and harmless. But the resources that would thus be made available towards long-term financing will reduce the provision for working capital for industries. Further, if the proposed Development Corporation sponsored by the World Bank in co-operation with the Government of India is set up, it is doubtful whether there will be any need for such a consortium.

Market for Cottage Products

The Government of India have sanctioned a for setting up an External Marketing Organisati promoting sales of handloom cloth. Four Mar Officers have been appointed at Colombo, Rangoon and Singapore and these officers will liaison between the Indian exporters and the importers and also will make propaganda for handloom cloth. The following steps have been to promote the export of cottage industries and handicrafts:

(1) Show-rooms for display of handicraf Indian Trade Mission have been organised in countries;

(2) Cottage industries products including and handicrafts have been included as an item port trade in our Trade Agreements;

(3) A special exhibition of handicrafts was in London during the Queen's Coronation in 1953;

(4) Handicrafts and cottage industries produc a feature in the various exhibitions abroad in which has participated;

(5) Government have sanctioned a sum Rs. 83,000 to the All India Handicrafts Board for ing out a marketing survey which would pay attention to the production aspect in relation to orders.

Sugar Problem

Referring to the periodic crises in the pro distribution and consumption of sugar, Sri B. Tandon writes in an article in the *Vigil* that att to solve the sugar problem had only been superficially. Imports to augment supplies and trol of consumption could at best be considered porary palsatives. But nothing more enduring done with the result the country was face to with another such crisis.

A peculiar feature of the sugar industry, Tandon writes, was the fact that an increased sumption found production lagging well behind a tendency for the gap to widen even more, in of the heavy sacrifices undergone by the con Production of sugar in 1953-54 was a good deal than in 1952-53. It was not expected to exceed million tons this season as against the requirement of 1.7 million tons. Such a situ engendering a psychology of scarcity was bound lead to the shooting up of prices with the cons as the ultimate sufferers.

The Government policy announced on Ap to meet the emergency by supplying sugar thro the country out of their reserve of 22 per cent current year's production and from quantities im from abroad, could not perhaps, even with the efficient distribution arrangements, avoid pockets scarcity and periods of short supply.

The writer traces this state of the sugar in in our country mainly to the relatively low yield of sugarcane. While the acreage under sugarcane had increased the yield of cane per acre and sucrose content had appreciably deteriorated. That was again due to the fact that the cultivation of sugarcane had largely been neglected notwithstanding the collection of large sums of money by the Government as cess on cane. India was the only country to levy such a cess. But the Government never spent the whole of the money realized from the cess on sugarcane development. Sri Tandon regards this as revealing "clearly the misappropriation of funds."

The solution of the problem called for a greater attention to the production of sugarcane. He expresses some satisfaction that the Governments of the U.P., Bihar and the Punjab were taking steps for increasing the production and yield of sugarcane.

India to Manufacture Tanks

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports on June 17 that India would soon manufacture tanks. The Government reportedly were discussing plans with Daimler-Benz, the famous German firm and Leylands, the great British concern.

According to the paper's special correspondent in New Delhi, Daimler-Benz had offered help in producing thirteen tonners which were a prototype of the French Tank, recently exhibited in New Delhi.

British Leylands had given plans for the 35-tonner "Centurion." They promised to use Indian material.

The report adds that the British offer was likely to be accepted.

The Bonn correspondent of the London *Times* writes that the reported offer of Daimler-Benz for building Tanks in India, if accepted by the Government of India, might raise a point in the application of Allied Military Security Controls in Western Germany. The Allied laws imposed restrictions on production of war materials on German soil and covered not only arms and military equipment but drawings, specifications, designs, models, and reproductions directly relating to the production of such things." The Allied High Commission apparently ould insist, if it chose, on the right to ontrol the technical services rendered by the German firm.

The correspondent adds that Daimler-Benz was planning a joint enterprise with the Tatas. They would not become partners in the undertaking or put any capital in it. The German firm would give technical advice and services while ownership and production would remain in Indian hands. Daimler-Benz designs and patents would, however, be used in production and the plant would be constructed on German advice and wholly or largely with German machines. (*Statesman*, 22.6.54).

Two Months of Nadar Ministry

The *Bombay Chronicle's* correspondent in Madras writes that though it was about two months since Sri Kamaraja Nadar took over as the Chief Minister of the Madras State, Mr. Nadar did neither resign his seat in Parliament nor seemed to be anxious to be elected to the State legislature.

There was consequently much speculation about the future of Sri Nadar and political circles were inclined to believe that he would not continue as Chief Minister for long. According to the report, Sri Nadar "would take back the presidentship of the Tamil Nad Pradesh Congress Committee and choose to remain the formidable power behind the throne.

"It was even hinted that he would bring back Sri Kumaraswami Raja or make Sri Bhaktavatsalam the Chief Minister and assume the presidentship of TTNC."

The State Government is reported to have worked out in broad outline a plan for land reform the urgency of which was emphasised several times by Government leaders. It was hinted that no individual holding could be of more than one hundred acres. The move for land reforms naturally was confronted with hostile reactions from the land-owing classes. The landlords in Coimbatore came out in opposition to the move for limiting individual holdings.

In the Tanjore district, the rice bowl of the State, big landowners started parcelling out their holdings, settling their relatives on those lands. The correspondent reports that "sometime back a rich landowner of Tanjore invited through advertisements in Madras dailies, applications from educated young men willing to settle down as working agriculturists on a 10-acre holding to be given free.

"The landowner not only promised to give the land free, but also undertook to loan some money to start work."

About a thousand applications were received.

The Government was understood to have decided upon a scheme to open 1270 single-teacher schools in 1954-55 in villages which had no schools.

Revival of Muslim Communalism

The special correspondent of the *People* in Lucknow reports of a revival of Muslim communalism in UP which had traditionally been its fostering ground. All historic decisions concerning the Muslims were taken in Lucknow since the time of the Lucknow Pact of 1916. After the partition of the country the first All-India Muslim Conference was also held there. Again, it was in Lucknow that efforts were made to revive what was called "Muslim politics." The first session of the newly organised Muslim Jamaat was held at Aligarh, "which," the correspondent writes, "might have been chosen for historic inspiration."

According to him, two classes of leaders were exploiting the peculiar position of Aligarh and the feeling of Muslim despondency which they themselves aggravated. One class of leaders were up for personal aggrandizement after partition. The other class, looking towards Pakistan for inspiration, was busy trying to create a feeling of frustration among the Muslims and prompting them to regard Pakistan as their own State across the borders. Large sums of money were collected from credulous Muslims by those leaders, the greediness of some of whom had already been exposed.

Referring to the arrest and imprisonment of 88 Muslims in Faizabad early in June for violating the orders under Section 144 promulgated by the District Magistrate, the correspondent writes: "A people administered by rule of law have their quarrels settled by a court, and do not, like barbarians, decide them by force.

"When the Government had refererd the question of Babari mosque or Janma Bhumi temple to court it was the obvious duty of law-abiding people to wait patiently for the court's decision. But when some misguided Muslim decided that they could establish their arbitrary right by force, the District Magistrate had to enforce Section 144 to maintain law and order and to enable justice to be done by the court."

The correspondent suggests that a careful scrutiny by the Government's Intelligence Department would easily reveal the evil forces at work and by weeding them out innocent Muslims might be saved from their venomous influence. He adds that honest Muslim leaders had a great responsibility to see that their co-religionists were not led astray.

Gujarat Leaders Oppose Hindi

The *Hitavada* reports that eight prominent leaders of Gujarat, among whom were Kaka Kalelkar, Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission, Sri Narahari Parikh, former Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi and Prof. R. V. Phatak, came out against the decision of the Government of Bombay to make Hindi the medium of instruction at the University stage in Government colleges from June, 1955.

In a statement issued on June 25, the Gujarat leaders said that the introduction of Hindi as medium of instruction at the University level was a "suicidal policy from the educational point of view" and would stunt the cultural and intellectual life of non-Hindi regions.

The Government decision had "unnecessarily made the medium question difficult," they said.

They pleaded for the adoption of the regional languages as the medium of instruction and their stand by quotations from Radhakrishna mission Report on University education and of Mahatma Gandhi.

The leaders appealed to Sri Jawaharlal the symbol of our national unity to give his on the medium of instruction without any order that the situation might not worsen

Gandhiji on Hindi

It would be very cogent, in connection abovementioned protest, to quote the remarks of Gandhiji, as cited in the May 22 :

Continuing Gandhiji referred next to the ings of the Congress Working Committee, which sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said had been discussing the question of re-consti provinces on a linguistic basis. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in the meeting. The Congress had already adopted the ciple and had declared its intention to give constitutionally as soon as they came to power, redistribution would be conducive to the cultural ment of the country. But such redistribution militate against the organic unity of India. did not and should not mean disruption or that provinces could go the way they chose, indepen one another and of the Centre. If each province to look upon itself as a separate, sovereign unit, independence would lose its meaning and with it vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as conc the Congress was based on village autonomy. the villages were to derive vitality from the the latter in its turn derived all power and from the former. It would be fatal if it led to provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalries— Tamil and Andhra for instance, Bombay and and so on. The redistribution of provinces linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languag to grow to their full height. Hindustani was the lingua franca—*Rashtra Bhasha*—of India, could not take the place of the provincial tongues could not be the medium of instruction in the —much less English. Its function was to realize their organic relationship with India. world outside did not know them as Gujaratis, tris, Tamilians, etc., but only as Indians. therefore, resolutely discourage all fissiparous cies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject paramount consideration, a linguistic redistri provinces should give an impetus to educ trade.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

A Study in Administrative Personnel

By Prof. Dr. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.P.A, D.F.A. & D.

The term "Civil Service" was used by the East India Company to describe those of its servants who carried on its trade-work. These persons were distinguished from the military, maritime and ecclesiastical servants of the Company. From an insignificant trading corporation gradually it developed into a territorial power, its servants were transformed from merchants and factors into administrative officers. To compensate them for their pay, they were allowed to carry on private trade but when it assumed alarming proportions, it was stopped.[1]

In the beginning each Presidency had its separate Civil Service and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833 provided that vacancies occurring in any presidency should be filled by the Civil Servants belonging to that Presidency. But taken as a whole, it was called the "Covenanted Civil Service" as against the uncovenanted service which consisted of minor administrative posts in which Indians predominated. The Government of India were opposed to the system of filling vacancies in the administrative posts of a Presidency from among the members of the Civil Service of that Presidency and their point of view was accepted by the Secretary of of State in 1878, thus leading to the establishment of an All India Service, although the new arrangement was ratified by Parliament only in 1912. The term "Indian Civil Service" was, however, for the first time used in 1861 when in that year the Indian Civil Service Act was passed. But it was really a misnomer as it had a very limited connotation and referred to the topmost class of administrative personnel. Thus it did not convey the same meaning as the terms "British Civil Service" or "American Civil Service" or even "French Civil Service," because these terms connote the whole army of Public Servants of the countries to which they belonged.

The credit for building a modern Civil Service goes to Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. The former described the administration of Bengal in the first year of his Governor-Generalship in these words:

> "Will you believe that the boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of revenue, administrators of justice and rulers, heavy rulers of the people ?"[2]

But on his retirement in 1785 he testified to their high moral character. Addressing the Board of Control he remarked that

He was in a position of "knowing their several talents, and of viewing those qualities which form the common character of the service, which I pronounce to be eminently marked with a liberality of sentiment, a susceptibility and firmness of attachment, a disdain of sordid emolument, with a spirit of assiduity, and the consequent expertness in bussiness, exceeding I dare venture to affirm, the habits of any community under the British Empire."[3]

Lord Cornwallis made further efforts to improve the morale of the Company's servants.[4] But Lord Wellesley'[4-A] deserves credit for drawing pointed attention to the neglected condition of the educational equipment of the Civil Servants. Although his scheme of opening a College at Fort William was reduced to a farce by the Directors due to a tactical mistake committed by him, they agreed to the principle of providing education and training to the new entrants and with this object in view started Haileybury College in England in 1806.

Before 1853 recruitment was made on the basis of patronage but in that year the principle of competition was introduced for recruitment to posts in the Company's Civil Service at the instance of Lord Macaulay who argued thus :

> "There never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence, or a more unvaried experience than this :—That men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries, almost always keep to the end of their lives the start they have gained." He further remarked : "We believe that men who have been engaged upto one or two and twenty, in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, superior to men who have, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling.[5]

For a very long time the competitive examination was held only in England. The recruitment was made by the Civil Service Commissioners and the syllabus for the examination was the same as for the administrative

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1. For a detailed account of its evils read Lester Hutchinson : *The Empire of the Nabobs* ; Reginald Reynolds : *The White Sahibs in India* ; and Henry Dodwell: *The Nabobs of Madras.*

2. A. Mervyn Davies : *Warren Hastings, Maker of British India*, p. 76.

3. W. S. Seton Karr: *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, p. 133.

4. In the words of Thompson and Garratt his efforts "were chiefly directed towards preventing further corruption and ridding India of the worst offenders. It is regrettable that so much energy, over so many decades, of men so able and noble had necessarily to be deflected from administration and put into what can only be called sanitary work."—*The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 190.

4-A. See his letter to the Directors in Sidney J. Owen : *A Selection from the Despatches, Treatises and other papers of the Marquess Wellesley*, p. 727.

5. Quoted by L. D. White : *Civil Service Abroad*, pp. 21-22.

class of the British Civil Service. This was regarded as unfair to Indian candidates and led to a demand for simultaneous examinations in India. In fact, since its inception in 1885 the Indian National Congress began to pass resolutions in its annual sessions year after year demanding this much-needed reform.[6] As in those days the demend for self-government would have appeared as moonshine to the Indians themselves, the early Congress only demanded a reform of the councils and a share in the public services of the country, the means for which was simultaneous examination in India. In the Allahabad Congress Session of 1892 a comprehensive resolution on the public services was adopted. It was moved by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and seconded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who remarked:

> "It is singularly unjust to compel the people of this country to pass an examination to qualify themselves for service in their own country. No other people labour under such an awful disadvantage. Must we alone be subjected to it because we are the subjects of a strong power like England."[7]

This demand was conceded in 1922, although the Public Service Commission was established in 1926 for making recruitment through competitive examinations in India. But the power of making rules for recruitment to the Service belonged to the Secretary of State for India who was also given disciplinary and controlling power over the Service. The system of recruitment was very expensive and was beyond the means of brilliant youths of poor families. The last examination was held in 1943 as owing to war the normal mode of recruitment was suspended. In 1945 the recruitment of war service candidates was started but it was discontinued in 1946.[8] In October, 1946 the Premiers' Conference held at New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel decided to replace the I.C.S' by the All India Administrative Service which was later on renamed the Indian Administrative Service.

As an interim National Government had already been formed at New Delhi on September 2, 1946, the problem of winding up of the Secretary of State's Services was discussed between the representatives of the British Government and the New Government of India. The announcement by the British Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee, that Britain would finally transfer power to Indians by a date not later than June, 1948 also focussed attention on the matter of compensation to those Civil Servants who would suffer a loss of career due to the changed circumstances. Consequently a scheme of compensation for the Secretary of State's Services was announced both in England and India simultaneously by the Secretary of State and the Governor General respectively o 30, 1947.

Probationary training to the new entrants wa imparted in England but during the Second Worl a probationary training Camp was started t Dehr in India. The system could not be as useful as it have been, because there was far too much of the university in it and the opportunity was not tak weed out undesirable candidates. For practical tr the young entrant to the Service was assigned to a D Officer but as the latter could spare little time fr administrative work, his training was often negle

The Service performed a large variety of duti members worked as Administrative Officers, memb Executive Councils, Judges and even as nominated bers of legislatures. It formed not only the a tration but also the government of the country. I just as it was very difficult to define the duties of wife, similarly the duties of the I.C.S. could adequately enumerated. But by far the most im officer of the Service was the Collector or Deputy missioner who was the head of a district and w the chief proper mainstay of British rule in I A special feature of district work was the Camp of its officers. Moreover, although the members Service were recruited and controlled by the Se of State, they were borne on the provincial Cadr

The members of the Service received high sal service and enormous pensions on retirement. The promoted not only to the highest executive pos province but to a large number of very high posts i Government of India. They also enjoyed a ge measure of leave in addition to many other con and benefits. This was a peculiar feature of I administration.

The problem of the protection of the righ privileges of members of the Service which was pr non-existent before 1919 assumed great importan the Government of India Act of that year made a ning in responsible government. It was feare when Indians assumed power, they might discr against the European members of the Service. Therefore, both the Government of India Act, 1919 and the Act of 1935 aimed at inventing new devices to protect the interests of the Service. The problem of discipline was not of much importance in the Service as it filled the higher and more responsible posts in administration. But although the majority of its members served under the provincial governments, the latter possessed only minor disciplinary powers over them.

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[6] See the resolutions of the Indian National Congress in Annie Besant: *How India Wrought for Freedom*, pp. 13-14, 32 & 71.

[7] Annie Besant: *How India Wrought for Freedom*, p. 148.

[8] The India Office made an announcement to this effect on August 18, 1946.

[9] In the words of Ramsay Macdonald, "T Viceroy is the ceremonial symbol of the British C in India, it is the Collector who is the seat of a so far as the mass of the people is concerned. H the great Sahib whose nod is to be obeyed, who and withholds, who taxes and administers j before whom all the people of the village—bun policemen, headmen and accountants bow. He mighty one to whom the most flowery langu ornate titles apply. In fact, in his care are the of India. He, or those who obey him, order th of the people, and next to the creator, and th of nature, he comes in the hierarchy of powers. Those above him are too remote from of the people to be anything but indefinite those below him are outwardly and vis servants."

[10] See Herman Finer: *The British Civil S* p. 116.

The problem of Indianization first appeared in the form of a demand for simultaneous examinations which has already been referred to in this article. Later on a substantial share in the public services was demanded. The same arguments which were advanced for Indianization were afterwards advanced for communal representation in the public services.[11] As Indianization of the Civil Service did not satisfy popular aspirations, the demand changed into an agitation for responsible self-government. Finally, complete Indianization and the stoppage of the examination in England was demanded. The Sapru Committee which thrashed out a Scheme of constitutional reforms for India before the establishment of the Interim Government recommended that

> In view of the promise of establishment of self-government "no recruitment of non-Indian personnel for the I.C.S. be made by the Secretary of State, because recruits of required competence are available in this country and the recruitment of non-Indians would prejudicially affect the working of the future constitution."[12]

In India the distinction between the administration and the executive was quite unimportant before 1919 as the administrative service filled all the important posts in the executive branch. Moreover, the administration overwhelmed the legislatures and the judiciary by its power. But both the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Act of 1935 proceeded in the direction of limiting the scope of the Service to the administrative field only.

A very important reform for which the Indian National Congress agitated since its birth was the separation of the executive and judicial functions. The second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886 passed a resolution which ran thus :

> "That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions....has become an urgent necessity, and that in its opinion it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should in some provinces involve some extra expenditure."[13]

But separation of powers is not an accomplished fact even today when the same Congress Party forms government, although it is contained in the Directive Principles of State Policy of our constitution[14] and attempts are also being made in that direction now in some states including U.P.

The Service was mercilessly criticized by Indian political leaders. One of them remarked that it was neither Indian nor Civil nor Service. It was also open to the charge of being bureaucratic in nature. No doubt, bureaucracy is a necessary evil in the modern democratic state. But in India the two most important reasons for this were the foreign composition of the Service and the everwhelming nature of its powers. The second fact was due to the non-sovereriegn character of Indian legislatures and the exercise of its powers by the Civil Service independently of the mandate of the legislature. Moreover, the relations of the Service with the people were far from cordial.

An account of the relations of the Service with Indian nationalism is very essential in this study. The Indian National Congress, the spearhead of anti-imperialist agitation in India, was founded by a British member of the Service and some other British members took a leading part in its activities. Paying a tribute of eulogy to them in the Delhi Congress of 1918, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya remarked :

> "We cherish the honoured name of Allan Octavian Hume who was founder of the Indian National Congress. We revere the memory of the godly Sir William Wedderburn who devoted all his time upto the last moment of his life to the promotion of the good of India. We have the respected name of Sir Henry Cotton whose lifelong service to this country will not be easily forgotten."[15]

In course of time an antagonism developed between the Service and the Congress as the former represented the interests of the alien rulers and the latter represented the popular sentiments and aspirations. The relations reached a climax in the rebellion of 1942 when there was an open clash between the Congress and the Indian Civil Service. In this movement some British members of the Service earned a notoriety for their exceptionally cruel behaviour towards the people. Two such Civil Servants in U.P. were Marshsmith and Nethersole.

In the words of Llyod George :

The service was "the steel frame of the whole structure."[16]

It is no small tribute to members of the Service that they were able to provide India with stable administration. Without them the administrative edifice would have fallen to pieces. The task of governing India was not an easy one chiefly because the rulers and the ruled belonged to two different races and followed different religions, customs and manners. As the long record of British rule in India is little more than the record of work of the Indian Civil Service, the task of estimating this work is very difficult indeed. He must be a very bold man who condemns the Service outright. The politician in the heat of the controversy or in order to catch votes might do so but the task of the impartial student is not so easy. It may, however, be pointed out that the Indian Civil Service worked under a handicap. In a democratic government the Civil Service works under a popular minister and is itself neutral in politics with the result that it escapes popular criticism which is directed against the minister.

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[11] See *Council of State Debates*, Vol. V, 1925, p. 407.

[12] Constitutional proposals of the Sapru Committee, Appendix No. 2, p. V.

[13] *The Indian National Congress* (G. A. Natesan & Co.), Pt. II, p. 8.

[14] Article 50.

[15] *Congress Presidential Addresses*, Second series, 1911-34, p. 407.

[16] Speech in the House of Commons, dated 2-8-1922.

But the criticism of the Indian Civil Service was

> "partly due to the fact that on the personnel of the service, which is at once the parent and the mainstay of the existing system, has fallen much of the odium which would more justly be directed against the impersonal system itself."[17]

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the Indian Civil Service was, on the whole, a very efficient Civil Service although the criterion of efficiency was not the good of the people but the interest of the imperial That even after the abdication of power by the rulers in India the members of the Indian Civil exercised a great stabilising influence over the ad- tration is beyond doubt or dispute. Their contri- was recognised by no less a person than Sardar bhai Patel, the first Home Minister of Independent who remarked in the course of a speech in the tuent Assembly of India on 10th October, 1949 that

> "Having worked with members of the Service could say that in point of patriotism, loyalty, and ability it would not be possible to find for them."

He further testified to their good work in words:

> "During the last two or three years if the Service had not behaved patriotically and the Union would have collapsed. They have day and night. Is there any provincial premier is prepared to work without the Service?"

Surely, these are rich tributes from one of the most architects of Indian freedom and one of the enemies of the Service.

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[17] *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* (Montford), Para 326.

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TOWARDS A NEW TAXATION POLICY

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

Objectives

After the attainment of political freedom in India, the process of Independence can be regarded as complete only if we are able to achieve economic freedom for the common man. According to the Directive Principles of State Policy, as laid down in the Indian Constitution, it is the duty of the Government to secure "an adequate means of livelihood" to all citizens and to see to it that "the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." The State is supposed to "make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want." The Constitution also enjoins the State "to secure by suitable legislation or economic organisaion or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities" and, in particular, to endeavour "to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas." It is obvious that these objectives can be attained by the reorientation of our exising economic system on a planned basis. The first Five-Year Plan is essentially based on the directive principles of the Constitution and recommends that the aim of planning ought to be "the reduction of economic inequalities" through a rational and equitable system of taxation.

The Democratic Process

Economic planning can be based either totalitarian methods involving "a violent overturning society" or on peaceful and democratic methods ing in the good-will and co-operation of all sections society. India has wilfully chosen the demo method as a better way of achieving the cherished of a Welfare State. It is wrong to think that democratic process is necessarily a slower process compared to the authoritarian method. We have to follow the pattern of a *middle economy*—I do the word "mixed economy"—which avoids the extremes of Capitalism and Communism. This is the kind of an economic order that the Father of Nation visualised for Free India. In order to about a new socio-economic order of this type absolutely essential to undertake suitable legislation speeding up far-reaching reforms relating to agriculture, industry, administration and public The importance of the work entrusted to the Enquiry Commission, therefore, cannot be over-estimated. Public finance in the modern world, is a very medium of economic planning and must be utilised such with *a sense of urgency*.

Burden of Taxation

It is not correct to say that the burden of in India is already very heavy and that there is not scope for further taxation. The proportion of tion to National Income in India is only about cent as compared with 21 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 26 per cent in U.S.A. and 41 per cent in the United Kingdom. It is also interesting to know that whereas only 6.24 per cent of the population pay income-taxes in India, the relevant percentage is as much as 44 per cent in the United Kingdom, 37 per cent in the U.S.A., 34 per cent in Australia, and 20 per cent in Canada. There is, undoubtedly, enough scope for taxation in our country specially in view of the numerous development plans which would, in turn, raise the taxable capacity of the people. As the late R. C. Dutt wrote in his *Economic History of India*, taxation raised by a Government "is like the moisture of the earth sucked up by the Sun to be returned to the earth as fertilising rain." In fact, everything depends on the purposes for which increased taxation is spent. If the masses of India are convinced that additional taxes raised from them are going to be spent by the Government for their benefit as also for the welfare of the succeeding generations, they will not grudge the imposition of more taxes. But it is necessary that, besides the benefit principle, the principle of ability to pay is also constantly kept in mind. In an underdeveloped country like India, both direct and indirect taxes will have to raise the necessary revenues from all sections of the population. The poor, the middle and the upper classes will be required to share the burden in proportion to their capacity.

ECONOMIC EQUALITIES

There is, at present, a gaping gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots :' this gulf must be filled up quickly and systematically through a more rational and just system of taxation in the counry. The poor will gladly bear the additional burden of taxation only if they honestly feel that the State is out to establish greater economic equalities by levelling down the rich. In the existing social and economic order, it must be admitted that even after the advent of political freedom there has been no reduction in the glaring inequalities in society. How can the poor masses be expected, therefore, to feel a glow or real freedom ? And unless they experience this "glow," it is futile to expect from them their willing co-operation in the great and onerous task of building up a new and prosperous India. I suggest that the aim of our economic policy ought to be to secure a minimum monthly income of Rs. 100 to an average family and to try to impose a ceiling on higher incomes at 20 times the minimum, *i.e.*, Rs. 2,000 per month. It should also be borne in mind that the ratio of 1 : 20 may be brought down to 1 : 10 within a reasonable period of time.

PROPOSALS

Let me now make a few concrete proposals for achieving the objectives mentioned above :

1. The rich people should be made to realise that if democracy has to succeed in India, they must willingly and gracefully agree to part with their wealth through additional taxation for the welfare of the masses. It is true that there are only 1286 persons in this country whose income is above Rs. 1,50,000 a year. But it is also true that there is an amount of about Rs. 20 crores which escapes the net of tax-gatherers every year. Both, the rich sections of society as well as the Government must try their best to make available this substantial amount to the public exchequer every year. *Evasion of taxes* should be regarded as a great national sin almost bordering on treason and, if necessary, should be punished as such.

2. Rates of *income-tax and super-tax* should be made steeper after the annual income of Rs. 50,000. There should also be different rates for earned and unearned incomes. A system of allowances based on the size of the family may be introduced in India, more or less, on the U.K. model. It is not correct to think that such allowances will encourage larger families in the already over-populated country.

3. The *Estate Duty* rates are quite low, to begin with. They should be increased upto 75 per cent on estates above one crore. There should, however, be no undue harassment and greater facilities may be provided to the assessees to deposit estate duties in advance during their lifetime. Proceeds of Estate Duty should be earmarked for the development of rural areas.

4. Higher rates of *Sales Tax* should be imposed on luxury goods and the products of cottage and village industries should be fully exempted from such tax. Government of India should try to bring about uniformity in Sales Tax in different States as early as possible. Problems relating to Inter-State trade must be resolved without any further delay. Single-point Sales Tax should be preferred Multi-point tax. Disposal of cases should be quick and all unjustified harassment should be avoided. Rules of procedure should be rendered as simple as possible.

5. The existing system of land revenue should be replaced by a system of *agricultural income-tax*. All land holdings yielding annual incomes below a minimum, should be completely exempted from tax or revenue and higher agricultural incomes should be taxed at steep rates. Such a system will promote quicker redistribution of land on a more equitable basis.

6. Feudalism in land has been, more or less, abolished in India. It is now high time that *feudalism in industry* is also abolished. The system of Managing Agents is a relic of feudalism and must be radically overhauled. The Companies Amendment Bill introduced in the Parliament does not go far enough; it should be followed by a more comprehensive legislative measure as early as possible. In the meantime, there should be imposed a ceiling on dividends at the rate of 6 per cent and on the remuneration granted to Managing Agents at the rate 7½ per cent of net profits.

7. In order to check tax evasion and exercise a more effective control on private companies, the Govern-

ment should develop a *system of audit* of such companies through State Auditors and Chartered Accountants. The existing system of private audit leads to manipulation of accounts for dodging the tax-gatherer.

8. In the country, there are huge amounts lying idle in demand deposits. *A tax on idle resources* would increase the velocity of circulation and promote greater employment opportunities, either through forced spending or through forced investment.

9. The ultimate aim of economic policy should be to nationalise the key or mother industries and to decentralise the consumer goods industries. This objective could be gradually realised by imposing a *cess on mill-made consumer goods* like cloth, oil, sugar, leather, paper and match, and subsidizing the corresponding cottage and village industries. The Government have already accepted this principle by levying a cess on mill cloth for developing handloom and Khadi. The same principle should be extended to other consumer goods industries also.

10. In order to promote voluntary abdication of wealth by the rich in the form of *charitable trusts and endowments*, the limit of donations to charitable institutions for specified purposes may be raised from 5 per cent to 10 per cent for purposes of exemption from income-tax. The list of specified purposes should, of course, include only those items which form an integral part of the National Development Plan.

11. Admirable response of the people to the scheme of *Local Works* in the Five Year Plan clearly reveals that the principle of direct and visible benefit must be always borne in mind in drawing up a system of taxation. In place of direct or indirect taxes on the people for financing the National Plan in general, it will be much better to invite the willing co-operation of the general public in the form of donations in cash, kind or voluntary physical labour for the execution of local projects which directly satisfy the *felt needs* of the people in different areas. Provision should be made for earmarking funds for specific projects or purposes in purchasing National Savings Certificates, Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates and the National Plan Loan Bonds.

12. With a view to mopping up idle money resources in the country, special schemes should be prepared for *extending banking and insurance* facilities to the rural areas. Commercial Banks may be encouraged to open their branches in the villages by permitting lower grades of pay for employees working in the rural areas. The Postal Insurance scheme, which is at present confined to Government servants, may be extended to the public in general.

13. In order to earn larger Customs revenues as well as to protect indigenous small-scale and cottage industries, higher *Import duties* should be levied on luxury goods like cosmetics, perfumes, canned fruits, crockery, biscuits and confectionery, wines and liquors, motor cars, cigarettes, textile fabrics, cutlery, etc. Imports of luxuries on a large scale has deadened the *spirit of Swadeshi* among the people and it is, very desirable to revive it for quickening the pa industrial progress in India.

14. So far, there has been a flow of tax re from the villages to the cities. The process must be reversed. To begin with, 50 per cent of the taxes raised from a particular area should be re in the same region for purposes of local devel projects. Further, higher irrigation rates or better levies should be imposed only on those regions w have directly benefited as a result of better irriga facilities. In short, the *benefits of additional ta* should be clearly visible to the people.

15. No further flow of *foreign capital* for i ment in consumer goods industries should be al by the Government. In order to divert the e foreign capital into producer goods industries, rates of excise and sales taxes may be charged on consumer goods of foreign concerns masquerading (India) Ltd.

16. The system of *local taxation* should be dered more scientific and systematic. In orde assist the local bodies in assessing the taxes accurately, the State Governments should mai separate valuation staff and the cost of these sp services should be borne partly by the State go ment and partly by the local bodies. Special atte should be paid to unearned incomes accruing from as a result of various development schemes. In o to curb the tendency of building palatial houses for playing one's wealth, House taxes should be levied higher rates by Municipalities and Corporations.

17. *Excess Profits Tax,* which had become normal feature of taxation during the War, may be introduced in the country with necessary adjust in order to mop up special profits in certain indus There should be heavy *tax on Speculative trading.*

18. The people who are taxed by the State h right to feel confident that the money raised from is being rightly and frugally spent by the Govern for their welfare. The *need for economy and effi in administration* is, therefore, of paramount importa There should be voluntary or compulsory reductio higher salary grades and corruption in services be rooted out effectively. People under a dem can tolerate many handicaps and difficulties. But cannot and should not tolerate inefficiency and dish in their administrative machinery.

19. About half of our annual revenues are spent on the *Defence services*. It may not be po to reduce this expenditure to any appreciable ext the near future. But serious attempts should be to use our defence forces progressively for pro and developmental purposes within the fram of our National Plan. This scheme will be h in lessening the need for higher taxation in the try. The armed forces should be utilised in ti

peace for constructing village roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, checking soil erosion, afforestation, shooting of wild animals that destroy agricultural crops, etc.

20. *Non-tax sources of revenue* could also be tapped by the State by nationalising basic industries, establishing State public utility services and introducing *state trading* in certain directions, specially in the sphere of foreign trade. To begin with, only a few commodities should be chosen for State trading in order to gain the requisite experience.

21. Above all, the State should try to create an *atmosphere of austerity* and hard work by setting an example from the top. The people cannot be expected to tighten their belts unless the high State dignitaries and officials begin to tightening their own. The vulgar display of riches in big cities in the form of Receptions, Dinners, Cocktail parties must cease. *Prohibition* of intoxicating drinks should be strictly enforced as an integral part of our national programme. The excise revenue that we will lose through Prohibition will be amply compensated by the additional money that will be available with the people for investment in productive channels.

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FRENCH INDO-CHINA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The Canadian Prime Minister Mr. S. L. St. Laurent sums up the impressions of his recent tour in India, Pakistan and Ceylon in the following words:

> "In every part of the East the desire for national independence goes hand in hand with a new sense of the dignity of the individual and the equality of all men regardless of origin or colour."

It is one of the major tragedies of our times that this desire for freedom and the sense of dignity and of the individual equality have yet to be recognised in not a few places. The much-talked-of Atlantic Charter has remained inoperative in large areas of Asia and africa. There is a ferment in the colonial world. A struggle is on. Its tempo has been mounting, particularly in the years following World War II. Submerged humanity is on the march. Much of the future of our planet and of our species hinges on whether the powers that be help or hinder the struggle of the colonial peoples for the recovery of their birth-right—liberty and equality.

Asia—and Africa too—has been the imperialist's paradise for many generations. Imperialism means, among others, economic exploitation, political suppression and social degradation for the millions whose protector and benefactor it (imperialism) pretends to be. It is against all these evils and iniquities and thousand others that go with them that the colonial peoples are up in arms today. Immediate success is not going to be theirs. But they are sure to win in the long run. No man can set a limit to the march of a nation.

Malaya and French Indo-China in South-East Asia have been fighting for liberty for the better part of a decade. H. G. Van Mook, a former Governor-General of Indonesia, points out:

> "The facts in post-war South-East Asia no longer allow that gradual schooling for nationhood which was the promise of the last half-century of the colonial era. The fulfilment of that promise was too often postponed, the resistance of vested interests has time and again caused too much delay, the suspicion of imperialism is too deep-seated. Sincerity of intentions (if ever there was any) no longer suffices; after having been the defenceless objective of the most grim colonial aggression, they demand the certainty of self-government."—*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia,* p. 22.

Indo-China, consisting of Cochin China, Annam, Cambodia, Tongking and Laos is considered by France to be a unit of the French Union. The unit comprises the Associated States of Viet-Nam (Annam, Tongking and Cochin-China), Cambodia and Laos. Viet-Nam is a Republic with its headquarters at Hanoi. It has a population of 24 million concentrated mostly in the Red River Delta in the north, the Mekong Delta in the south and a thin coastal strip joining the two. The Red River Delta is overpopulated and depends for its food on rice imports from the south. The whole of Viet Nam speaks the same language and has a culture predominantly Chinese in character. The kingdom of Laos has a population of less than 2 million. The Laotians have little linguistic, religious and cultural difference from the inhabitants of the adjacent areas of north-east Thailand. The kingdom of Cambodia has a population of nearly 4 million. Buddhism is the religion of the people. Their culture is of Indian origin. King Nordom Sihanouk of Cambodia told France not very long ago that "he would accede to the Indian Union by virtue of the historical Hindu religious and cultural ties Cambodia has had with India."—*Times of India,* 30-5-54.

French rule in Indo-China dates from the latter half of the 19th Century in Cochin China from 1863, in Cambodia from the 1870's, in Tongking from 1884 and in Laos from 1893. Christian Missionaries had been active in the whole of Indo-China from the 17th Century and they have made more converts here than anywhere else in the Far East. Viet-Namese nationalism is as old as the French supremacy in Indo-China and is an offspring of the animosity and bitterness generated by the French occupation of Indo-China in the 19th Century.

Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) had a tonic effect upon Viet-Namese nationalism. That victory, indeed, did much more. It stirred the placid waters of the colonial East as a whole.

Nguyen Ali Quoc (Ngyuen, "who loves his country") dominated Indo-China's revolutionary politics during the first 20 years of the 20th Century. He started his revolutionary career at 18 when he reached France as a stowaway. We next hear of him studying Fabian Philosophy and participating in the discussion of the socialist groups in Britain. He worked in the kitchen of a well-known London hotel to supplement his slender means. Ali Quoc came to limelight when he made his first public political gesture at the 1919 Peace Conference. In the name and on behalf of the people of Indo-China he submitted a memorandum for the consideration of the conference. A remarkable document, Ali Quoc's memorandum was characterised by a spirit of moderation. It did not call for complete independence for Indo-China; but a democratic regime as distinct from Colonial dominaion. Ali Quoc joined the French Communist Party in 1922. Later on, he visited Moscow and worked with Borodin in China. "The Society of Revolutionary Young Annamites" founded by him in 1925 fathered the Communist Party of Indo-China five years later in 1930. Ali Quoc helped in various ways the Indo-Chinese struggle against colonialism which reached its climax in the revolution of the Yen Bary by the Tongkingese. Ali Quoc, though in Hongkong at the time when the revolution took place, was condemned to death in absentia by the French as the real leader of the revolt. The French demanded Ali Quoc's ex-tradition; but the British authorities arrested him. He was imprisoned in Hongkong. He died of tuberculosis in the jail hospital. Not a few hold that the story of Ali Quoc's death is a myth and that the Viet Minh leader Dr. Ho Chi Minh and Nguyen Ali Quoc are one and the same person. Some again are of opinion that the Doctor is a younger brother of the latter.

World War I (1914-18) constitutes an important land-mark in the evolution of Viet-Namese nationalism. It accentuated Viet Nam's urge to order her life in her own way. Nationalism became an important—the most important factor in Indo-Chinese politics in the twenties. Throughout this period the Indo-Chinese nationalists were in close touch with the Kuomintang, which since its reorganisation by Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1923 included the Communist Party of China. The Komintang-Communist Partnership, it might be noted, was short-lived and the parties came to the parting of the ways in 1927. There is very little trace of contact, far less of co-ordination and collaboration, between the Communist Parties of China and Indo-China during the years 1935-50. All that we know for certain is that a few Indo-Chinese Communists lived and worked and were sustained spiritually by the Communist head-quarters in China.

The Viet Minh (Viet-Nam) Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Independence of Viet-Nam) was organised in China in 1941 with the Indo-C
Communist Party as its core. "To fight Fren
Japanese fascism and imperialism" was declared t
the objective of the Viet Minh. It turned its atte
naturally enough, to organising Indo-China, which
fore long, was honeycombed with Viet-Minh cells
branches. Viet Minh headquarters were shifted
China to Tongking in 1944.

In the meanwhile the Nazi-sponsored Vichy G
ment headed by Marshal Petain had allowed Ja
to occupy Indo-China. The direction of Civil a
was however left in French hands even after Ja
occupation. The position, anomalous as it be
after the formation of the De Gaulle Governme
liberated France, continued until the Japanese d
Admiral De Coux, the French Governor-General of I
China, disarmed the French troops and intern
French civilians (March 9, 1945). Emperor Ba
of Annam was placed at the head of a Viet-N
administration independent in name (March 10, 1
There are reasons to believe that the Japanese a
had been already plotting with the leftist revoluti
under Dr. Ho Chi Minh, who were organising w
Indo-China and without, in China and Thailand. T
they proclaimed the independent Empire of Viet
with Bao Dai as the Emperor, they withdrew t
support from him later and staged a republican r
tion by the end of the war.

> The Empire of Viet Nam sponsored by
> Japanese with the co-operation of the Viet
> "was but a phantom structure. The mandarin c
> which formed its administration, showed n
> grit nor integrity . . . . terrible conditions . . .
> loped in the over-populated and poor delta of
> Red River in Tonkin, where the extreme mis
> ment of this period caused the death of hu
> of thousands . . . ."—*The Stakes of Democr*
> *South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 176.

A Republic of Viet Nam had been projec
ready by the Viet Minh by the end of 1944. The J
nese, when they saw defeat approaching, esta
closer contact with the Viet Minh. They acted q
when the end was near. They withdrew their s
from "the gimerack puppet empire" on August 6.
The Viet Minh ordered general insurrection just b
the Japanese surrender. The Japanese made no a
to suppress it. Hanoi soon passed into the han
the insurgents. The Republic of Viet Nam was c
into existence on August 20. Emperor Bao D
called upon to abdicate and he handed over his p
to the Republic on August 25, 1945. The Ja
handed over power to a coalition Government in C
China where the Viet Minh was comparatively
The coalition was however soon driven out of o
the Viet Minh, which has since become the sp
of the Indo-Chinese national struggle. The Viet
formed a Government for the whole of Viet N
August 28. Dr. Ho Chi Minh, "the grand old m
Indo-Chinese Communism, became the first Pres

the Republic of Viet Nam, Ex-Emperor Bao Dai was appointed supreme counsellor under the name of "Vinh Thuy."

It had been decided at the Potsdam Conference hat the Japanese army in Indo-China north of the 16th Parallel should be disarmed by the Chinese (Kuomintang) troops. Troops from Admiral Mountbatten's South-East Asia Command were to effect the surrender of the Japanese army of invasion in Southern Indo-China. British Indian troops under General D. D. Gracey landed at Saigon on September 12, nearly a month after the capitulation of Japan. His refusal to recognise the Republican authorities nearly cost him his Command. Chinese troops poured into northern Indo-China and reached Hanoi in September, 1945. A French army under the ate General Leclere landed on October 5. Liberal Allied aid, mostly British, enabled him to have a large and very mobile force by the end of 1945. The French High Commissioner—the office of the Governor-General had been abolished—Admiral Thierry d' Argenlieu rived late in October (1945). General Gracey re-mbarked his troops in the beginning of 1946.

The French were confronted with a generally hostile attitude of the people. Demonstrations in Saigon ong before the arrival of French troops had resulted in he loss of French civilian lives. Pandemonium seemed o have been let loose all over Indo-China. The apanese, who had been selling arms to the Viet Minh nd whose sympathies were more for Viet Nam than for rance—we doubt very much if they had any genuine mpathy for either—were actually called upon by the ritish authorities to maintain law and order.

The cease-fire agreement between the French and he Viet-Namese authorities signed in October, 1945 was fficult to enforce in the chaotic situation that prevailed. he French formed a consultative Council for Cochin-hina early in the next year (February, 1946). The iet Minh were firmly entrenched in the north where had struck deep roots—political as well as military.

The agreement of March 6, 1946, signed by Dr. o Chi Minh on behalf of the Viet Minh and General eclere and M. Sainteny on behalf of France recognised iet Nam (including Annam and Tonking) as an tonomous unit in an Indo-Chinese Federation. Laos, mbodia and Cochin-China were to be the other units f this Federation to be. The Ho Government signified s willingness to allow the entry of French troops into et Nam for a period not exceeding five years. The tails of Franco-Vietnamese relations were to be cussed and decided later on. A Franco-Vietnamese nference which met at Fontainebleau in July, 1946, as however abortive and produced no result. It is portant to recall that Ho Chi Minh,* who led the Viet Namese delegation to the Fontainebleau Conference, did not demand complete independence. His demands were just and moderate and he did not seek to leave the French Union as yet. The Conference was suspended in August. It was however agreed that discussions should re-open in January, 1947. The March, 1946 agreement was to remain in force in the meanwhile. The extreme nationalists accused the Ho Government for having betrayed the country's cause by compromising with French imperialism. The Government replied by arresting the extreme nationalists on a large scale. The Government was re-shuffled on November 3 (1946). Dr. Ho retained his presidency. He was his own Foreign Minister as well. The re-shuffling of the Government was followed by a rapid deterioration of Franco-Vietnamese relations. The Viet Minh had long doubted the bonafides of the French policy in Cochin-China. They suspected that France wanted to detach Cochin-China. The customs arrangements at Haiphong, which the Viet Minh regarded as an infringment of the March agreement, deepened their suspicion. The extreme nationalists demanded a complete break with France. There were serious incidents at Langson and Haiphong. The news that 75,000 French troops were on their way to Indo-China did not certainly contribute to Franco-Vietnamese amity. On the contrary, it convinced Indo-China that France was determined to preserve at any cost her Empire in South-East Asia. The Viet Minh Government began to evacuate Hanoi in December, 1946. The streets were barricaded. French strong points were attacked by the Viet Minh troops on December 19. Fighting broke out at Hue, Tourane and other places on the following day.

> "French policy in Indo-China has shown a gradual evolution after the break with the Republic of Viet Nam. Police action, commenced under the handicaps of economic difficulties and of a necessary demobilization of the original French forces, could not prevent a continuous improvement in the organisation and equipment of Viet Minh guerillas; law and order remained in a very unsatisfactory state, with security restricted to towns and a few connecting roads. Politically some progress was made by attracting and combining a growing number of anti-Viet-Minth or anti-Communist parties and sects by converting the French-sponsored government of Cochin-China into a Government for the whole of Viet Nam . . . under the Presidency of Mr. Huu and the premiership of General Xuan."—*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 237.

The opening months of 1947 passed without any serious clash. The French slowly tightened their grip on the towns. The Viet Minh, on the other hand, was all-powerful in the rural areas. Both expected a resumption of negotiations. Dr. Ho Chi Minh broadcasted appeal after appeal to the French leaders. The appointment of M. Pignon as the High Commissioner for Indo-China was the signal for a change in French policy. Ex-emperor Bao Dai, who had withdrawn into private life at Hongkong, was persuaded to stage a come-back as a mediator between the moderate and the extreme nationalists and as a rallying point for the former against the rising tide of Communism.

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* It is not clear who led the delegation. According some, M. Pham Van Dong, leader of the Viet Minh legation to the Conference now in session at Geneva, ed the Viet Nam delegation to the Fontainebleau nference.

By the agreement with Bao Dai signed in Paris in March, 1949, France accepted the principle of ultimate independence for Viet Nam as an integral part of the French Union. Bao Dai assumed office in December as the Head of the French-sponsored Republic of Viet Nam.

War had not spread over the whole of Indo-China till 1948. Then conflict was still localized. The Viet Minh, at least the wing which accepted Dr. Ho as the policy-maker, still hoped for a peaceful solution. Viet Nam was proclaimed an idependent nation within the framework of the French Union on September 10, 1948. The inauguration of the People's Republic of China a year later (October, 1949) opened a new chapter in Indo-China's War of Independence. The extremist wing of the Viet Minh was considerably strengthened. The guerilla warfare and the 'hit and run' tactics were abandoned. Viet Minh military plans envisaged instead decisive attacks on the Red River Delta in the winter of 1949-50. Organised Chinese help was made available to the Viet Minh after the outbreak of the Korean war in July, 1950. Training Camps for Viet Minh recruits were organised in China across the border. All the French frontier posts on the Chinese border were captured by the Viet Minh in the autumn of 1950. The loss was the most serious one sustained by the French in Indo-China so far and the necessary preliminary to further Chinese aid at the same time. The Viet Minh declared itself to be a Government in January, 1950. It promptly recognised the People's Republic of China and obtained Chinese recognition in return. The U. K. and the U.S.A. recognised the Bao Dai regime in February. Agreement was reached for American aid to France three months later in May.

The Viet Minh realised by the autumn of 1950 that the struggle against France was going to be a long and arduous one, that the hope of a decisive assault upon the Red River Delta with Chinese aid was not to materialise immediately. In November, 1950, and again in February, 1951, they held a series of political meetings with Chinese inspiration. The Communist Party of Indo-China, which had been in a state of hibernation since 1945, re-appeared on the scene as the Lao Dong Party and became the most important element in the Viet Minh movement, which was also re-organised at the same time. The Viet Minh propaganda began to talk of a long war against colonialism. Their military policy underwent a change "in accordance with the precepts laid down in Mao Tse-tung's text books on guerilla warfare."

The French position in Indo-China improved with the arrival of General de Laitre Tassigny and with ing American aid to the French Union forces. advantage however was a temporary one. Fresh ing and improved equipment together with a ch Viet Minh policy and, last but not least, Indo-C urge for freedom began to tell. The Viet Minh from strength to strength. French position in the River Delta has been alarmingly undermined. than 90% of Viet Nam has passed into the hands Viet Minh. French hold over the rest is precari the extreme. The French have missed the South-East Asia. They are playing a game the of which is no longer in doubt. The fall of Di Phu and a perusal of the latest advices from In at any rate lead to one and only one conclu French Colonialism is playing a losing game in East Asia.

Influential resistance movements are in exist Laos and Cambodia as well. Both are apparently to France. Things however are not what they French influence and prestige are definitely on the in both Laos and Cambodia.

> "On two sides of the World," writes *Worldover Press* (April 9, 1954), "the rising nationalism is dashing against those little of colonial days which now appear as Survivals from a buccaneering past."

Unless these outposts are liquidated by their themselves, they will be engulfed in the rising nationalism, leaving behind memories which will nue to embitter international relations for years, for generations, to come.

Mr. William O. Douglas, U. S. Supreme Judge, rightly points out that "an independent Government for Viet Nam, 'preferably this afternoon tomorrow' is the only way to save Indo-China' France).

> "May be that it is too late," he continues is a thing that should have been done years But it is the only possible thing . . . measures will not save the country, unless given its independence. For the Western po go behind a French Colonial Government w disastrous." The learned Judge points out that Ho Chi Minh is probably the most popular in Indo-China today. "Not because he is a Co nist but because he is fighting for freedom independence . . . The Government (of Bao is a French puppet Government. People will fight, bleed and die for a puppet Government.

Words of profound wisdom no doubt. The now confabulating at Geneva will do well to re and act upon them. Will the champions of the World' remember that the 'Free World' is not after all?

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR ELECTORAL LAWS

By Prof. BODH RAJ SHARMA, M.A.,
President, All-India Political Science Association

The Electorate

Our electoral machinery is governed by the Representation of Peoples' Acts 1950 and 1951 and the rules made under these Acts by the Government of India. The most important of their provisions relate to the voters. According to Article 6 of our Constitution no one who has migrated to India from Pakistan after 19.7.1948 can become a citizen of India unless he or she has been registered before the 26th January, 1950. To get registered he or she must have resided in India for six months prior to 26.1.1950. This means that he must have migrated to India before 25.7.1949. All persons who migrated to India after 25.7.1949 are aliens and cannot enjoy the right to vote. Similarly sub-section 7 of Section 20 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1950 says that only those people who have migrated to India from Pakistan before the 25th July, 1949, will be entitled to the rights of citizenship. This Act XLIII of 1950 (Representation of Peoples' Act 1950) was passed by Parliament in April, 1950 and received the assent of the President in May, 1950. Just about that time lakhs of Hindus had been forced to leave their homes and hearths in East Bengal and had to migrate to India. Though the Nehru-Liaqat Pact signed in April, 1950 facilitated their return, yet thousands would not go back. The Parliament which passed the Representation of Peoples' Act at that time should have made some provision for the conferment of voting rights on those immigrants. But as it is, no provision has been made upto this time for lakhs of such people. Similarly several hundreds more have also immigrated to India from West Pakistan. None of them is a citizen of India under the rules. It is, therefore, imperative that the Parliament should amend the Constitution as well as the Representation of Peoples' Act 1950, so that citizenship and the consequent right of voting may be conferred on all these people and others who may in future decide to come to India because of the uncertain attitude of the rulers of Pakistan to their minorities.

Multiple Elections

Section 70 of Part IV of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951 lays down that when a person is elected to more than one seat in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State, then unless within the prescribed time he resigns all but one of the seats, all the seats shall become vacant.

This appears to be a very serious step for negligence to report in time. This will not only mean serious loss to the person elected but to the Government, the legislatures and the voters. Some provisions must be made about an inquiry being made by the Election Commission of India from such a person and he should be warned of the serious penalty. He should be given a time limit of 10 days within which to reply and only then should the penalty take effect.

Election Expenses

Section 76 of this Act (Representation of Peoples' Act 1951) says that the Return of Election Expenses of every candidate or his Election Agent must be accompanied by a declaration attested before a Magistrate. There does not appear to be any need of such a declaration. If, in spite of this declaration, a petition before an election tribunal can question the veracity of his declaration, why have this declaration.

Requisitioning

Sections 160-167 of the 1951 Representation of Peoples' Act deal with requisitioning of premises, vehicles, etc., for election purposes by the State. Section 164(2) says that any person who is empowered to requisition premises by the State Government may after giving to any woman not appearing in public reasonable warning and facility to withdraw, remove or open any block or bolt or break open any door of any building or do any other act necessary for effecting such eviction. This action seems to be very serious and must be changed. It does not seem necessary to force people to vacate their houses or shops when there are so many public buildings available. Quite a number of Municipal and District Board buildings could be easily acquired. Then there are all kinds of schools, Government as well as non-government, boys' as well as girls' schools, both in urban and rural areas. To requisition a house for elections will in most cases be unnecessary. If it is necessary, recourse should not be taken to such unlimited powers as are detailed in Section 164 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951.

Section 167 of this Act says that if any person contravenes any order under Section 160 or Section 162 he is liable to be imprisoned for one year and may also be fined. In such cases such heavy punishment is quite uncalled for and it is feared that the officials at the lower rung of the ladder, will misuse these powers. Some political parties will make capital out of these actions of the government officials and will impute all kinds of motives to the party in power. So there should be no imprisonment in cases of this type.

Power to Make Rules

Section 169 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951, reads:

"The Central Government may after consulting the Election Commission, by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act."

It will be desirable for the Central Government, whatever the party to which it belongs, not to take the onus of making rules on itself. That will make for more fair and free elections. This section, therefore, should read as follows:

> "The Election Commission may by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act" or "The Central Government may with the approval of the Election Commission, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act and notify them in the official gazette."

Section 170 of this Act (Representation of Peoples' Act 1950) bars the jurisdiction of the civil courts to question the legality of any action taken or any decision given by the Returning Officer. It is suggested that one exception should be made to this all-comprehensive provision and that is with reference to Sections 160-167 which empower the Executive authorities to requisition any premises, vehicle, vessel or animal. These actions are otherwise also justiciable and the jurisdiction of the courts should not be barred in these matters.

RULES UNDER THE 1950 AND 1951 REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLES' ACTS

Rule 5, sub-rule iii, made under the Representation of Peoples' Act requires members of the Armed forces of the Union, persons holding some special posts in India and holding posts outside India under the Government of India and some other categories to apply on a specified form to the Chief Electoral Officer of the State that their names should be entered in the electoral rolls of a particular constituency. This is highly undesirable. It should be the duty of the Government to find out which of the citizens are serving in the defence services away from their homes or are holding some special posts or are serving abroad. It should not be for these persons to ask for the right to vote. The Government should require the head of every Indian diplomatic mission abroad to supply every six months information to the Election Commission and to the Chief Electoral Officer of the State regarding the personnel working abroad and the constituency where they are qualified to vote. Similarly, the Army, Navy, and Air Force authorities should send this information regarding the personnel working under them. Similarly, the Government of India should inform the Election Commission and Chief Electoral Officers about the few big persons whom the President specifies as holding some special posts.

Rule 36 of the 1951 Representation of Peoples' Act says that persons under preventive detention should apply to the Returning Officer for permission to apply. This rule should also be changed. It should be the Returning Officer's job to send the papers to them. The jail authorities required to supply the names of persons under tion to the Chief Electoral Officer.

Rule 11, Sub-Section (3) of the Representa Peoples' Act 1950, requires that no person shall an objection to the inclusion of a name in the toral roll for a constituency unless his already included in the electoral roll for constituency. Now it is not clear why a married woman of 19 who is a mother also the mistress of a house should be denied the to object to the inclusion of a name in an roll. That she is only 19 and is not yet a voter should be no disqualification to report errors electoral roll. Similarly a young man becom graduate at 19 or 20 and is considered good for appointment under Government or a concern. Why should he not be permitted to to the inclusion of certain names in the electoral when he can prove to the satisfaction of the rities such a fact. It is, therefore, suggested sub-rule (3) should be so altered as to permit persons above the age of 18 to object to the of names in the electoral roll. The year 18 has suggested because at this age a person is enough to be trusted.

Rule No. 5 under the Representation of Act 1951 requires that every candidate shall in his nomination paper, the symbol which chosen as his first preference out of the symbols in force. He should also specify two symbols out of that list and should also state second and third preferences. Now it is a great that in our country the number of illiterate is so great that we have to take the help of As a matter of fact, this illiteracy should have as a challenge to the intelligentsia and they have determined to wipe out illiteracy before next general elections. These illiterate adults and women, are not expected to become literate and so we may have to continue the symbols another 10 to 15 years. But why have three A Congressman will refuse and should accept any other symbol except the pair of with a Yoke on and a Praja-Socialist will refuse should refuse any symbol except a Hut. The will generally put up one candidate from constituency and since the symbols refer to rather than candidates, no other candidate party candidate should be permitted to choose party symbol. A Congress candidate has no to prefer the Communist Party symbol as his preference and the Praja-Socialist Party his third preference. So this rule requires a It is, therefore, suggested that in the case of candidates which it is easy to ascertain from State party headquarters. the Returning should allot the party symbol only. In the case of independent candidates also the Returning Officer should be required to decide by lot which particular symbol should be allotted to a particular candidate.

Rule No. 18 of the 1951 Act says :

> "The Returning Officer or the Presiding Officer may appoint a woman to serve as an attendant at any polling station to assist woman electors . . ."

It is suggested that the word 'may' should be changed into 'shall' so that every polling station or polling booth should have at least one woman polling official or an assistant to help her sisters.

Rule No. 46 relates to the procedure of counting of votes. The Returning Officer is required to write on every ballot paper which he rejects the word "rejected" and to record briefly the grounds for such rejection. Now there were cases in the last elections when in the case of certain parliamentary candidates as many as 20,000 papers had to be rejected. If the Returning Officer writes the word "Rejected" and then signs his name and gives briefly the grounds of rejection, it should take one minute per ballot paper. In that case a Returning Officer will take 20,000 minutes or 330 hours or 14 days if he works 24 hours a day to do this work. In the case of the counting of votes in the Hoshiarpur Parliamentary Constituency, Shri Adhyatam Ram, the Scheduled Caste Federation candidate secured 1,23,007 votes out of which more than 20,000 were rejected. Similarly, in other constituencies there were thousands and thousands of rejected votes. It is physically impossible to achieve the feat of writing the word 'rejected' and then putting one's signature and also giving brief reasons for rejection. To expect this is to put a premium on dishonesty. It is, therefore, suggested that some other assistants may be permitted to write the word 'Rejected' and to give the brief reasons. The Returning Officer should merely be required to initial these ballot papers. This will be within the realm of possibility.

Rule 111 relates to accounts of election expenses submitted by the election agents. It reads as follows:

> "The books of accounts . . . shall contain a statement of all payments made or authorized by the candidate or by his election agent or made on behalf of the candidate or in his interests by any other person with the consent of the candidate or his election agent for expenses incurred . . ."

Now this rule does not take into account the expenses incurred by the friends or beneficiaries of the candidate without his consent. Take the case of the Managing Director of a Bank or an Insurance Company or the Vice-Chancellor or Syndic or Fellow of a University. Scores of people worked for them and the law did not require any account of the expenses incurred by them. This puts a premium on wealth and influence. It is, therefore, suggested that the rule should include the expenses incurred by the friends and beneficiaries of the candidate "without his consent" also. The calculation of this item may present some difficulties but once it is included in the rule the fear of rival candidates and their supporters challenging the return of expenses will make the candidate take more pains in calculating these expenses also.

Rule 112 relates to the return of election expenses. According to this rule, the return of election expenses should be lodged with the Returning Officer within 45 days from the date of the publication under Section 67 of the result of the election to which the expenses relate.

This rule is vague. This rule does not say whether the Return should be lodged within 45 days of the publication of the result in the official gazette or the announcement of the result of election by the Returning Officer. The Returning Officer declares the result of election immediately the count is over and it is published in the official gazette after about a week or ten days. This rule refers to Section 67 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951 which reads as follows:

> "As soon as may be after the result of an election has been declared, the Returning Officer shall report the result to the appropriate authority and the Election Commission . . . and the appropriate authority shall cause to be published in the official gazette the declaration containing the names of the elected candidates."

This also does not make clear as to which of the declarations is to be the official declaration. Even now, some of the officers in the States are not sure whether the calculation of 45 days has to be made from the date of the declaration of the result by the Returning Officer or from the date the State and the Central Government publish it in the official gazette. It is suggested that 45 days be calculated from the date of the publication of the result in the official gazette and the language of Rule 112 should be clarified accordingly.

FORMS

Form No. 11 which relates to Rule 38(1) gives a specimen of a Ballot paper. Here there are two columns: one showing the number of candidates and the other the column for a mark. It is suggested that there should be a third column also, where the symbol and the party affiliation of the candidates also should be shown. Form 19 relating to Rule 65(2) shows the specimen of the cover sent by the Returning Officer to the voters who vote by post. It is not clear whether the cover should be sent by registered post or by ordinary post. It is suggested tnat the cover should be registered and the registration charges should be paid by the State. This will be an added inducement to the voters to vote for the best candidates.

THE FRENCH-INDIAN "EMPIRE"

By Dr. H. L. SAXENA

VERY high hopes were entertained when recently it was announced that the French Government had invited the Government of India to discuss the vexed problem of the four French pockets, comprising the so-called French-Indian "Empire." All Indians had expected these talks to bring the French Government round to accept the proposal of the Indian Government to the *de facto* transfer of these territories to it immediately and to arrange for the formalities for the *de jure* transfer later on in due course. But, the talks have failed, and the tussle continues unsolved as before.

It must be admitted on all hands that in spite of the gravest provocations by the local French administrators in Pondicherry and other French settlements, while dealing with the recent agitation for merger with the Indian Union, in which the rights of Indian naionals were badly infringed, the Government of India has not taken any retaliatory action whatever, except making the necessary protests through the proper diplomatic channels. Although there was a great clamour by the leaders of the pro-merger movement for the Government of India assuming control over these territories, Prime Minister Nehru unequivocally stated in Parliament the other day that India had no intention of assuming unilateral control over the French Indian enclaves in which pro-merger elements had seized power, and he appealed to the French Government once again to recognise the clearly expressed wishes of the people and effect a *de facto* transfer of their settlements to India.

WHAT ARE THESE SETTLEMENTS?

But, what are these settlements after all? Their total area was only 203 square miles in 1948, when the population was 362,045. Of these, Chandernagore has already been transferred to the Indian Union, following a referendum on June 19, 1949, in which 99 per cent of the people voted for merger with India, and its *de jure* transfer to the Indian Union was approved by the French Parliament on April 11, 1952. Chandernagore had an area of 3.5 square miles and a population of 44,786. Deducting these, the French possessions in India are left with a population of 317,259 and an area of just less than 200 square miles, for the four remaining Settlements called Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe.

BRIEF HISTORY

These French Indian pockets have a sordid history of their own, and the sooner they disappear as foreign territories the better for all concerned.

It was in the year 1601 that a Company of the St. Malo merchants fitted out two ships in an attempt to reach East India, and the first French expedition into the Indian waters was undertaken by private merchants at Rouen, in 1603 A.D., but attempt was a failure. During the years between and 1609 followed similar efforts by the French Henry IV, who following in the footsteps of Dutch and the British, set up a French East I Company. In 1616, a French fleet sailed from Malo for the Moluccas, while in 1619 the two called "fleets of Montmorency" sailed for Ma and Japan. Though much success was not achie in these efforts, interest in the trade with the was kept up by the success of the French trave and merchants in exploring the sea-route round Cape of Good Hope.

THE FIRST CHARTER

It was in the year 1642 that Rigault secured f Cardinal Richelieu the permission to sail to Ma gascar and establish colonies and trade there. Charter granted to him led to the formation of *La Compagnie d'Orient,* which was granted monopoly of trade with the East for a period of years. Though this company did not meet with success, it did succeed in establishing a port at F Dauphin, which was easily accessible to ships sa to and from India.

A BIGGER COMPANY

After the accession of Louis XIV on the Fre throne, his minister Colbert reconstituted the Co pany on a much larger basis in 1664, when it w transformed into a national institution in which w united all the resources of the country. This was t called the *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.* T king himself contributed three million livres free interest from which were to be deducted all lo incurred during the first ten years, and the ro example was emulated by other nobles. It was gra exemption from taxes as also a monopoly of Indian trade for fifty years. In addition, king also undertook to protect it and to escort ships with his own man-of-war, and granted it ex sive powers, including the power to fly the ro ensign, depute ambassadors, enter into treaties w and make war on Indian princes, and in order signify the great hopes he and his minister rep in the venture, he also granted it arms and a m *Florobo quocumque ferat.*

MADAGASCAR OCCUPIED

The Company made three attempts to esta itself in Madagascar. In the first two, it failed, in its third attempt, it succeeded in occupy Madagascar and making Fort Dauphin the base its operations. And, in 1668, it had founded its f *Comptoir* or factory at Surat, through the efforts its Resident, Caron. But it was soon found t Surat was not suited for a head establishment; Caron seized the harbour of Trincomalee in Ce from the Dutch, with the help of a squadron of ten vessels under de la Haye, which had been sent by Colbert with instructions to establish the French position firmly in India, as also to neutralise the propaganda of the Dutch against the French, by inspiring the Indian princes with a high opinion of the power as well as the justice of the French monarch.

In the course of his expedition, de la Haye secured for the French the grant of Trincomalee from the king of Kandy, but failed to engage the Dutch fleet which had securely established itself in Trincomalee Bay. The result was that no sooner had the French squadron left the Bay than the Dutch seized the handful of men who had been left behind and took possession of Trincomalee, thus ejecting the French from Ceylon. De la Haye, however, passed over to the Coromandal Coast and in 1672 he captured St. Thome, a Portuguese town adjoining Madras, which had for twelve years been in the possession of Holland. At St. Thome, the French expeditionary forces were besieged for two years, at the end of which Caron was compelled to restore it to the Dutch in 1674.

PONDICHERRY PURCHASED

The ruin of the Company then seemed impending, but one of its agents, named Francois Martin, suddenly rescued it. Rallying under him a handful of 60 Frenchmen, saved out of the wreck of its settlements at Trincomalee and St. Thome, he took up his abode at Pondicherry, a small village which he purchased in 1683 from the Raja of Gingee. He built fortifications, and trade soon began to spring up, but he was unable to hold the town against the Dutch, who wrested it from him in 1693, as they had sworn to drive out the French from Indian soil altogether. But, in 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick, the French obtained rendition of the settlement on payment of 16,000 pagodas to the Dutch as compensation for the improvements they had effected.

CONTACTING INDIAN PRINCES

Martin continued as Governor in Pondicherry until his death in 1706, and during this period, he made friends with a number of Indian princes by adopting a very conciliatory policy towards them. He was followed by Dr. Lenoir and he too followed the peaceful attitude inaugurated by Martin.

He was succeeded by M. Dumas. He took great pains in making Pondicherry agreeable to the several Indian princes who visited it, until he succeeded in forming friendship with Dost Ali Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic. So, when the Marathas tried to wrest the Carnatic from Dost Ali Khan and his son-in-law, Chanda Sahib, he helped the latter, with the result that the Marathas could not succeed in their attempt.

Finding that the French had come in their way, the Marathas under Raghoba attacked the French settlement at Pondicherry, but could not succeed in defeating the foreigners, as M. Dumas had by then greatly strengthened the fortifications of Pondicherry, and raised a force of 1,200 European and about 4,000 to 5,000 Indians armed and drilled in the European style.

As the Marathas were a great terror for the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, the latter was much pleased to learn of the stand M. Dumas had taken against the Marathas, and he conferred on him the title of Nawab as also the command of 2,000 horsemen as guard. He was officially recognised by the Great Mughal as an officer of his Empire.

DUPLEIX'S DREAM OF AN EMPIRE

It was in October 1741 that M. Dumas was succeeded by M. Dupleix as the new Governor. Son of a wealthy farmer-general of France, he had been sent to India in 1715 on one of the French East India Company's vessels. He then made several voyages to America and India, and in 1720 was named a member of the superior council at Pondicherry. There, in addition to his official duties, he made large ventures on his own account and acquired a fortune. In 1730, he was made Superintendent of French affairs in Chandernagore, and then he was appointed the governor-general of all French establishments in India in 1741.

M. Dupleix was the the first European who dreamed of establishing a Christian Empire in India, and decided to acquire for France vast territories in the East. So the very first thing he did on assuming office was to proclaim himself as Nawab.

In 1746, taking advantage of the War of Austrian Succession raging in Europe, in which France and England were ranged on opposite sides, M. Dupleix decided to capture Madras, which was at that time the principal seat of the commercial enterprise of the British in India, so as to crush the entire British trade in this country. He, accordingly, sent la Beurdonnais, the French governor of the Isle of Bourbon, to go and capture Madras, which the latter did without much difficulty.

This action of the French forces created great apprehensions in the mind of the Nawab of Carnatic in regard to their aggressive designs in this country. M. Dupleix, therefore, had to announce, with a view to allay these fears of the Nawab, that he was anxious to give up Madras after dismantling its installations. But, la Bourdonnais, who was on inimical terms with Dupleix, being his rival, ransomed the town to the British on receiving from them a present of £40,000, and then withdrew his fleet from the Indian shores, without consulting Dupleix in any way. Dupleix opposed the restoration of the town to the British, as agreed to by la Bourdonnais by virtue of the treaty already signed by him, but it was to no purpose. The result of this was that Madras could not be restored to the Nawab by Dupleix, in accordance with his announcement. So, the Nawab attacked Madras, but Dupleix succeeded in defeating him with the help of his artillery on November 4, 1746. Being thus chagrined and defeated by Dupleix, the Nawab sought the assistance of the British to gain his ends. Dupleix then sent an expedition against Fort St. David in 1747, which was defeated on its march by the Nawab with the help of the British. But, soon afterwards, Dupleix succeeded in winning over the Nawab to his side and again attempted the capture of Fort St. David, but did not succeed. A midnight attack on Cuddalore was repulsed with great loss. In 1748, Pondicherry was attacked and besieged by a British squadron under Admiral Boscowen, but the attack was successfully repulsed by Dupleix with heavy loss to the enemy. In the course of hostilities, the French Commander Lally took Madras, which was given to pillage and rapine. He also took and demolished Fort St. David near by.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

To make his triumph widely known, Dupleix immediately despatched messengers to Arcot, Hyderabad and Delhi, to inform the rulers there how the British had been routed at Pondicherry by the French. He was busy receiving congratulations from all sides when news arrived of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed on October 18, 1748, according to which he was compelled to return Madras to the British, with its fortifications greatly improved and strengthened. This rudely shattered the long-cherished hope of Dupleix to expel the British from the Carnatic.

Meddling in Affairs of Princes

Though France and England were formally at peace with one another thereafter, the British East India Company as well as the French Compagnie des Indes kept an army in the field to fight the battles of any Indian prince who required their services, not with a view to help him but to strike a deadly blow at its European rival in India. And, an opportunity soon presented itself, when the French and the British marshalled their forces to espouse the cause of rival Indian princes.

Sahuji, the Hindu Raja of Tanjore, was expelled from his principality by Chanda Sahib. Sahuji thereupon sought the help of the British to regain his lost throne, offering them a large sum of money as well as the cession of the town of Devicotta. The British were only too happy to take up the cause of Sahuji, but when they set out to the latter's assistance, Chanda Sahib had been taken prisoner by the Marathas and Tanjore was ruled by one Pratap Singh. The people of Tanjore were quite happy under Pratap Singh and did not favour the return of Sahuji. So, the British took Devicotta by storm and pensioned off Sahuji, and entered in alliance with Pratap Singh. The British were thus gaining in power every day.

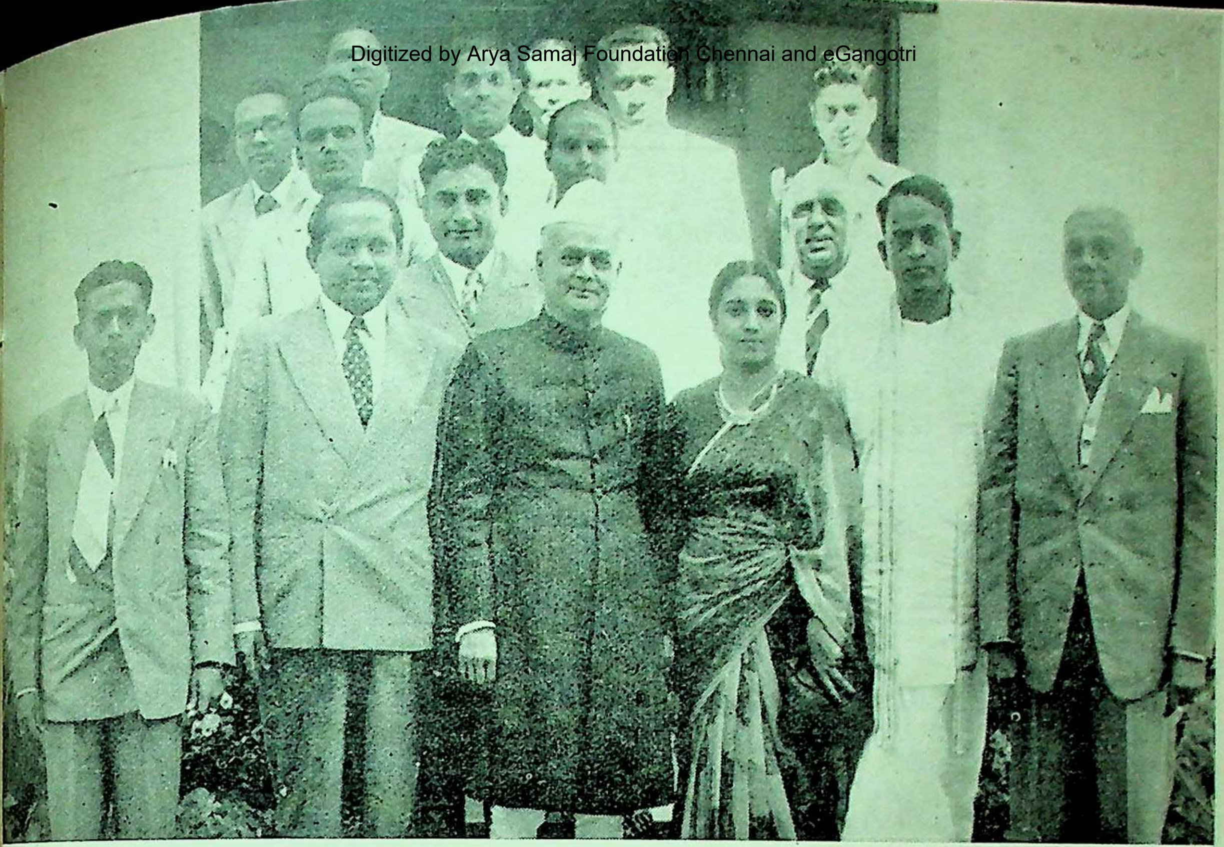
This was unbearable for Dupleix. So, he Chanda Sahib from the Marathas and tried to him on the throne of Carnatic in place of the Na Anwar-ud-Din, who had succeeded Dost Ali K and who had allied himself with the British. Ch Sahib fought Anwar-ud-Din and defeated and k him in the battle of Ambur on August 3, 1749. T success brought Dupleix another ally in the pe of Muzaffar Jung, this prince had been kept as a pris by his uncle Nazir Jung, but he had made good escape and joined Chanda Sahib. He then procla himself as the Subedar of the Deccan, with the help Dupleix.

Dupleix next turned his attention to Tri poly, which was then in the possession of Muha Ali, son of Anwar-ud-Din. He directed Muzaffar J and Chanda Sahib to attack Trichinopoly, but t did not carry out his instructions. Instead of att ing Trichinopoly, they attacked Tanjore, but not capture it. They were put to flight by Nazir J the uncle of Muzaffar Jung. Muzaffar Jung was arrested and imprisoned by his uncle once again the latter proclaimed himself as the Subedar of Deccan. He then deposed Chanda Sahib and claimed Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic. Dupleix, however, mana to get Nazir Jung assassinated through his agents, and Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib once again made the Subedar of the Deccan Nawab of Carnatic respectively.

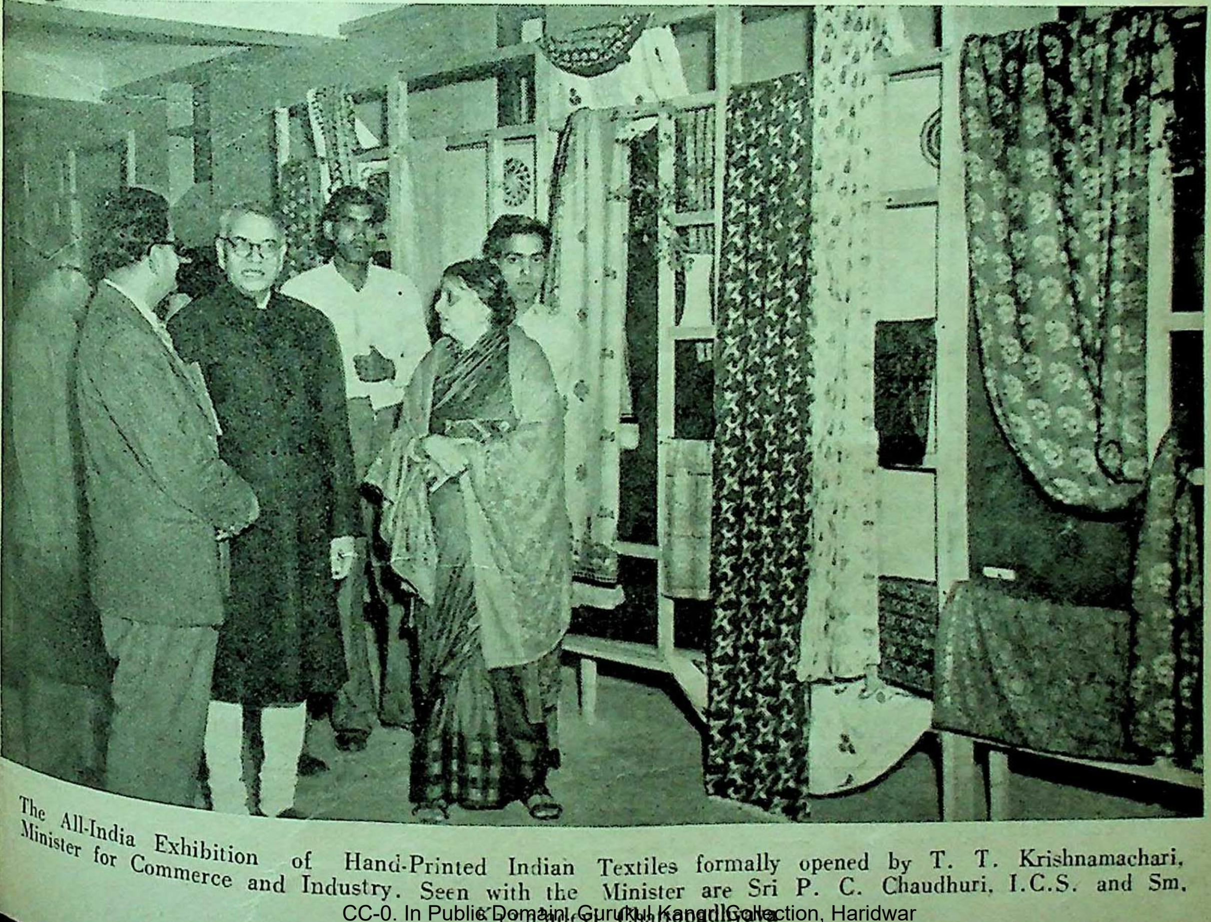
But, Trichinopoly still continued in the hands Muhammad Ali, who was supported by the Bri So, Dupleix besieged the town. He, however, not succeed in subduing it due to the strong def provided by Lawrence. Fate was also against He did not spare men or money to capture Tric poly. To add to his misfortunes, a reinforcemen 700 men from France perished at sea. Trichino thus proved to be the rock upon which the tow ambition of Dupleix was wrecked.

Dupleix Recalled

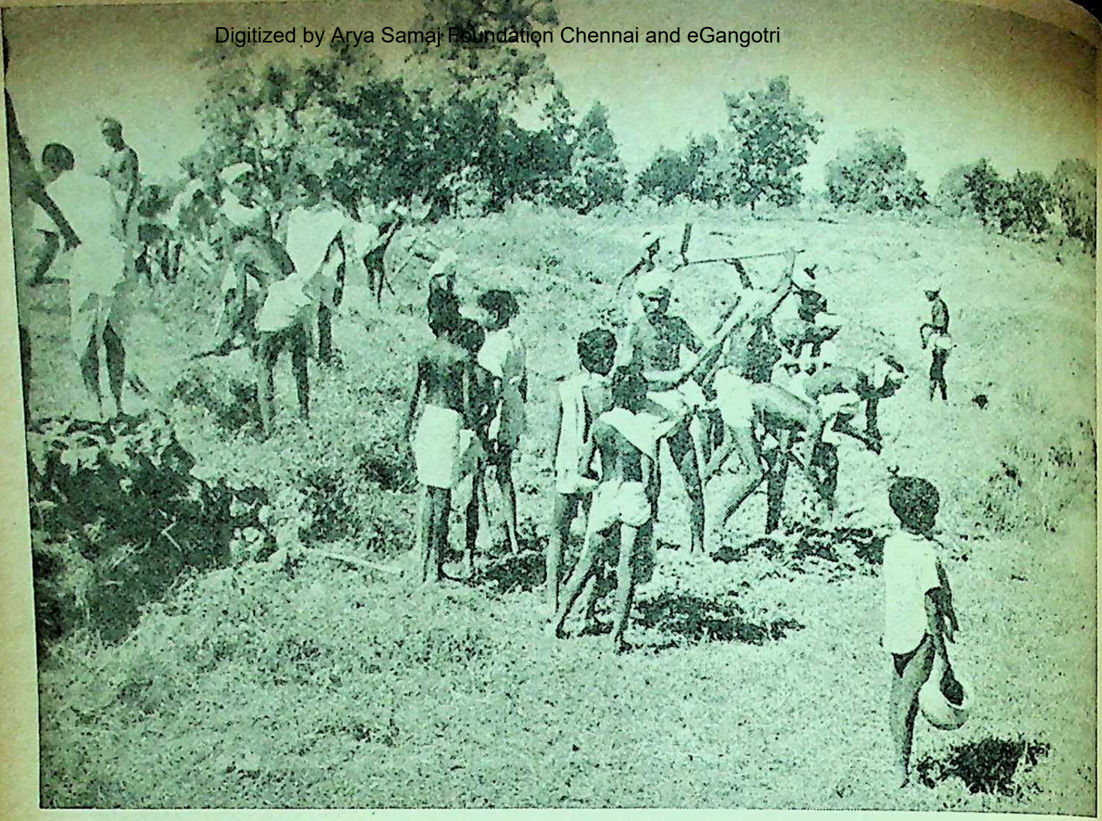
These reverses had a very adverse effect on home government in France. As Dupleix had alr revealed to the ministers at home how he pl to capture the whole of India for France by ma one Indian prince fight another, the French Go ment came to the conclusion that there could be peace between France and England so long as Du remained in India at the helm of French affairs. T French Government, therefore, sent out to India special commissioner named Godeheu, a director the Compagnie des Indes, with orders to supers Dupleix and, if necessary, to arrest him. Du was thus compelled to return to France and embarked for his home country on October 12, 1 All his dreams of a Franco-Indian Empire thus c to an abrupt end. He had spent his private for in the prosecution of his public policy, and



Members of the Ceylon Parliamentary delegation with Sri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker, House of the People, when they called on him in New Delhi on March 16. *Second from left* is the Hon'ble Mr. Albert F. Peries, Speaker, House of Representatives (Ceylon) and leader of the Delegation



The All-India Exhibition of Hand-Printed Indian Textiles formally opened by T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry. Seen with the Minister are Sri P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S. and Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya



People of a Community Project village are busy in building an approach road to their village

National Malaria Control Programme. Each malaria unit in each State is equipped with enough ins cides, spraying elements, transport and staff to protect one lakh of people in a season

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Company refused to acknowledge the obligation. Thus disgraced, he later died in comparative poverty and obscurity on November 10, 1763.

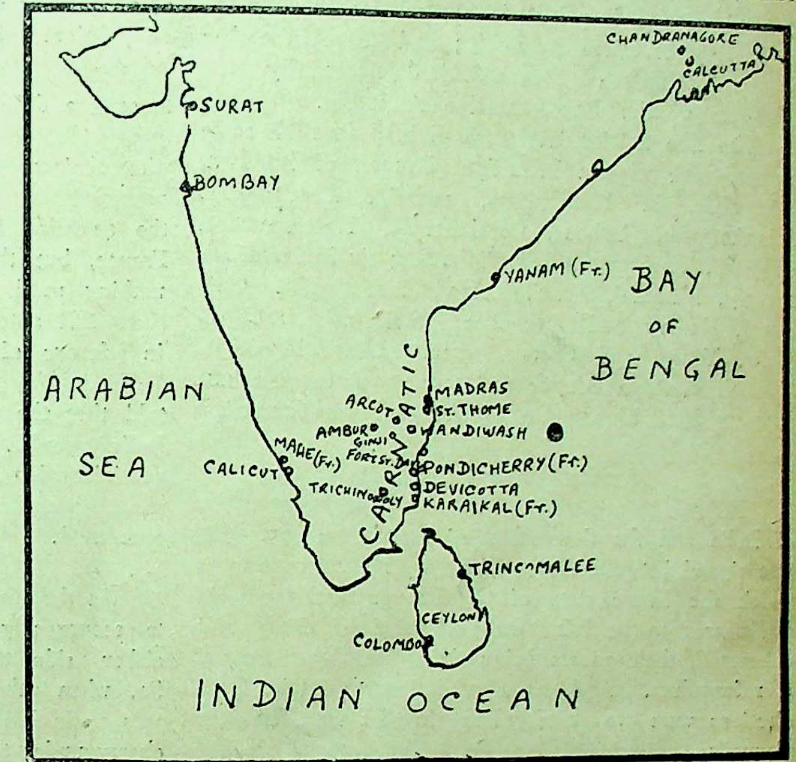
M. Godeheu then became the Governor-General in place of Dupleix. He made peace with Mr. Saunders, the then British Governor of Madras. It was stipulated that henceforth the two Companies "should never interfere in the differences that might arise among the princes of the country." France kept promise to the letter, while the British honoured it more in its breach.

But this peace between the two companies in India did not last long. Following the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756, a decisive struggle between the British and the French was waged in India in 1759, in the Carnatic. In 1760, Sir Eyre Coote leading the 84th Regiment won the decisive battle of Wandiwash on January 22. Pondichery was then besieged and captured by Monson, supported by Coote, in 1761 and the British wreaked vengeance by razing the town to the ground, with its fortifications, walls and buildings. At the same time, the French lost to the British all her possessions in India. She secured their restoration at the Peace of Paris in 1763, which settled the disputes of the Seven Years' War.

During the American War of Independence, France made common cause with the rebel colonies against England. So, her possessions in India were again seized by the British in 1778 when Pondicherry was besieged and captured by Sir Hector Munro and its fortifications were demolished in 1779. But, the city was once again restored to the French in 1785 under the Treaty of Versailles of 1783.

Once again, the French Settlements in India were seized by the British in 1793 during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars under Col. Braithwaite. They were ordered to be restored to France after the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. But, with the renewal of the war in 1803, the restoration of the settlements was cancelled. They were finally restored to France for the last time in 1816-17, and she has held them since then.

Chandernagore was acquired by the French in 1688 from the Mughal Emperor at Delhi; Mahe was seized in 1725-26; Karaikal was secured in 1739 under a grant from Chanda Sahib; and Yanam was seized in 1750 and formally taken possession of two years later in 1752.



INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

The continued existence of the foreign Portuguese and French pockets in Indian soil became a live issue immediately after the declaration of India as independent on August 15, 1947. As a matter of fact, the French Settlements in India did not become independent on that very day, only because of the intervention of the Indian leaders on behalf of the French at that time. There was then such a tremendous upsurge for independence and merger with India that the French administrators there seemed helpless to do anything. The Governor of the French Settlements, Mr. C. F. Baron, had to fly to Calcutta to meet Gandhiji there, and following a long interview between the two, Gandhiji issued an appeal to the people of French India not to take the law in their own hands. This appeal alone saved the merger of these Settlements with the Indian Union.

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

It was on January 6, 1947, that some reforms were introduced by the French Governments in these Settlements. The Representative Assembly of French India then replaced the former General Council and brought to an end the Local Council. The new Assembly consisted of 44 members elected on the basis of adult universal suffrage thus, Pondicherry 22 members, Karaikal 12, Chandernagore 5, Mahe 3 and Yanam 2, but no new taxation or legislation proposed by this Assembly could be brought into effect without the approval of the Minister for Overseas Territories in Paris.

Two decrees were then issued on August 12 and

20 in 1947, according to which the administration of French India was to be conducted by a Government Council consisting of the Governor as President and six members, at least, three of whom were to be elected by the Representative Assembly and the remaining three to be nominated by the Governor at his discretion.

French India is also represented in the French Parliament thus: (1) A member of the National Assembly in Paris is elected by the voters of the French Settlements in India; (2) A member of the Council of the Republic is elected by the French India Representative Assembly; and (3) A member of the Assembly of French Union elected by the members of the Representative Assembly.

The five Settlements were divided into 17 communes, each with a Municipal Council of its own, thus eight in Pondicherry, namely, Pondicherry, Ariankuppam, Bahour, Mudaliarpot, Nettapakkam, Oulgaret, Tirubuvanai and Villianoor; six in Karaikal, namely, Karaikal, Grande Aldes, Nedungadu, Cotchery, Neravy and Tirunallar; and one each in Mahe, Yanam and Chandernagore. Each Municipal Council elects a Mayor and two or three Assistant Mayors from among the members of the Council.

AGREEMENT OF JUNE 1948

Following negotiations between the Government of India and the Government of France, an agreement was signed between the two in June 1948, according to which the future state of the French Settlements in India was to be left to the decision of the people concerned, their wishes being ascertained by means of a referendum. And, as a preliminary to this, fresh elections were to take place in all the Municipal Councils.

In accordance with this agreement, municipal elections were held in Chandernagore in August 1948, and no less than 22 of the 24 seats were captured by the Congress Karma Parishad, an organisation sponsord by Bengal Congressmen and standing openly for merger with India.

The results of these elections upset the French Government, so in the other Settlements, the French authorities took care that fair and free elections became impossible and they became almost a farce. The French Government did not agree even to have Indian observers at these elections, which were held on October 24, 1948. With the help of *goonda* elements, the so-called Socialist Party, led by Messrs. Goubert and Muthu Pillay, which was then the anti-merger party and had the support of the French Indian authorities, saw to it that nobody other than their own partymen were returned to the Councils, by fair means or foul. Every conceivable form of irregularity was committed in these elections. The result was a foregone conclusion; the pro-merger Congress was eliminated altogether.

Meetings of the Municipal Councils of Pon Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe were held in Marc when it was decided to hold the referendum on ber 11, 1949. The Government of India imme made representations to the French Governmen upon them the need for conducting the proposed rendum in an impartial manner free from any pressure and unfair practices such as characteri municipal elections and stressing the imperative sity of having neutral observers to supervise all of the referendum and the free participation of all persons or groups who were then residing as political refugees.

The meeting of the Municipal Councils also to send a delegation to Paris and Delhi with a find out from the French and Indian Governments what their respective attitudes were with regard future of these Settlements. The delegation consi the so-called Socialis Party accordingly went France, but the authorities there would promise nothing until after the renferendum. They them full autonomy after that if the referendu in favour of France. The delegation then Delhi in the latter half of 1949, when it was told that the integration of the French Settlem India would not in any way disturb the administration or the way of life there without vious consultation with and consent of the concerned.

As the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party to secure any special advantages for themselves either side, they decided to maintain the status So, when the meeting of the Municipal Co was again held on October 17 and 18, 1949, at cherry under the chairmanship of Mr. K. Muthu the Mayor of Pondicherry, the referendum was to be postponed indefinitely, and it was further to leave the decision in regard to the Settlements two Governments concerned.

And, the *status quo* has continued for four years. Recently, following certain differen tween the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party, Messrs. Goubert and Muthu Pillay, and the Governor in Pondichdrry, the eaders of the Socialist Party decided to ask for the merger French Settlements with the Indian Union with referendum. As all the Municipal Councils trolled by this party, all of them passed resolution ing for this merger, with the result that now th party left in the French Indian Settlements to continued existence of French rule there.

A widespread Satyagraha movement is now on in French India demanding immediate mer the Indian Union, and the French Indian busy resorting to every possible method of against this merger movement. But it ca suppressed for long and their freedom is at

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

Sores in Indian Body Politic

By Prof. A. B. SHORAWAL

The following resolution was adopted at the Jaipur session of the Indian National Congress (December, 1948) making Indian position perfectly clear in regard to the French and Portuguese possessions in India :

> "The chequered course of India's history during the last 200 years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period, because India herself was under alien domination. With the establishment of independence in India, the continued existence of any foreign possessions in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Government concerned."

The Government of India has been, since then, trying hard to settle the matter of these foreign enclaves with the respective French and Portuguese Governments amicably and peacefully, keeping to her long-cherished desire and tradition of maintaining peace and friendliness with all as far as practicable, and permitted according to the response of others (nations) concerned therewith. But much to our disappointment and regret these well-intentioned efforts of the Indian Government have received little attention of the Government concerned with the dispute. It may be mentioned that although the Government of France has at least conceded to the suggestion of holding referendum to take the views of the people residing in French-India settlements, and though, France has accordingly transferred Chandernagore to the Indian Government, the Portuguese Government has so far refused to see reason. And as such, the Portuguese Government has even gone to the extent of refusing to discuss the question of transferring these Portuguese colonies to India.

Negotiations between the Government of India and Portugal however continued, till on August 14, 1950, the Portuguese Government told the Government of India that they could not discuss the future of Goa, as "it is an integral part of Portugal."

Because of this attitude of the Portuguese Government, and the deadlock in the negotiations between the two Governments, the Government of India was compelled to withdraw the Indian diplomatic mission in Portugal on June 11, 1953, although the Portuguese legation in India continues to function still. That rendered futile all hopes of a peaceful settlement of the question. It, however, acted as a clarion call to the nationalist forces in Goa to accept the burden of freeing the State from foreign rule upon themselves.

These foreign enclaves are in fact sores in the free Indian territory, which have become a veritable home of all sorts of mischief and corruption. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru knows well that these foreign possessions are "hot-beds of intrigues and bases for smugglers, thugs and dacoits." Evidence and information filtering through, despite rigid censorship of news, show that these areas are being briskly converted into military bases to be used in the event of a third world war. It is keeping this in view that Premier Nehru administered a stern warning: "If there was war, India would not allow these foreign pockets to become bases of operation for foreign powers." During the last six years, the situation there grew from bad to worse. It was owing to this that Anantasayanam Ayangar, India's Deputy Speaker, said recently that a police action might become necessary to liberate these foreign pockets, which "present a threat to the independence and sovereignty of India."

But French and Portuguese governments have also not been sitting idle all this time. They have adopted their own nefarious policies and they hired *goonda* elements in these enclaves and they have so far left no stone unturnd to systematically suppress and root out the tremendous upsurge of pro-merger movement. Naked *goondaism* and police terror were let loose on those favouring merger with India. Consistent attacks on nationalists and intimidation under the very nose of French officials and police chiefs became commonplace.

Since 1947, the working classes were in the forefront of the liberation struggle. In June 1950, repression reached its greatest height. The *goonda* elements set ablaze 150 houses of liberation leaders, 35 schools and public reading rooms and trade union offices. Martial law was clamped down on these settlements off and on to paralyse the freedom movement. Over 1600 leaders of the freedom struggle are put behind bars on fake, trumped-up charges. About 12,000 families, afraid of fearsome reprisals, are compelled to seek safety in India.

Dr. Rajkumar, deputed by the Congress to French India, visited the areas five times. His discoveries are sensational:

> "It is well known that naked rowdyism is prevailing in these areas in their (French) interests and obviously tolerated by the authorities. Terrorism and intimidation is the first weapon, nationalist workers are ruthlessly dealt with. I have not witnessed such abject slavery and such demoralisation even in the worst days of British rule in India."

Not only this. The French India government has imposed new taxes on the masses which they can ill afford to pay. The French Indian budgetted income, which was Rs. 40 lakhs in 1947, is now about Rs. 90 lakhs. The additional expenses incurred are mainly to strengthen the imperialist hold on the colonies. They have increased land revenue by 100 per cent; the agricultural produce transport is taxed at Rs. 2 per bag. The incidence of new taxes is right on the pauperised peasantry. In Pondicherry, 3 textile mills closed down, throwing 9,000 workers on the scrap-heap.

Trade Union rights are everywhere ruthlessly suppressed; labour codes and collective contracts are cold-storaged; work-load is increased in factories and mills. Thus human suffering is intensified. Altogether 4,500 labourers and their dependents are jobless with nothing to eat, besides the 8,000 families of handloom workers to whom the government have refused aid. In fact, most of these problems arise from the absence of an integrated economy with India.

The goods which are being imported from the dollar block with the American dollar credit to France since 1950 to the tune of Rs. 36 crores, are smuggled into India to upset our protected markets—a menace India Government has been fighting against so long. There are reasons to believe that this smuggling of goods is being conducted on a large scale through well-organised secret agencies.

The Portuguese possessions in India have also the same story to tell. There too, in Goa, a determined spirit of struggle and revolt against the tyrannical Portuguese regime that has emasculated a whole State of seven lakhs of people, and held them in utter subjection for the last 444 years—the longest period of foreign domination on the Indian mainland—is afoot.

Militant revolutionary forces there are regrouping and preparing themselves for an all-out struggle and a multipronged attack on the citadel of reaction, black-marketing and international intrigue, that hold one of the gravest menaces to India.

The 1,400 square-mile coastal beauty spot of Goa today is a veritable garrison of 30,000 European and Negro troops, an arsenal of the latest American arms and equipment, with three modern airf boot.

The technical change in the constitution was affected in 1950 when the National Assem Lisbon modified the Colonial Act to includ Portuguese colonies overseas (in Asia and Afri the overseas Provinces of Portugal, enabled Po to invoke the aid of the NATO powers eventuality of India taking military or police in these colonies, which fear has been engende the minds of the Portugal rulers since India free. This is because Portugal is a member North Atlantic Treaty Organisation since 1950.

As Portugal has ever feared that her posse would soon be liquidated by the Governme India, she has time and again referred to an Portuguese treaty of 1661 under which Brit cognised territorial integrity of the Portuguese sions in India which India Government has re outright on the fact that she would not recogni treaty to which the India Government is not a as such treaties or agreements are not bindi India. The Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Sa said in 1949 : "India is in a community of to which Britain belongs, and Britain is oblig treaty to defend Portuguese territories oversea"

All through the four and a half centuries of rule, the Portuguese government has resorted most despicable and deplorable means to the cultural, traditional, and religious ties of people residing in these colonies with India. place what the Portuguese gave the Goans hybrid culture and a creed of aping the We everything including manners, dress, languag even in the matter of names.

The religious customs and beliefs of the were banned by law. The customary ceremo marriages, cremations and thread of Hindu forbidden. Not only this. It became binding on individual above the age of 15 to attend the ings of the missionaries. As a culmination these the Goans were compelled on penalties grow the *tulsi* in their gardens or estates, not to the *dhoti* and the *choli* and not to call each Hindu names or surnames.

Even under such systematic and well-pl scheme of the Portuguese rulers of denationali of the Goans, the flame of freedom and enfra ment from that inglorious rule, did not die. during these 444 years of foreign rule, ther thrilling saga of fight for freedom and revolt oppression and tyranny, when in 1870, eve Goan police mutinied, necessitating the impo of European and Negro troops to patrol the State.

The cruelty of suppressing this pro movement, which is spontaneous and assumi awful and solemn appearance, by the Port ever-lords, saw its culmination when on 17th February, 1954, they arrested Dr. Gaitonde and deported him to Lisbon in Portugal on February 20, for publicly protesting against the continuance of Goa as a Portuguese possession and demanding its merger with the Indian mainland.

The Government of India handed over a protest note n March 15, 1954 to the Portuguese Legation in Delhi :

> "The arrest of Dr. Gaitonde—an Indian by race, Portuguese by force of historical circumstances, educated in Portugal, married to a Portuguese lady—for exercising his democratic right of free expression in favour of reunion with his Motherland, is yet another indication of the existence of a powerful urge among the people of Goa for reunion with India."

The protest note further said :

> "The Government of India would like to make it clear to the Portuguese Government that it cannot remain silent spectators to this form of repression on the people of Goa who are in no way distingushable in race, language, religion or culture from the inhabitants of this country."

In conclusion it remarked :

> "It hopes that the Portuguese Government will yet acknowledge the necessity of extending the normal democratic and civil liberties to the people of Goa."

But the Portuguese Government refuse to see reason; and they have rejected India Government's protest as "incompetent." At the same time in the ourse of a statement issued by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, it has been maintained that activities aimed at encouraging the annexation of Goa to India were obviously illegal and that any intervention by "foreign States" was inadmissible.

The above contention on its very face seems ridiculous. For the fact is that while India of which Goa is an integral part is classed as a "foreign State," Portugal, situated thousands of miles away, is presumed to be a "Home State" for Goa,—a suggestion which only innocence will admire, and worn-out politicians will worship.

The French India colonies are no exception to his kind of mischief. Only the other day, Indian erritory was violated by the French police who eized two Indian nationals and the Mayor of one f the Pondicherry communes who was seeking shelter a Indian territory. There were other acts of coercion and intimidation of Indian nationals living on e border. The Government of India, in this case a well, lodged a strong protest about these incidents nd demanded the immediate release and return to Indian territory of all the three persons who had een illegally seized. They also demanded the unishment of the French officials concerned and me assurances about the future. Their demands ave not been met and they have been obliged to take various precautions to prevent the recurrence of such incidents.

Among the measures which they have taken is a total ban on the passage of French police across Indian territory to any part of the French possessions.

The Government of India have no intention of assuming control unilaterally of any part of the French possessions. They cannot, however, allow the French police to use Indian territory for the purpose of suppressing a popular movement. This would have serious repercussions in India and the ban must, therefore, continue so long as the present tension prevails. As the Government of India have no wish to interfere with the normal administration of the French possessions, much as they disapprove of some of the methods that are being used, the ban which they have imposed is, therefore, restricted to the police force.

Another measure which the Government of India have been obliged to adopt is the ban on petrol supplies from India to the French possessions. Petrol and other essential supplies were being sent freely until the Government of India discovered that in the matter of sale of petrol some discrimination was practised by the local administration. Dealers had been given instructions to stop sale of petrol to the supporters of the merger movement. The Government of India cannot give facilities for export of articles to French possessions if sale or distribution is restricted to supporters of the local administration. They have stopped supplies of petrol and they propose to apply this principle in all cases.

The Government of India also gave notice to the local administration that they propose to apply the permit system to regular traffic to and from Pondicherry and Karaikal with effect from the 19th April. They had been obliged to take this step not only as a check on smuggling which has not been stopped in spite of the measures that they have taken, but also with a view to preventing undesirable elements from coming freely to India.

Conditions in the French possessions will become more and more unsettled if repressive measures are continued and lawless elements are encouraged by the local administration.

The Government of India consider it necessary, in the conditions which are now developing, to control the entry of persons from Pondicherry and Karaikal into India. Ordinarily, single-journey visas will be given for visit to India, but the Consul-General will be empowered to multi-journey visas in special cases. He will also have complete freedom to refuse visas at his discretion.

What have been the effects of the above measure taken by the Government of India? A report from Tellicherry, dated April 18, (*P.T.I.*) says:

> "The entry of French policemen or other officials from French Mahe and adjacent enclaves into the Indian Union territory has been banned since last night.
>
> "Policemen and officials will not be allowed to pass through Indian Union territory except under a valid visa signed by the Indian Consul-General at Pondicherry.
>
> "Two French police officers who wanted to cross over to their Paloor enclave from Mahe last night and one policeman to carry 'taples' from Palloor to Mahe this morning were turned back by the Indian reserve police pickets on the border."

It will also be interesting to read a report from Pondicherry dated April 19, in this connection:

> "Travel between India and French settlements was standstill today with the coming into operation of the Government of India's passport system.
>
> "In Pondicherry, trains and buses from India arrived empty and left with no passengers bound for India as the report that on the Indian side of the border the passport regulations were being enforced strictly reached the town early in the day.
>
> "Earlier reports had said that by mid-day over a thousand passengers travelling on trains, buses, cycles or on foot or either side of the Indo-Pondicherry border had stopped and turned back."

The Frendh India Government is likely to issue identity cards to French Indian nationals.

The gravity of the situation created by this one step of Indian Government can be very well realized considering a personal letter of the French Premier which has been handed over to Shri Nehru on April 20, in this connection.

In these foreign pockets, in the last few days, the movement for merger has gained ground, in spite of the repressive measure of the local administration. The movement was launched on the 28th March, since then processions are being taken out and meetings are being held almost daily in Karaikal and parts of Pondicherry. Some supporters of the merger movement have been arrested and others have been victims of violence from the police. According to the newspaper reports even the local police has gone over to them and they have hoisted the Indian flag on public buildings and declared their wish to form part of India. They have again called upon the Government of France to take immediate measures for the integration without a referendum of the French possessions with the Union of India.

It is clear from the developments that are taking place that the demand of immediate merger with India without a referendum has general support of the people.

The movement is completely spontaneous and is led by persons who until recently were responsible members of the administration. Other political groups and leaders have also declared their support to this popular movement. Repression cannot kill a movement which is based on the natural desire people to form part of India.

In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:

> "The people of the French possessions an integral part of the Great Indian economically, culturally and in other ways, have the closest links with India. A system which keeps separate from India and ject to foreign rule is wholly unacceptable to and the Government and people of India."

The Government of India is desirous to this dispute peacefully by means of a friendly ment. The foreign possessions, in any case, continue much longer for the people have their firm intention to terminate it. The Gover of India have, therefore, again requested the ment of France to consider the suggestion which made in October 1952. They have stated the which prevent them from accepting the propo a referendum. All important political groups rejected this proposal on grounds of principle and because conditions in the French possessions are that no free referendum can be held. As the of the people have been made known so clearly the elected representatives of almost 90 per the population a referendum is in any case sary.

The Government of India have made it that the cultural and other rights of the people be fully respected. We are not asking for the diate transfer of the *de jure* sovereignty of India Government's suggestion is that a transfer of the administration should take immediately while French sovereignty should until the constitutional issue has been settled. India and France will have to make necessary in their respective constitutions. All this time, while the demand of the people is for merger without a referendum. The Govern India are convinced that the suggestion which have made will help to promote a settlement they greatly desire; and on which they will enter into negotiations with the Govern France on the basis suggested.

To conclude, it is to be pointed out that current international entanglements, these pockets, belonging to France and Portugal, a great danger to India not only to her but also to her very security. For the fact both—France and Portugal—have NATO links time when Kashmir hangs fire, and has complicated issue owing to the interested powers who have made Kashmir a game for vile motives; it is very likely that in the case foreign pockets too global complications may any moment, and in that case India considerable difficulty. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government of India, to take steps and to exert their utmost and try all possible means to secure the merger of these pockets. Likewise it is the duty of the Indian people to sympathise their brethren under foreign rule struggling for liberation. As in the case of French possessions in India, so in the case of Portuguese possessions, India is in no mood to tolerate her (Portugal's) impudent attitude and the farrago of nonsense her Prime Minister has trotted out in defence of her rights. If Portugal agrees to Premier Nehru's suggestion for immediate *de facto* transfer of power, to be followed by *de jure* changes, it will be graceful and decent on her part. If not—and developments point to that direction—India will be compelled to adopt measures and to take such action which tiny dreamy imperialists like Portugal will more easily understand. As these dark dots on the Indian map seem to have considerable significance in the Anglo-French-American global strategy; and such big Western powers are also interested in these foreign pockets, a firm and strict Indian attitude coupled with prompt action, believing less in 'strong, stronger and strongest' protests, will alone help in prompt merger of these pockets in Indian Union, and thus in saving her from the expected complications, which may arise later on from a least hesitation on the part of India for settling the matter at the earliest. At the same time it is the bounden duty of every Indian to extend his full co-operation and sympathy to the pro-merger movements in these enclaves in every possible manner.

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DEFICIT FINANCING AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By Prof. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

To cut one's coat according to one's cloth is a wise maxim for individuals but it need not be so for the government of a nation. Misgivings arise regarding the solvency of a man if he cannot meet his expenses from his income and if, consequently, he runs into debt. But at times a government can increase real wealth and bring about prosperity by running into debt. Industrially advanced nations suffer periodically from unemployment which is really caused by individuals following the wise policy of spending less. This is redressed by the government which spends more than its income. The deliberate policy of collecting less revenue and allowing its expenditure to exceed its income is known as deficit financing and this is resorted to at the time of cyclical unemployment. Both the malady and the remedy are peculiar. During the depression people suffer from *poverty in the midst of plenty* and the situation is remedied by the government which has to spend merrily without bothering wherefrom the money will come. It seems paradoxical; nevertheless, it is true.

It is our common experience that trade never runs evenly. Sometimes trade is good; demand is strong and sale is high. Producers increase production which means owners of labour and resources get a good income. This stimulates demand. Output and employment still increase. There is all-round prosperity which is followed by all-round depression when we experience the reverse. Demand slackens; sale is reduced; producers employ less labour and resources which means the owners of labour and resources get reduced income. This still reduces demand. Production and employment are still reduced, and the cycle goes on. In a cyclical unemployment there are plenty of goods but people cannot buy them and so they suffer from wants in the midst of plenty. Not that the community has produced wealth at such a rate that these cannot be consumed but that people have no income to buy them. That means effective demand is less and this is caused by a reduction of income.

Since spending by some forms income to others and the income of all is the result of the total spending by the community, a reduction of income can only take place when some people do not spend all their income. At a lower level of income people spend all they earn. They cannot save. At a higher level of income people do not increase their consumption at the same *rate* but save more. If all the savings are devoted to the production of capital goods, that will form income to the producers of capital goods. Savings devoted to investment is also spending, and this like Portia's mercy, is doubly beneficial. The man who saves and invests is sure of a flow of income to him and since it expands the capital base of the economy, it makes possible production of larger wealth in the future. But when income is simply hoarded it reduces the flow of income and the trouble starts. Hoarding, *i.e.* reduction in spending is the real *villain*. The remedy, obviously, is increased spending but individuals are not likely to do it. When prices fall, it means the value of money rises and nobody will spend money whose value is rising. We always want to keep that whose value will rise. Offering loans at lower rate of interest by the banking authority will also produce no effect. When prices are falling and the prospect of sale is bad, producers will not borrow and increase production even at zero rate of interest. On such an occasion the government resorts to deficit financing. Spending an amount after collecting it as taxes is merely a transfer ; it involves no net additional expenditure. New money or purchasing power has to be created and spent. A modern government has not to do it by printing more paper currency notes. It can be done by selling treasury bills. A government requires money throughout the year but its collection of revenue at some period may be less. To cover up the gap for the short period it sells treasury bills. This virtually means short term loan to the government. If this is provided by the public from savings it involves transfer and no creation of additional purchasing power. Usually these bills are bought by banks, insurance companies and other institutions who have large funds but who cannot invest them for a long period. They get the bills discounted by the Reserve Bank who does it simply by expanding credit. A deposit in the Reserve Bank is as good as cash ; so the banks do not take away cash but when necessary draw on them by cheques. The Reserve Bank can increase deposit without any restriction, although it cannot print as many notes as it likes. Printing of notes and expanding deposit on which the depositors draw by cheque both come to the same thing. It is additional purchasing power and when the government spends it net additional spending takes place and effective demand is stimulated. Against the bills the government has to pay interest and the profit which the Reserve Bank earns by discounting bills goes to the government so that the government on balance has not to bear any cost. This method of deficit financing is quite cheap and convenient ; most modern governments adopt this method. In a cyclical unemployment, let us suppose, the bottom is reached and at this level the total output is x. Land, labour, mills, factories, etc., remain idle. All these working at full capacity, are capable of producing more than x but as effective demand is reduced [illegible] worked. The government cre crore of rupees and spends them. Those who the amount will find their income increased. they spend it, the income of others will increase a this way the total income of the community multiply. The initial expenditure of one crore generate an income equal to several crores. E demand thus being stimulated production will i and the total output will be several times x. at times, for a nation spending beyond its mea creases real wealth.

In India which is an underdeveloped country cyclical unemployment is not a major problem. employment in India, except to a limited extent not mean that mills and factories, tools and ma labour and enterprise,which were working a few ago are today not working. These in fact do n at all. Resources in India exist only *potentially*. idle hoards been mobilised, had land been clea jungles and irrigation canals built, hand-labourers trained, our resources could have been developed. our labourers, whose supply we have plenty, bee perly trained, disciplined and organised, they have earned a *large* income. Instead of that th earning a smaller income. Our unemployment is periodical. It is chronic. We have under-empl and our problem is how to increase income. C therefore, increased spending and stimulating de will be of no use. If our government spends one c demand will increase but in the absence of an ployment pool in the form of mills, factories, m labour, etc., ready at hand, the producers cannot in production. The supply of these factors is in Increased purchasing power without a correspondin crease in production will raise the price. This is tion and is more harmful. Deficit financing, th cannot solve our problem. What we want is lo capital with which we can develop our resources potentially exist.

M. Gupta
20.2.37

REVOLUTIONARY WOMAN IN MACEDONIAN POETRY

By R. P. SINGH

MODERN Macedonian poetry with its profound, creative and revolutionary quality can be distinguished (with the very first stanza) from the poetry of other nations. It faithfully and forcefully reflects the sufferings, heroism and endurance of a whole nation which, chained for centuries, was continuously threatened with total extermination.

Insurrection against Nazi occupation brought freedom to the Macedonian people for the first time. As a sequel came songs about the heroism of fighters in the Revolution. These deeply lyrical Macedonian poems of the national liberation movement encouraged the girls and women of Macedonia to join the liberation struggle. Women of Macedonia—'slaves of the slaves'—went into battle with special enthusiasm and their enthusiasm received recognition and encouragement in numerous Macedonian poems such as *The Partisan Girl*:

Ah, how happy and glad I am
That I have become a girl Partisan,

To fight against the Fascist invader,
Freedom to win for our country,
For our homeland, our Macedonia.

It can well be understood that, seeing the great enthusiasm of the Macedonian women for the liberation struggle, the local poets and singers produced so many verses describing their selflessness and heroism, as in the following lines about Mileva Kosovarka, which portrays and inspires the woman-hero of Macedonia:

Mileva, oh my comrade,
At Raspake they wounded you,
From Raspake to the hospital
All the road was blood-spattered.

Where has my Mileva gone to?
And Orman mountain answered me—
When her spirit departed,
Mileva spoke these words to me—

A girl from Black Mountain in Macedonia

Tetovo damsels in their national attire are singing the songs of Revolution

A girl from Lazaro Polye in Mecedonia

"O my comrades of Kosovo,
"Do not grieve or mourn for me,
"I have given my life for liberty."

It is also with such specific poems that Mace lyric poetry links the revolutionary present wi militant past. There is a young Macedonian girl. is eager to go on the Mt. Kozjak to join the par and to fight for liberation. She dreams of m Karpos, one of those legendary Macedonian he the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, meeting whom is a frequent theme in Macedonian poetry. I poem *Karpos Voivoda* the girl seeks for the hero:

Janka walked through the forest green
Twirling a little pear-tree leaf
And she said to the forest green:
"Did there not, forest, pass through you
"Hristo Karpos, the young leader
"With seventy men of his Company
"And seven men of his family,
"With the Macedonian banner?"

And when in the typical cycle of Macedonian san poems devoted to the partisan women, the Ma nian girl expresses her ardent wish to go to the w

Grant me, dear mother, grant to me
That which my heart is yearning for
Let me become a Partisan.
Let me go to Kozjak mountain
To see the young leader, Karpos,
To carry with me a machine-gun
To mow down the cursed Fascists.

It is such revolutionary vigour that inspire whole of Macedonian poetry of revolution and s construction.

MAHABALIPURAM

The Land of Seven Pagodas

By Prof. SATYA DAS

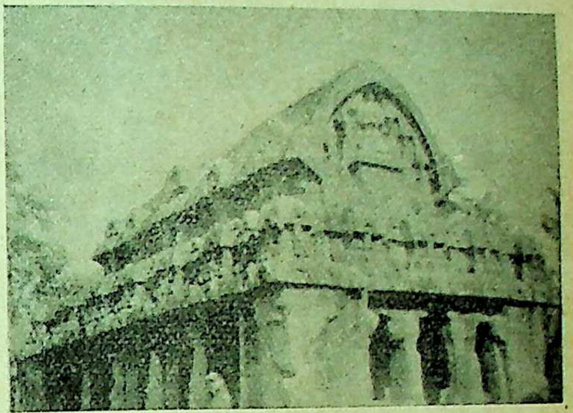
The 'Land of Seven Pagodas' is the name commonly attributed to the present deserted port-town of Mahabalipuram, situated at a distance of 46 miles from the city of Madras. Journey to this historical place may be covered by bus service either from Madras or from Chingleput. Mahabalipuram or Mamallapuram as was originally known, was built as the second capital of the Pallava rulers by Narasinha Varman I (630-660 A.D.), the scion of the Pallava dynasty, their original seat of capital being Kanchipuram or Conjeeveram. With the beginning of the 7th century A.D. the Pallavs became the masters of the South by subjugating the Pandya, Chola and Chera Kings and they retained their supremacy upto the 9th century A.D., when they were eclipsed by the Chola rulers of Tanjore. The Pallavas were a great sea-faring race and credit goes to them for spreading Hindu culture and style of architecture in the far Eastern countries of Java, Sumatra and Bali. The political history of the Pallavas rose to the highest p glory during the reign of Narasinha Varman I, the successful and distinguished member of this able d He not only vanquished the ruler of Ceylon and p his own nominee on the throne of that island, b amply avenged the defeat of his father Ma Varman I at the hands of the great Chalukya Pulakesin II by killing him in a battle and oc his capital of Vatapi. The superb military att of the Pallava King may be borne out from the f King Harshabardhan of Northern India had to Narbada as the Southern boundary of his king acknowledging defeat at the hands of Chalukya P sin II. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen paid a visit to the Pallava capital Kanchipuram time and left an account about the general p of the people of Tamil-land. Though he inte visit Anuradhapura, the great Budhist centre of C a civil war in that island-kingdom prevented him from proceeding beyond Kanchipuram, which seems to be the Southern terminus of his journey. In course of his account, the Chinese traveller says :

"The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth and highly esteem learning."

But the Pallavas are remembered most to-day for their creation of a number of rock-cut monolithic temples and a series of fine sculptures on rock-walls existing in good condition at Mahabalipuram which has lost the pristine days of its glory and importance and whose only present attraction is provided by these wonderful architectural specimen. According to Vincent Smith, "The history of Indian architecture and sculpture in the South begins at the close of the sixth century under Pallava rule" Religion, as usual, supplied a powerful impetus to the Pallava rulers for developing art and architecture. Mahendra Varman I, the father of Narasinha Varman I, who was originally a Jain, excavated a number of cave temples of Jainism, its frescoes being wonderful examples of Pallava painting. But after his conversion to Saivism by the famous saint Appa at the middle of his reign, he became intolerant of Jainism and caused destruction of some of the Jain temples and built a number of rock-cut temples dedicated to the worship of Siva throughout his empire. These temples, instead of being built with bricks and mortar, are cut out of a single big rock-boulder and they truly represent the Pallava style of Southern architecture.

Dharmaraja Ratha with three-storeyed Vimana in Dravidian style carved out by Narasimha Varman I Pallava (630-660 A.D.)

Mahabalipuram, as it stands on the sea-beach, presents a magnificent and panoramic view to the visitors who are literally overwhelmed at the sight of a rich variety of 'Rathas'. (monolithic temples built with stone and with rich carvings inside and outside) and 'Mandapams' (rock-cut pillared halls with or without cells) which stand majestically at this deserted and forlorn site. The most important of these 'Rathas' whose originator is said to be Narasinha Varman I, is a group of five, named after the four Pandavas and their common spouse Draupadi, without any historical or mythological reasons. (Dharmaraja Ratha, Bhima Ratha, Arjuna Ratha, Sahadeva Ratha and Draupadi Ratha). Each Ratha is in a different style, Draupadi Ratha, being a fine model in stone of a thatched hut of straw. The figure of Narasinha Varman is chiselled on the Dharmaraja Ratha, which is the biggest in the group. Besides this group of Rathas, there is one Ganesh Ratha, a monolithic shrine with *Shikara of Sala* type carved out by Parameswara Varma I (665-680 A.D.). Of the 'Mandapams', Mahishmardini Mandapa, Dharmaraja Mandapa, Krishna Mandapa and Varaha Mandapa deserve special mention. Mahismardini Mandapa, a pillared hall with three cells, carved out of stone, presents two panels in bas-relief of Mahismardini and Sheshashayee (reclining Vishnu) at its end. The figure of the awe-



Bhima Ratha, a monolithic shrine with Shikara of Sala type

(*Left*) Sahadeva Ratha, a monolithic shrine in *Chaitya* form. (*Right*) Arjuna Ratha, in Dravidian style. (*Behind*) Draupadi Ratha, a hut-style monolithic shrine inspiring Durga armed in all her eight hands and engaged in the act of killing the demon with the full-drawn bow, evokes admiration from each and every visitor. This Mandapa is locally called as 'Yamapuri.' Dharmaraja Mandapa is a rock-cut cave temple of Trinity excavated by Parameswara Varman I in Mahendra style containing some Pallava inscriptions. Krishna Mandapa presents a bas-relief scene depicting Vrindabana with Krishna as Govardhandhari and Varaha Mandapa is a rock-cut cave cell dedicated to Vishnu. It contains bas-relief of Bhubaraha, Trivikrama, Durga and Gaja-Lakshmi. But of all the bas-relief scenes, the large composition depicting the scene of Arjuna's penance has earned a great celebrity. This is simply wonderful.

The Shore temple, situated just on the bank of the sea is being constantly washed by the sea waves. The story runs that formerly there were six such masonary temples, whose combination gave this port the sobriquet of the city of Seven Pagodas. small *bandh* has been constructed by the Arch Department of the Central Government to sa present temple from erosion with which it is threa The temple has a large courtyard with fencings o sides decorated with images of stone elephants, 'Siva lingas' and an image of Sheshashayee V lying in *Yoga Nidra* adorn the three cells of the te The deities are not worshipped at present b visitors can well imagine the hectic days of th city of Mahabalipuram when hosts of devotees throng the sacred precincts of the temple respectful homages and offarings. Really, a vi this historical site leaves a pleasant remembrance glorious achievements of Pallava rulers in a vi mind.

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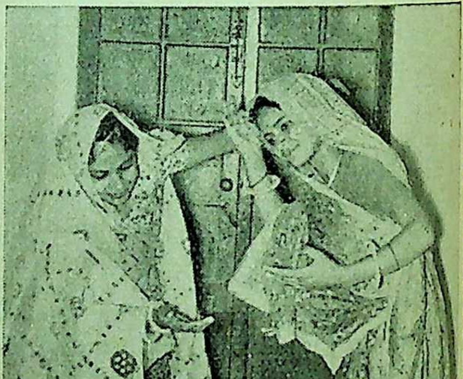
FOLK-DANCES OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M.A.

FOLK-SONGS, folk-music and folk-dances are the three ways in which the human heart naturally expresses its emotional effusion and sub-conscious creative urge.

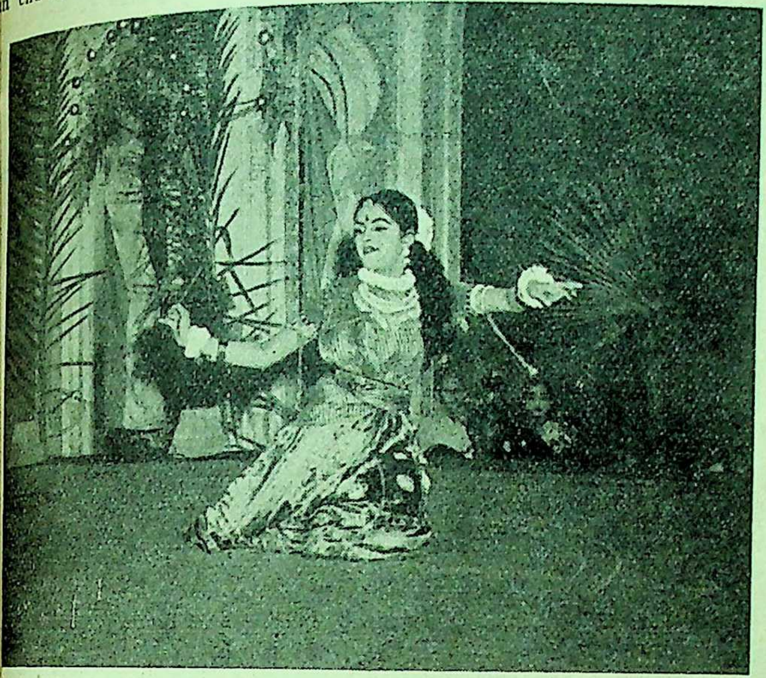
A lady displaying poses of Ghoomer dance

Songs and dances play an important part in the village life of Rajasthan where all the year round there is a regular cycle of festivals, fairs, marriages and auspicious occasions. Besides the dances presente such occasions, there are dances to please the p that are believed to bring famine or rich harvest. Bhils in Udaipur division of Rajasthan perform a p



A pose of Jhoomer dance

cular type of dance which they only present when are to appease the God of rain. At the sight of g ing clouds they run out and dance in joy till the showers. Sometimes, the Bhil-girls in various groups go singing and dancing in the jungle in search of a healthy buffalo to be sacrificed to Kali who can bring an end to drought and bestow rains.



Another type of Jhoomer dance in which only one woman dances depicting different magnetic poses

BHAWAI DANCE

Bhawai, in Rajasthan, is a low aste which is said to originate from ats who for their amusements reated this separate section of people whose hereditary profession is to ance. The dances of Bhawais being ree from any religious or supersti-ious ideas, reflect the real events of ay-to-day life. They picturesquely epict the scenes of Baniya, Barber r the money-lenders who are consi-ered to be in the exploiting class n villages. Being humorous in nature, people do not mind even their bitter atires depicted in their dances and njoy their performances pleasantly. he Bhawais, out of the twelve onths of the year, remain outside f their homes for eight months. During this period, they go from illage to village in Rajasthan, Ajmer, Madhya Bharat and Gujarat where heir 'Yajmans' are scattering over. The Bhawais have n up-to-date record of their Yajmans. It is noticeable ere, that ladies never participate in these perform-ances. The Bhawais take it against the prestige of women. The Bhawai dances can be enumerated as under:

BOHRA-BOHRI

In this dance, the picture of a village merchant or Baniya is depicted in a humorous manner. One man dresses himself like a village-Bohra and the other like a Bohri and then they dance together exhibiting the activities of these village money-lenders by different movements.

SUR DAS

In this dance the character of a corrupted blind Sadhu is depicted. Most of the village ladies are frightened at the sight of the Sadhu whom some of the village ladies also like. The Surdas Sadhu in his dance displays some miracles of exercise also.

LODI-BADI

This dance depicts the story of an old man having two wives who are always making their home a battle-field of the Mahabharata. The husband tries his best to satisfy them but meets with failure. The dangerous results of more than one marriage are mainly manifested in this dance.

Dance poses of Rajasthan

DOKARI

It is the most humorous of Bhawai dances. The dresses worn by the exhibitors in this dance are very peculiar and laughter-provoking. An old lady for the sake of money marries her daughter to a demoralised, corrupted and wicked man who is dressed like a giant. He troubles her daughter mercilessly.

The famous dancer of Rajasthan Sri Devilal Samar in a pose of Banjara dance

SHANKARIA

From the artistic point of view, the best dance of Bhawais is Shankaria. Shankaria is a young snake-charmer who loves a *jogin*. The *jogin* loves him too but she conceals her love, outwardly displaying that she does not like him. Inwardly, she has an immense love for him. She reveals this secret very skillfully by her interesting movements. The romance of two youthful hearts is the subject of this dance.

BIKAJI

This dance displays the love of Bikaji, the founder of Bikaner, and his queen. Joys of meeting and sorrows of their separation are painted in this picturesque dance.

DHOLA MARU

Dhola-Maru is a famous romantic compo Rajasthani literature. Dhola is a symbolic nam husband and Maru or Maruvani of his beloved. intensive love for each other is depicted in this by various heart-captivating physical mo Drums, songs and vocal sound-effects accompa these dances.

In addition to these *Bhawai* dances, *Ghoomer, Gauri, Banjara*, etc., are the other folk of Rajasthan which enliven the spectators their fascinating poses and lead them to a s forgetfulness.

GHOOMER

Ghaghra is an ancient dress of Rajasthani *Ghoomer* has been named after this cultural The ladies of the South-Eastern part of Bikaner, Pali and Shekhawati are experts of this dance. in circles, clapping with small sticks or wooden its display is of course very attractive and full of It is particularly presented at the *Nav-Ratra* *Gangaur*, the famous festivals of Rajasthani

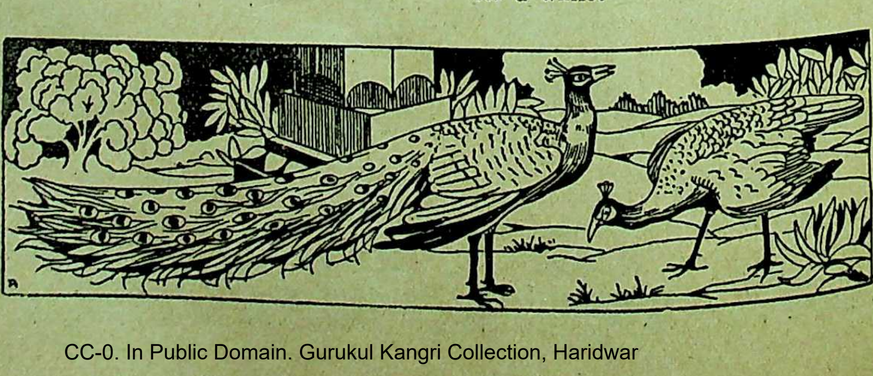
JHUMER

It is a group-dance like *Garba* of Gujarat. has been named after the *Jhumka*, an importa ment of Rajasthani ladies. Bead ornamen flowers lend characteristic flavour to this dance. the fairs of Jagdishji at Alwar, Teej at Jaipur, kundi at Udaipur, this dance can be witnessed. are two kinds of *Jhoomer*. In the first kind of a man and a woman dance together whereas other a young lady dances alone displaying the rent poses of her melodious youth.

GAURI

This famous Bhil dance depicts the Shiva. A Bhil takes the part of Shiva with mask while two men dress themselves as Par Uma. There are other dancers who are fol Shiva. In the centre, there is a Bhopa who to be possessed by Shiva. The dance beg after a short time, the devil appears on the Shiva fights the devil who finally surrenders. dance is performed in the month of S *Banjara* dance is also a kind of Bhil dance.

Of course, these fine folk-dances of R gladden our heart, bring us joy and give us an pleasure which makes one forget his worries for a while.



BHASKAR ROY CHOWDHURY

By PETER CARSON

In most countries of the world, dancing has delighted their inhabitants from time immemorial, and so to the foreigner visiting India, it is most amazing to find that though Indians boast, with pride, of their ancient culture and the different styles of dancing, they neglect their own artistes whilst flocking in their thousands, paying high prices, to see second-rate indifferent foreign dancers.

Surya Nrityam by Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury

Kathak Dance by Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury

The art of dancing in India is now kept alive by a comparatively small band of enthusiasts and by the self-sacrifice of the few real classical dancers and Gurus still in India.

The reason for this appears to be that although there are many Indians of both sexes attracted to the art of dancing few can afford to adopt it as a career, as without patronage no artiste can live by art alone, nor can he or she give of their best if constantly worried by the lack of financial security. Too often are promising classical dancers ruined by prostituting their art in films, or by incorporating Western ideas into Indian classical dancing, in order to obtain money.

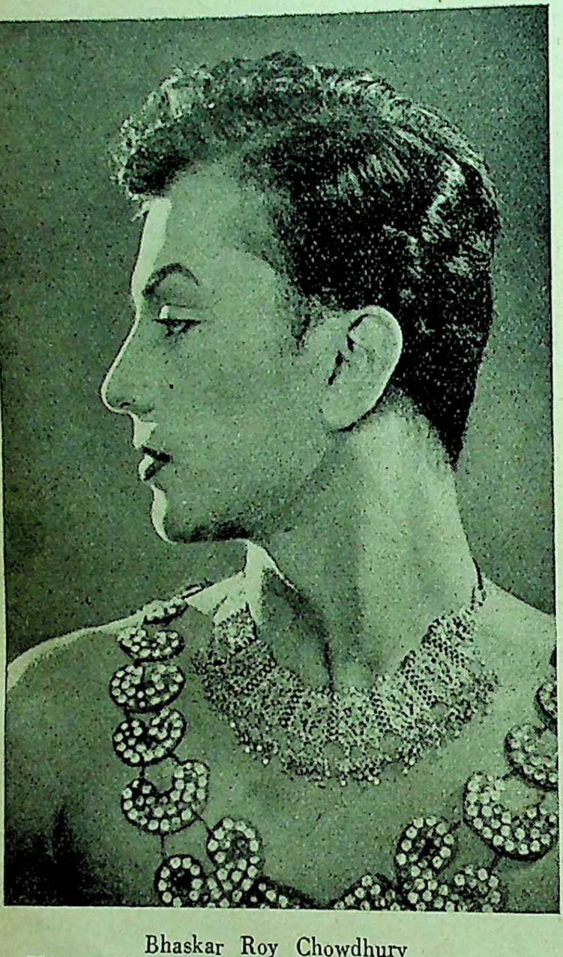
There is nothing greater, more satisfying to all the senses or more beautiful than Indian classical dances executed by a master. These masters, though often poor financially, are rich in fame and bring credit and renown to their country, as did the famous dancer Pavlova, for her country Russia, at the beginning of the 20th century.

It is therefore hoped that either the Government or some Indian philanthropists will come forward and give financial aid to all promising young artistes, so that India may retain and enhance her reputation as a great cultural country, as no country that neglects her art and culture can ever hope to become really great.

Today in South India there are a number, mainly of the female sex, who have taken up dancing, but with few exceptions, although they are technically perfect in the execution of the movements in dances like the famous Bharata-Natyam, on the stage they appear like beautiful mechanical dolls, dancing with no inner conviction or belief.

Lovers of classical dancing are however lucky, as they have in Madras, a youth who is one of the exceptions, as he is a true artiste in every sense of the word; not only is his technique perfect but it is obvious that he is immersed in, and loves his art for art's sake and would make any sacrifice for it.

Here is no mechanical toy to be wound up and placed on the stage, but instead there is a living, pulsating, animated young man, beautiful in face and figure, who by his knowledge and inner conviction gives to his audiences a faithful representation of what classical dancing really should be and should mean.



Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury

This youth is Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury, a mere stripling, not yet twenty-four years of age, who some years ago commenced dancing under a great handicap, as he was the son of Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury, famed as an artist and sculptor, and so it is not often that two geniuses, both in different spheres of art, are produced from one family.

Bhaskar, undaunted, applied himself most assiduously to learning the art of Indian classical dancing and steeped himself in all its different meanings, aided by his Guru, the talented and wellknown Vidwan Ellappa, to whom must go the credit, helped by the brains and beauty of his pupil, for the outstanding dancer Bhaskar is today.

Not only is he able to execute classical movements with great precision but he lives the part he is acting, making it come alive and be understood by his audiences. Yes genius, like that of Bhaskar, is a rare and exotic plant, which if the flower is to fully bloom and reach perfection, must be carefully tended and cherished so that he can re-light the flame to enable classical dances to regain their former popularity by his example encourage future aspirants who to become classical dancers.

On a Sunday evening, Bhaskar with his well- generosity—how is it that the poor are always generous than the rich?—gave a dance performance his troupe to the Southern Indian Journalists tion, after they had concluded their annual meeting the grounds of Woodlands Hotel, Madras.

Bhaskar, whose supporting troupe, though gave of their best, are not yet worthy to perform the maestro, gave a performance, which even th was handicapped by the unavoidable absence of Guru, was of outstanding merit and rightly ear praise of this highly critical and intelligent audience

It is impossible in a short article to give a description of all the dances or even to state deserved the highest praise, as few amongst the could agree about this, each having his own but all considered that the dances, as a whole, brilliant performance.

Who could have failed to have been deeply by the exquisite movements of the hands, eyes in the dance of Lord Krishna, when like the true that he is, Bhaskar gave the illusion that he was pletely absorbed in his role determined to get the Krishna to come nearer to him.

A complete contrast was the Thala Nrityam when Bhaskar showed amazing control of his mus breathing, as almost like a circus juggler he danc contorted his body with a brass plate, unattac either open palm. Again the Naga Nrityam which is meant to convey that even the most creature, like the venomous snake, has a sinuous of its own, showed to advantage the versatility great stamina of the dancer.

The audience who attended this performance great debt to Bhaskar, not only because he gave such excellent examples of his art and capabilities also as for a short time, he lifted them out of mundane daily worries and troubles and tran them into a dream-world of technical brilliance beauty.

Indian classical dancing can never die whilst are exponents like young Bhaskar to carry on the traditions. It is the sincere wish of the writer gifted young man may soon be given, free from cial worry, the opportunity to achieve the reput the finest classical dancer in India, which he can become, if the chance is given to him.

Let us all hope that it will never have to that a prophet, in this case Bhaskar, is a prophet save in his own country, as if he as well he a chance to go to Europe, and India lets him may never again have the opportunity of seeing flesh, this brilliant genius, a worthy follower in the steps of the great Indian Classical dancers of days.

ALL-INDIA CONVENTION OF WOMEN DEVOTEES OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND SRI SARADAMONI DEVI

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI,
Chairman, Reception Committee

On the supremely auspicious occasion of the Birth-Centenary of Holy Mother, Sri Saradamoni Devi, an All-India Convention of the Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Saradamoni Devi was held in the University Institute Hall, Calcutta, from the 2nd April to the 6th April, 1954. Fifty delegates from different parts of India and outside, such as Delhi, Shillong, Madras, Patna, Nagpur, Coorg, Andhra, Trichur, Gauhati, Calcutta and Rangoon, attended the Convention. A strong Reception Committee, with enthusiastic local devotees, was formed wih the present writer as Chairman and Sm. Subhadra Haksar as Secretary.

All-India Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Devi, Mahabodhi Society Hall, Calcutta

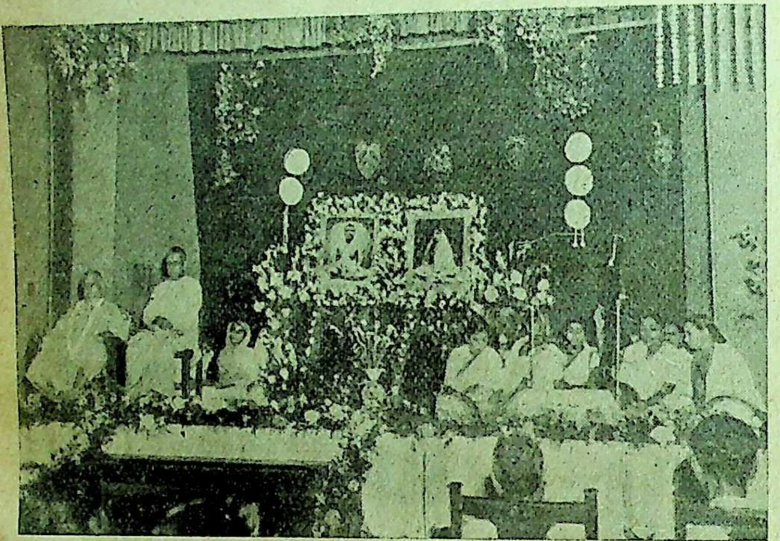
On the first day, a public meeting, open to all, was held under the very kind presidentship of Srimat Swami Samkarananda Maharaj, President of Ramakrishna Math and Mission; but as he could not remain till the end of the meeting, after his departure, Swami Madhavananda, General Secretary, Ramakrishna Math and Mission, very kindly presided over the rest of the function. The huge hall was packed to suffocation, filled, every nook and corner, with devoted hearts, to pay homage to the Holy Mother. From a beautifully decorated platform, from which looked straight, calm and serene, the flower-studded portraits of this Divine Couple, upon the vast multitude of variegated humanity united with a common fraternal bond, Srimat Swamiji, in a soul-stirring Presidential address, invoked "the Daughters of the Divine Mother" to carry out Her sacred mission—primarily by moulding themselves into images of the Mother, and, secondarily by rearing a nobler human race which will usher in a new age as prophesised by Swami Vivekandanda. "To understand and feel this," he concluded beautifully, "to make ceaseless efforts to walk in the footsteps of the Holy Mother and inspire others to do the same, should be the real objective of every one attending the Convention." Even when he left the Meeting, his ennobling blessings rang, a long time after, through the length and breadth of the hall, and lifted every one present to a higher spiritual sphere of beatitude and blessedness:

> "May you carry what you will learn from this Convention to the regions you come from, and through similar gatherings, share the same with your sisters who are not present here today. May the Holy Mother sweeten your lives with bliss and give you courage and strength to accommplish Her will!"

It was, indeed, a most inspiring experience for us all to listen to this enlivening invocation of one whose whole life was but an epitomization of the supreme ideals of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Devi.

On the following days, four public meetings, open to ladies only, were held at Mahabodhi Society Hall, and all largely attended. In two of these meetings, two symposia on "The Significance of the Holy Mother's Life" were held under the presidentship of Sister R. S. Subhalaksmi of Madras and Srimati Bani Devi of Sri Sarada Asram, Calcutta. A large number of delegates from different parts of the country participated, and beautifully brought out the manifold characteristics of the Divine Mother, as wife, mother, teacher, guide and friend to all. In the remaining two meetings, also, two interesting symposia on "The Place of Indian Women in the Social Field" and "Education for Women" were held under the presidentship of Sister Charushila of Ananda Asram, Calcutta, and Srimati Mrinmayi Roy of Calcutta. Many thought-provoking suggestions were put forward by the delegates in this connection.

Everyday, morning sessions were held in the Delegates' Camp for giving the delegates opportunities for a comparison of notes and an exchange of hearts. Perhaps, these small informal, private, gatherings were the most exhilarating and beneficial of all the various functions of the Convention. Sitting right at the feet of the flower-bedecked, incense-scented portraits of the Divine Couple, sisters from different parts of India and outside, so long quite unknown to one another, but now brought together by the supreme sense of being daughters of the same Mother, gave accounts of their individual and collective efforts in spreading the Message of the Holy Mother through service of Humanity. Magnanimous, indeed were these ballads of love and self-sacrifice, coming, as they did from the very depth of devoted hearts, simple and sincere souls, doing their humble bits silently and unostentiously. In fact, these gatherings of the devotee-delegates clearly brought out before all how the silent influence of the Holy Mother has been working all these years, with full and unabated force, through the length and breadth of the country, inspiring even common people to acts of uncommon virtues, uplifting even the lowliest to the highest level of spiritual perfection.



All-India Convention of Women Devotees, Opening Session, University Institute Hall Calcutta. Srimat Swami Samkarananda Maharaj and Swami Madhabananda are seen in the photo

The delegates were given opportunities to visit holy places, like Belur Math, Dakshineswar, Kakurgachi Ramakrishna Yogodyan, Udbodhan Office (Mother's House), Cossipur Math, etc. Every evening Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Lila-Kirtana, Nama-gana and Bhajana were sung by the delegates and some reputed local artists.

This Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramkrishna and Sri Saradamoni Devi was the first of its kind ever held; and it was, really, an indescribably wonderful one from every point of view. The first thing that struck all was the deepest sincerity of each and every one, connected with it, from the highest to the lowest, not excluding the menials, day-labourers and sweepers. It was more like a *puja* than a mere Convention—everyone, through his or her allotted duty seemed to offer "Anjali" to the Divine Mother, rather than do an ordinary work. The immortal spirit of our Mother appeared to infuse the whole gathering w idescribable sweetness and serenity that still lin the memory of us all. Further, this Convention served a double purpose, as pointed out by the C man of the Reception Committee in her ina address, for which it was called. Thus, second served as a means of self-examination to the dele as to how far really they had been able, all these to mould their own lives according to the ideals of Holy Mother. Thirdly, this Convention also b together, for the first time, on a common pla devoted hearts, dedicated to the same supreme and built up an unbreakable bond of love and fr amongst them all. Last, but not least, this Convention held forth before us a lamp of new hope and new in tion, and sent us back to our ol and ordinary vocations with a b understanding and a renewed with refreshed minds and s hearts.

These five short days, in fact been one of the happiest peri our lives, when for a time bei seemed to have been elevated higher spiritual level, far beyo reaches of the claims of our day existance. The ever-green m of these tranquil days of medi and devotion will always r with us to give us energy and i ration, whenever necessary.

What this Convention and allied meetings and functions proved beyond doubt is that machine-minded and science but war-weary and unhappy of ours is seeking solace in something other mere material prosperity and mundane achieve That these alone cannot lead mankind to real pea bliss have been amply demonstrated by the p turmoils and tribulations all over the world. Th why, people, in their thousands are flocking to a Holy Mother's Birth-Centenary functions, with hearts, expecting to find a new path from her D life. We have no doubt that many did find such and returned to their homes with a more op outlook on life and a greater faith in the fu mankind. This alone amply justifies the n meetings and other functions that are bein throughout the country on this superbly blessed oc of the Birth-Centenary of the Holy Mother.

May the blessings of the Holy Mother be always to guide aright in the difficult and tortuous of life!

MUNICH UNIVERSITY HONORS DR. TARAKNATH DAS

On May 24th, 1954, an Honorary Doctorate was conferred on Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor at the Columbia University and the New York University, New York, by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich. Dr. Das, an old friend of Germany, is the Vice-President of the India Institute, Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where he had lived for several years between the two world-wars. He has been Honorary member of the German Academy, Munich, where his well-known book *India in World-Politics* was published in a German translation. Germany honors in Dr. Das one of the oldest champions of Indian freedom, an independent personality among people, who have been working for peace among nations, and who, with love, courage and personal sacrifice, have always stood for the betterment of their country.

For receiving the degree Professor Dr. Das travelled all the way from New York to Munich. After the University convocation the India Institute, Munich, had arranged a festive dinner in honour of the Indian guest, at which the leading personalities of the scientific circles of Munich, representatives of the Bavarian State and the City of Munich, and a great number of other personalities were present.

The President of the India Institute, Dr. Franz Thierfelder expressed his administration for Professor Dr. Das as a politican, scholar and champion of the Indian independence.

An Honorary Doctorate being conferred on Dr. Taraknath Das by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich

At the University Convocation, after the degree had been conferred on him, Dr. Taraknath Das delivers a speech thanking the members of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich

PROF. MAX MULLER AND THE CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SAVANTS

By SURATH CHAKRAVARTY

PROF. MAX MULLER, the renowned Oriental scholar of Oxford, was famous for his great regard for everything Indian. His knowledge of Indian philosophy and metaphysics was also profound. In his youth he began to compile *Rig Veda,* one of the most important ancient scriptures of our country, which was published in the year 1875. He also published many valuable books on comparative religion and philosophy.

He had a strange attraction and sympathy for every notable Indian thinker of his time, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. In his well-known book *My Indian Friends* and *The Life and Letters of Prof. Max Muller,* Vols. I and II, edited by Mrs. Max Muller, his cordial relations with the distinguished Indians like Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dwarakanath Tagore, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Satyendranath Tagore, M. Renai, Ram Krishna Bhandarkar, Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, Rev. Protap Chandra Mazoomdar, Pandita Romabai, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and many others are beautifully described. Protap Chandra Mazoomdar has very rightly said :

> "As for Max Muller himself, his services to India are not to be measured only by the valuable literary tribute he has repeatedly paid to Hindu philosophy and faith but the personal affection and solicitude he has shown for every Hindu, for every Oriental he has met, are characteristic of the man."—*The Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen,* 3rd Ed., p. 151.

So great was his love for India and its spiritual ideal that he was sometimes accused of being partial in his estimation about India and her people even by some of his intimate friends. Max Muller's very natural reply to their accusations was :

> "I have often been told that I have been misled by these acquaintances, and have taken far too favourable a view of the Indian character; that I had seen the best of India only, not the worst. But where is the harm ? I have seen what the Indian character can be, I have learnt what it ought to be, and I hope what it will be, and though we cannot expect a whole nation of Ram Mohun Roys, of Debendranath Tagores, of Keshub Chunder Sens, of Malabaris and Ramabais, we ought not to neglect them in our estimate of the capabilities of a whole nation."—Max Muller: *Auld Land Syne*—My Indian Friends, 1899, pp. 5-6.

Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, the "Thunderbolt of Bengal," went to England in the year 1870. After Raja Ram Mohun Roy he was the first Indian who went to that country as religious prea reformer. He made contacts with the leading philosophers, sociologists, religious reform England, and was very soon recognised by the great reformer and the prophet of the of religions. Everywhere large audiences gath hear from him the message of the Brahmo Sa better sides of ancient Indian culture and relig the better aspects of Christianity. Not only lectures and addresses confined to religious but he also clearly pointed out to his audien defects and drawbacks of their materialistic C ity and what should be their attitude towards and her people. Notable contemporary journ England contained records of Keshub C speeches and activities in England. Thus, world-famous great Hindu reformer they fo voice of India represented to them.

On 1st April, 1870, Keshub Chunder was to lunch with the Dean of Westminster at his where he was introduced to Lady Augusta Prince Christian and Prof. Max Muller. He long discussion with Max Muller about the subjects, specially the Vedas, in which the D took part heartily. Thus, there grew up a warm ship between this great scholar and the world orator and religious reformer of India which till the latter's death. Occasionally they used change thoughts through correspondence. *Biographical Essays,* where Max Muller has fully inserted his critical estimation of Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, D Saraswati, etc., much of this correspondence lished. They reveal the great regard in which and the cordial love he bore toyards Keshub C Sen, though he did not quite understand cert developments of his spiritual culture. Max condolence letter addressed to Karuna Ch after the death of Keshub Chunder, bears to this fact:

Oxf
9th Febru

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter. I knew of father's death and I have felt it as a pers I not only honoured your father, but I and I count his friendship as one of the m recollections of my life. My thoughts so to India and dwell with the few men I kn (I mean the few who are really doing g there) that even now I seem to hold some converse with your father, till I suddenly feel remembered that he is no longer among the living. India has suffered a great loss but so has Europe, for your father's work was telling on the minds of many people in Europe, as well as in India. . . . I wrote a short obituary notice of your father in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and sent you a copy. I hope it has reached. I should like to give a fuller account of his noble work and life, but I must wait till I have more leisure, also, till I can get fuller materials. .

With truest sympathy,
Yours faithfully,
F. Max Muller.

The following tribute was paid by Prof. Max Muller to the memory of Keshub Chunder Sen in the *Pall Mall Gazette* :

> "India has lost her greatest son, Keshub Chunder Sen. His was one of the few names known not only most widely among the two hundred fifty million who are said to inhabit the vast Indian Empire, but familiar even to European ears. Many of us saw him during his stay in England in 1870, listened to him, admired and loved him and not a few have ever since remained united with him by the bonds of a real friendship. . . . Though he died young, the work of his life was done, and his friend and probable successor, Protap Chunder Mozoomdar at present travelling in America and Japan, will, perhaps, be better fitted, under present circumstances, to carry on the religious reform of India. But as long as there is a religion in India, whatever its name may be, the name of Keshub Chunder Sen will be gratefully remembered as one who lived and died for the glory of God, for the welfare of mankind and for the truth, so far as he could see it."

The following few passages from his famous book are also sufficient authority for his great regard for and faith in Keshub Chunder Sen :

> "His (Pawari Baba's) position, however, as a a sage and a saint seems to have been generally recognised, and Keshub Chunder Sen is a sufficient authority for the fact that he well deserved a place by the side of such men as Dayananda Saraswati and Ram Krishna."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, p. 15.
>
> "The life of Keshub Chunder Sen also, though he was a married man and travelled much and moved in the world, was a life of extreme self-denial, as much of that of any Paramhansa."—*Ibid*, p. 16.
>
> "Painful misunderstanding has arisen with regard to the exact relationship between Ram Krishna and Keshub Chunder Sen. . . . Such bickerrings and cavillings would have been most distasteful both to Keshub Chunder Sen and to Ram Krishna. Both had no words but words of praise and love for each other, and it was a great pity that their relation should have been treated in a jealous way and thereby totally misrepresented. . . . As for myself, I can only say that Keshub Chunder Sen's memory is quite safe in my hands perhaps safer than in those of his relatives. I stood up for him when his nearest friends forshook him and turned against him. If my words could possibly have been misunderstood in India, I gladly state that neither did Ram Krishna act as *guru* nor Keshub Chunder Sen as *sishya*."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, pp. 66-67.

Bhai Protap Chandra Mazoomdar, one of the worthy disciples of Keshub Chunder Sen, first visited England in the year 1874, and was cordially received there by men like Mr. Robert Spears, Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, Professor F. W. Newman, Professor Max Muller, Mr. Tyndall and many others. In his well-known book, *Tour Round the World*, Protap Chandra has given a beautiful account of his first interview with Prof. Max Muller:

> "I made an appointment to see Professor Max Muller at Oxford, and we had a whole afternoon together. . . . Great refinement of thought and manners, a wide powerful intellect, and a shrewed commonsense impart to his companionship a peculiar charm. He was just rejoicing at the completion of his labours over the translation of the *Rig Veda* when I first visited him. We walked together through the town of Oxford, visited the different Colleges, the Bodelian Library and different other classical spots, he walking so vigorously, and pouring upon me such a flood of information in his naive elegant style, that I could with difficulty keep pace either with the one or with the other. He had some intention of visiting India in company with Mr. Grant Duff but has subsequently given up the idea. He would be glad, he said, to wander in the streets of Benares for some years, and plunge deep into the sacred stream of Sanskrit learning as it is flowing in that ancient city. He spoke to me a sentence now and then in Sanskrit, but his pronunciation was so different from what I have been used to hear, that I could not very well understand him. . . He knew Prodhan Acharya's (Debendranath Tagore's) father very well in Paris, and related to me certain interesting incidents . . . and when we parted at the Railway station his last words were these, 'Send me every information relating to your movement, every book, pamphlet, and paper ; you will not find me working always. But when my time comes'—and then bending slightly and touching his hat, he said, 'Here I am'."—P. C. Mazoomdar : *Tour Round the World*, 2nd Edition, pp. 112-13.

Protap Chandra Mazoomdar again set out for a long tour in Europe and America in the year 1883, ten years before Swami Vivekananda's visit to America. He was the first Indian religious preacher in America. He made personal contact with the leading thinkers and savants of Europe and America and gained world-wide reputation as an orator and religious reformer. His occasional speeches on India's ancient and modern religion, the universal religion of the Brahmo Samaj, a past and present social condition of India, excited great interest in India and her people in the minds of the Americans. Famous contemporary American journals like *New York Independent*, *Christian Register*, *Springfield Republican*, etc., published detailed information about the activities and influence of P. C. Mazoomdar in America at that time. This was India's first American Mission.

In the year 1893, Protap Chandra was specially invited to represent "Liberal Hinduism" in the famous Parliament of Religions, Chicago. He was also selected by the authorities of the Parliament as one of the members of its Advisory Council. The session of this Parliament of Religions began on 11th September, 1893. Besides other addresses Protap Chandra Mazoomdar delivered his main address "World's Religious Debt to Asia" on 22nd September. On this day the audience was much greater than those of any previous day. (Vide, Dr. J. H. Barrows: *World's Parliament of Religions*, Vol. I, p. 130). So great was his influence over the American audience that after the session of the Parliament of Religions was over he was given a cordial reception in Boston Unitarian Club by a group of intellectuals under the leadership of S. J. Barrows who declared him as the 'Prophet of the glowing East.' He was also specially invited by the authorities of the Lowell Institute, Boston to deliver a series of lectures on India. Here he delivered four lectures on "The Religious and Social Life of India," "Modern Religion in India," "The Races of India," and "Hindu Society." It excited such a great interest amongst the audience that on invitation of the management he had to repeat this series of lectures and the hall was over-crowded with almost eight thousand people. The contemporary notable American journals contain beautiful records of the influence of Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar's Chicago and Lowell lectures. His friends and admirers in America organised the "Mazoomdar Mission Fund" and thus helped him to maintain a close relation between the socio-religious cultural movement of India and that of America of that time. Thus through P. C. Mazoomdar's international fame and reputation and for his earnest labour, India was held in great esteem by the leading intellectuals of the world of that time.

Since their first meeting Professor Max Muller became a fast friend and admirer of Protap Chandra Mazoomdar. He always watched Mazoomdar's activities with great interest and encouraged him. The following few lines from his letter to the Right Hon'ble W. E. Gladstone bear testimony to this fact:

> "I wish Mr. Mazoomdar, who is now in England, could have seen you. He is the right hand of Keshub Chunder Sen—though most loyal to his leader, who is overexcited and occasionally strange in his utterances, still they are working in the right direction and it is a pleasure to help them in ploughing, sowing and watering, though we can never hope to see the harvest."—Mrs. Max Muller: *Life and Letters of F. Max Muller*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 369.

P. C. Mazoomdar also never lagged behind in appreciating the sympathy and help which he always received from the venerable professor:

> "But no word of cheer has been mo than that of Max Muller, our old friend."—P. C. Mazoomdar: *Tour R World*, 2nd Edition, p. 17.

Protap Chandra wrote a beautiful Ramakrishna Paramhansa, the saint of Dak along with some of his sayings in *The Sunday* of April, 1876, under the title "The Hindu This was again reprinted in the *Theistic Q Review* of October, 1879, and was also circul the form of a small leaflet which attracted the tion of the venerable Professor Max Muller Saint. From the following letter of Swami nanda, addressed to Alasinga on 8th August, know that Max Muller was induced to write *Nineteenth Century* an article on Ramakrish Real Mahatman" with the help of Ma monograph:

> "I read Max Muller's article which is one, considering that when he wrote it six ago, he had no materials except Ma leaflet."—*Letters of Sawmi Vivekananda*, p. 329.

Swami Vivekananda himself secured the P. C. Mazoomdar's leaflets for preaching the his Master in America:

> "By the by, will you kindly send copies of the sketch of Ram Krishna Para life written by Mazoomdar to Chicago? have lots in Calcutta."—*Complete Works of Vivekananda*, Vol. VIII, 1951, p. 321.

We find in Prof. Max Muller's *Life and* Vol. II, page 369:

> "On returning to Oxford, Max Muller 1896) had visits from two Indians, Vive the Vedantist Missionary who afterwards America to carry on a propaganda there, and

Again in p. 395, he writes to C. J. Longman at Oxford on 10.6.1898:

> "I am ready with Ram Krishna's saying have not received the answer I expect fr *Brahmavadin*. So I must wait."

Professor Max Muller compiled the say Ramakrishna which was published in the ye under the title *Ram Krishna, His Life and* by which Paramhansadeb was introduced European and American intellectuals. In this phy he rectified certain previous mis-statemen by him in the *Nineteenth Century*. It will be from the following passages of that book that Muller ascribed much more importance to evidence of his old friend Protap Chandra M dar than any other person from whom he information:

> "The fact that he was ignorant of nay, that he did not know a single word sacred language of India, is denied by nob has been distinctly asserted by one of his admirers, the Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar *Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, pp. "But if Vivekananda might be sus partiality, fortunately we have another

namely Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar, who is a great admirer of the Saint. Mazoomdar must be counted as a favourable witness. He stands aloof from the propaganda carried on by Ram Krishna's disciples, but he speaks of him in the highest terms. —There is a ring of truth and impartiality about this, and there is no sign of jealousy, which often breaks out, even in India among religious reformers and their followers."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings,* 1951, pp. 61-62.

"In conclusion, I have to thank my friend, Mazoomdar and several of the disciples of Ram Krishna, more particularly Vivekananda and the Editor of the *Brahmavadin,* for the ready help they have rendered me in publishing this collection of the sayings of their departed Master."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings,* 1951, p. 97.

But in spite of the great friendship there were ertain points where they did not agree with each ther. Max Muller did not support the two charges hich P. C. Mazoomdar brought against Ram rishna, *i.e.,* ill-treatment towards his wife and easional uses of slang words in his conversation en before the ladies. His reply to Mazoomdar's arges are given at pages 64-65 of his famous book.

Protap Chandra Mazoomdar also did not agree ith the venerable Professor when the latter asked im to repudiate his Hindu origin and nationality, nd to accept Christianity wholeheartedly.

"Tell me some of your chief difficulties that prevent you and your countrymen from openly following Christ. I shall do my best to explain how I and many who agree with me have met them and solved them."—Prof. Max Muller's letter to P. C. Mazoomdar on 15.6.1899.

Protap Chandra's prompt and natural reply to Max Muller's proposal was:

> "What disconcerts me is the half-expressed contempt which Christian leaders, even of the liberal school, seem to have of the Hindu ideal and spirituality. When I express my ardent love for Christ and Christianity, they are kindly in sympathy but the moment I say that Christ and his religion will have to be interpreted in India through Indian antecedents and the Indian medium of thought, I am suspected of trying to bend Christianity down to heathenism. So we must either renounce our national temperament or renounce Christ or re-embody our faith and aspirations under a new name, and form and spirit. We have taken this third course."—*Interpreter,* August, 1899.

But these differences did not in any way have any effect on their mutual sympathy and deep friendship which lasted till the death of the venerable Professor on 31st October, 1900. Is it not high time for us to unearth from the history of the contemporary period the result of this friendship and examine carefully what effect it had on the contemporary socio-religious progress of the world?

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HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN ORISSA*

By Prof. N. B. Roy, M.A.,

Head of the Department of Islamic History, Visva-Bharati University

ERLING, writing his *An Account of Orissa* in 1822 ppened unwittingly to let down her people by ing that that country was "the Boetia of India." ch a remark is, however, belied by the character her people. These people showed in ancient times remarkable keenness and refinement reflected alike art and lettres which remind us of the Athenian her than the Boetian.

Orissa produced in by-gone days a great many erati who have bequeathed their thoughts both in nskrit and the local vernaculars. The mass of palmaf manuscripts which have been resuscitated show e wide range of their contents including subjects ch as, philosophy, history, folk-lore, religion, edicine and grammar. The Cult of Sri Chaitanya tained a new complexion at the hands of the ancha-Sakha—Achyutananda, Balaram, Ananta, annath and Yasovanta—the five disciples of Lord Chaitanya. Their greatest contribution was the insistence upon social equality, by which they succeeded in resolving the rigidity of caste. Thus Achyuta says:

> "My grandfather was a Karana; for he was a scribe; my father a Khuntia, for he was a temple attendant; I, though his son, am not a Karana; for I do none of the Karana's functions."

Thus the saint laid stress upon the man's vocation rather than his pedigree as determining his status in society.

The tendency for a pacific disposition and loving tenderness was accentuated by the Cult of Jagannath. When Raja Man Singh came down to Orissa with a view to the conquest of this country, he is said to have declared:

> "It is a land, not fit for any scheme of human ambition; for it is a country predominantly of gods."

He saw here an impressive array of shrines whose splendours and wealth alike in the last quarter of the 16th century were dazzling. With their vast endowments which provided for the up-keep of platoons of priests and temple attendants, troupes of singers, musicians and artists, they were as venerable institutions as the monasteries of medieval Europe. When the worship of many Brahmanical deities fell into comparative disfavour owing to the loss of the royal patronage, the Cult of Jagannath, originally a god of the Savaras, arose into ascendancy. He was deified as the primeval Lord, lovingly called Barathakur who symbolized in him the various manifestations of godhead. The curious thing about him is that he was considered the real ruler of the land, governing the people by his earthly representatives. This notion which was sedulously fostered by the Ganga kings since the time of Anangabhim II also had its effect in producing a disposition to piety and submissiveness among the people. The ancient traditions of this land reappears today in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal* which has undertaken to publish material on the varied aspects of Orissan history and culture, *e.g.*, literature and religion, anthropology and numismatics, linguistics and fine arts. And in support of my statement, I would take a few specimens at random from the numbers already published under the supervision of P. Acharyee, Superintendent of Research (Retired, April, 1954), under the title "Two Comparatively Unknown Poets of Orissa." Kedarnath Mahapatra brings to light valuable facts in the life and work of Kavibhusan (ornament of poets) Govinda Samantaraya and Kavichandra Kamallochana Khadgaraya. The writer refutes the misapprehensions about their ancestry and birth-place and shows with hardly any doubt that both of them belonged to the same family, the latter being the grandson of the former. The interesting fact about this family is that they owed their advancement to the patronage of the Kachhwah Raja Man Singh. This Rajput General in the course of his expedition to this country, 1593 A.D. (?) had evidently come in contact with Kavichandra Visvanatha Samantraya and was so enamoured of his abilities that he carried him to Delhi and ushered him into the presence of the emperor Akbar. His two minor sons grew up under the protection of Das Vidyadhara, Minister of the Khurdah Raj, Ramchandradeva and his son Purushottamdeva. Seventh in descent from Mahesvara (1615 A.D.) was Govinda Samantraya who has immortalised himself by composing the *Sammriddha Natak* in imitation of the *Gita-Govinda,* which complete in seven acts was performed in the court-yard of the temple at Puri.

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* *The Orissa Historical Research Journal,* April' ly, October, 1952 and January, 1953. Published by P. charyee, Supdt. of Research, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

The poet Kavichandra Kamalalochan who again won fame by his composition of *Sangita-Chintamoni* and *Gita-Mukunda,* on the model of *Gita-Govinda,* was stated to be a Bengali Brahmin, brought over to Nagpur by the Bhonsle Raja. Kedarnath shows on the basis of reliable evidence that Kamallochana, was descended from Kavichandra Visvanath, connected with the Khurdah court and was the author of a
commentary on the Bhagavata Purana
Bhagavatlila-chintamoni. Here is, therefore, a
of the real widening of our knowledge on the
lopment of Sanskrit literature in Orissa. T
original epigraphs published in this jour
instance, "Three temple inscriptions of Bhuva
Raspalla copper plate grant of Ranaka Sat
deva, Samvat 198 and a short votive inscrip
Saru in Balasore District." The first of the
establishes the conquest of Orissa by Anant
Chodagangadeva, prior to 1112 A.D., that is
at the commencement of the 12th century,
R. D. Banerji's view of the conquest having
place in 1118 A.D. The learned editor duly
the importance of the word, Kirttivasa, men
the inscription, and leaves the question as
derivation of the word from the Chaluky
Kirttivarman or its corruption from *Krittiv*
S. N. Rajguru conjectures Satrabhanja to ha
a feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara Kings, whi
De regards his find of a Siva-Linga bearing
Buddhist *Dharàni* (*mantra* equivalent in im
to the Gayatri *mantra* of the Brahmanical
as rather unique in Orissa. It is difficult, how
accept his conclusion that it was not a votive
for similar conversions of them into Linga are
to have occurred in the *Nalanda Mahavihara*

In the paper bearing the rather curious
"Orissa in South India" excerpts in orig
literature and epigraphs have been added
Appendix. One of them—*Kataka Raja Va*
contains an interesting reference to Padmini
version, different from that of Malik M
Jayasi's and Ataul's. Here Padmini is repres
be the princess of Kanchi and her suitor wa
pati Purushottamdeva. The latter is said t
invaded Kanchi and taken the princess away
capital. Here her marriage with the Ki
solemnised (the word in the text *Purinita* is
But the queen had miraculous union with th
Dhavalesvara (Siva) and their offspring was
rudradeva !

Papers on the medieval history of O
comparatively few. The one of the Paik re
1817 and showing its leader Jagabandhu
honourable and manly stand as against the
kneed submission of the Khurdaraj Mukun
merits perusal. The reprint of Thomas Mo
nal which is extremely scarce at present is
welcome.

Such contributions augur well for the
historical studies in Orissa. I would, howev
mend the following: (*i*) Improvements in the
and print, (*ii*) a chastening of the lang
above all, (*iii*) much greater care in proo
for, misprints are as numerous as the pebbles
bed of Orissa's rivers.

TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

National Exchange Programme : An Indian Visitor's Impression

By KRISHNA BAI NIMBKAR

II

FTER the fortnight at Washington spent in introduc- g ourselves to America through a carefully planned ogramme worked for foreign exchange students and sitors generally, by the International Centre, the e of us "observers" invited by Mrs. Raymond yre, to attend the 7th Triennial International nference of the ACWW,* and whose visit was being onsored by the Ford Foundation, reached Toronto the 10th August, 1953. This Conference proved quite experience to each of us, inasmuch as it brought into touch with leading women from all the world er. It was really more a social affair as conferences but all the same it was a delightful one, with the el of discussions handled, being far more on intelligent plane, and the general order of business e of a much higher standard than one witnesses at st of such women's gatherings. The group discussions re more interesting, the plenary sessions being oted to the passing of resolutions resulting from h group discussions. The connected functions along- e conference work, were largely propaganda to pularise the conference and the various countries ending it. There were in all 27 countries participat- , and of these India, Egypt, Pakistan, Japan, banon, Israel, Jordan, came as observers. Besides , there were representatives from the Unesco, WHO, Unicef. The five of us, two from Pakistan, two n India, and one from Egypt, were the cynosure of isles, perhaps, with our outlandish costumes, and were receiving the greatest attention ! Very often civic receptions at various places, positions of dis- tion of honour were given to the observer coun- s by turns, by Mrs. Sayre, who as President of the WW, was conducting the whole business of the ference most ably. Mrs. Sayre is one of the most resting personalities I have met, and I found that was very popular and universally liked by every- y. She has travelled widely, both in her home ntry U.S.A. and all over the world. She is on ral governmental and non-governmental advisory mittees in the U.S.A. Recently President Eisen- er appointed her to the New United States onal Agricultural Advisory Commission. Besides his, she is at the head of a family of four children, ages with the help of her elder son and her husband rge six hundred-acre farm, with only one hired help : attends to fifty heads of Hereford cattle, hundred of breeding sheep, and three hundred and carries on "diversified farming" ! While she all this, at the same time in her home she cooks he family, preserves and bottles her own farm produce, presides Woman's Farm meetings, advises the YWCA, interests hereself in the Home Economics Clubs, guides Four H Clubs, and yet keeps fresh and smiling and ready to discuss agendas and itineraries of travel for foreign visitors! With such a versatile President, the ACWW no doubt has come to be a leading international organization looking after rural women's interests.

Because perhaps we looked different from others we were very much photographed and questioned and interviewed as never before. Through all this, while I have avoided unnecessary limelight I have tried to uphold India impartially and at her best, and I hope without being untruthful. What mattered to me most was, educating the people from different lands, and largely those of Canada and U.S.A. about the troops of our country. Almost everywhere whenever I got the chance, I have maintained that we are behind Nehru's foreign policy, behind the constructive policies embodied in the Five-Year Plan, united in our abhorrence of totalitarian Communism but not afraid or panicky about it, because we have many constructive movements like *bhoodan*, etc., which could soon cripple Communist destructive activity, because of the ideology inherent in *bhoodan* given us by Gandhiji, and because of our basing all democratic functioning on truth and Ahimsa. I maintained that problems of defensive armies and atom-bombs we left to our policy makers, and trusted in their wisdom and decisions. I hope I gave the nearest to correct picture of our country's faith to-day.

While the Conference groups tackled the questions of (1) problems of rural women in less developed countries, (2) economic problems of people on land, (3) ways and means of spreading information about the U.N. agencies, the Conference itself considered and passed in their plenary sessions, resolutions on (1) output and standard of living, (2) tree-planting and forest-conservation, (3) illiteracy, (4) concept of freedom based on four freedoms, (5) the United Nations supporting its objectives and policies and its TA programmes, (6) production, distribution and balanced economy and planned distribution from surplus to needy areas, (7) international trade based on international commodity agreement.

The whole business session of the Conference was followed by a final Banquet where there were a thousand guests, and where each province of Canada contributed one item of the menu, which was a most unique feature. A great entertainment was provided to the visitors and delegates of the Conference in the form of a grand pageant "the Dominion of Destiny" in the great Maple Leaf stadium of Toronto which could seat 15,000 people at a time. This pageant depicting the history of Canada, right from the early days of colonization to the present day, was one long continuous breath-taking unforgettable event lasting over five hours without a break, on a most lavish and colourful scale, which reflected a masterpiece of co-ordination, organization and direction, when professional, official, non-official, and voluntary social agencies worked together for one common purpose of the Conference.

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* The Associated Countrywomen of the World.

After a hectic time at the Conference itself at Toronto, we went with the conference party on a grand tour of the capital cities of Canada which included visits to Niagra, the Agricultural Institute at Guelph, Ontario Hydro-Electric over the Niagra, the Beaurahois Hydro Plant over the St. Lawrence, the picnic to Isle De Orleans in Quebec, city tours over Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec, as guests of honour of the Canadian Women's Institute and the Canadian Government. Of course, to mention merely the names will not mean much. It was not the cities that we merely exclusively visited. In the intervals, during the tour, almost entirely covered in Pullman buses, we stayed over-night at farm houses and saw the lives of the people of all classes at close quarters. We saw apple orchards, glass hot-houses for mushroom and rhubarb, growing on an industrial scale, nylon factories, the great timber and furniture factories, aluminium factory, the Grand Ottawa State Fair, the Canadian National Exhibition, etc. We were welcomed everywhere with great enthusiasm. The news of Canada's and U.S.A.'s part with reference to India in the U. N. being then fresh in people's minds, the Candians showed particular warmth, and the U.S.A. people always were apologetic. I took the fullest opportunity of civic luncheons and such occasions, besides group gatherings at other times, to put forth an "Indian" viewpoint on all our national problems and defended our international policies as best as I could. I was able to create at least a passing interest in people to know more about us. They are woefully ignorant about many things about us. I called on the High Commissioner at Ottawa and tried to see if our handicrafts cannot find better sale and advertisement. Indians on the whole acquit themselves with better patriotism in these foreign countries than at home perhaps.

I do not remember Americans, quite so often toasting anybody at formal functions. While American religious denominations are multiplying, yet there is little evidence of orthodoxy as such. Americans do not have the problem of linguism as the Canadians are facing it today, nor the sharp cleavages between Catholics and non-Catholic Christians. Border restrictions between the two countries are friendly. Trade exchanges, and national exchanges and strictures over the free flow of farm products between the two countries take place in friendly rivalry as shared between fr
so far. The growing "Coops" of Canada, and th
province of Saskatchewan, almost completely a
operative Commonwealth State in the midst of
overall liberal politics of the rest of Canada, are
indicative of a drift to a common Republican ide
spreading over the whole of the Americas f
Alaska to Panama. There is a great difference be
Canadian ways and American ways still, though th
is a great deal of similarity too. Canadians drink to
toast of the Queen though I have a suspicion th
is not very fervent in most circles. They ins
singing "O Canada" along with "God save
Queen." The Catholics are still conservative. Wh
tried to gesticulate in French at Quebec and trie
talk about Voltaire as a great Frenchman, like G
as a great Indian, one of the Padres shook his
and suggested Roussau.

The Notre Dame at Quebec and the Cyclora
the life of Christ are some of the most unforge
things I have ever seen. I bought the pictures
them. The wayside open air baking ovens, the
carts, the dog carts, the wine cellars and the
side shops and wayside streams are some featu
Quebec country, I would not have missed. I am
that they are remnants of the fast disapp
vestiges of French patterns of country life. We v
the Fort Henrey and the Royal Military Aca
where a special parade was put up for our bene
the students dressed in the old uniforms of In
men of the early years. The mounties of Canad
their fine houses were further very real things. I
Fort, they fired real cannon to show us that they
worked. The Naval Hospital and the great Chi
Hospital at Toronto we saw only from a dista
the course of our sight-seeing. The Niagra itse
a dream come true, where I actually saw two
and even a third light, rainbow arching the Fal
coloured lighting up of the whole Falls, and the
of the Mist" from the Canadian side, with the B
across the Niagra, the sun-set, and the m
following soon after, and the two flags of th
countries fluttering on the frontier are all great
ries indeed ! I wished all of my younger fol
here to enjoy the thrills rather than me—pas
middle age. Yet enjoy every moment of it all
and continue to do. I have taken in things
sponge mopping up experiences. I hope I shall be
to write of everything—scenic grandeurs, the
of countryside homes and gardens, the pleasure
which do not belie the coloured pictures in
and magazines and news-reels: the seaside re
picnic parks, the ribbon roads, gasoline statio
wayside farms and orchards, the farmer's waysid
of lovely fruits and vegetables, the long twilig
equally protracted colourful sun-rises, the
the rivers and lakes, the children's parks and

ment gardens, the long lines of week-end holiday makers in their cars all moving noiselessly at 60 m.p.h. without a honk or hitch over a 100-mile stretch of a line of cars; the "Drive-In" theatres, drug stores, the wayside hotels with trailer-car-loads of picknickers or working parties; the hog pens, cattle pastures, cornfields, milking cows, beautiful and handsome Guernseys, Jerseys, Ayreshires, Holsteins and short horns, the turkey farms of grey or white turkeys, the poultry farms of healthy Leg-horn fowl and chicken; the chicken feed and the cattle feed factories: the combines and the tractors and the elevators at work on the farms, the baling of clover and alpha-alpha; the silo or corn and cattle fodder; the fertilizer spreading machines; the stink of fertilizers, the smell of clover, and the fresh smell of chopped corn fodder; the camps of the young farmers or "AH" clubs—at their holiday—combining education and extension activity; the State Fairs, with the live-stock competitors—are all the features of the country-life here which I can never tire of describing. Contrasted were the skyscapers at Chicago and New York, Montreal and Ottawa, and the Great Department Stores with life-like wax models and show window display which just made me gasp and the other girls in the party go gaga; the air-conditioned hotel-rooms, with radio, television and telephone, and the height of polite service, with 'you are welcome' and 'thank you' and 'I hope you are enjoying yourself.' Washington and Ottawa are a wee bit different in that they are Capital Cities and the height of buildings is restricted and scenic beauties kept up. The flora and fauna of Canada are beautiful. The maple tree is a lovely tree and a national emblem of Canada. They extract maple sugar from its sap. The leaves turn colour and through the 'fall' they turn into a riot of variegated colours. There is another variety called the Silver Maple which I liked better still, and a tree called the Silver Spruce whose leaves in the light of the sun dazzle like so much silver. The pins and fors oak, sycamore, chestnut, black walnut, weeping willow, etc., are other common trees. The refugees from Europe have reclaimed low-lying marsh lands in Canada called Holland-March and have made quite a success of their settlement. The Red Indians, sad to say, are relegated to 'Reserves.' This is the skeleton in the Canadians' and Americans' cupboards, and is their bad conscience. The younger generation and the really good citizens are, however, trying to make amends, in their own way at places. The holly and the ivy were all that I had imagined reading of them and seeing them in pictures. The flowers are also in profusion but not as sweet-scented as we have in India. Sweet peas, Cornations, Gladiolas, Petunias, Dhalias, Chrysanthemums, Roses, Hydrangeas, Daisies, Pansies, Phloxes, Salveas, Larkspurs and what not, are the common varieties in parks and gardens and in house fronts. The art of house furnishing and decoration, of beautifying home fronts is a quality that seeps through the lives of all classes of people here. There is a degree of classlessness evident and apparently sincerely practised without show or bombast, as natural to the understanding of the democratic ideals on which both the countries are based. At the McDonald College of the McGill University at Montreal and at the State College at Iowa, I noticed girl and boy students serving at the Cafeteria at one moment and at College classes at the other. The girls serving as waitresses in Hotels sit in College with other students, the housewife in her off-hours, serve a couple of hours at a drug store and supplements her cash income. The farmer's 'help' gets his meals after a hard day's work, at the farmer's table. The carpenter and house-furnisher and stone-builder come to work in their own cars. The domestic help comes in a car, does floor and house cleaning and returns back like any other socialite to her home. Electricity has contributed to eliminate drudgery. Wages are high—anything between 75 cents to 2 dollars an hour for a maximum of 40 hours per week. Everybody works. The College Principal's wife and the farmer's wife, both wash their own dresses and work at their laundry. The baby-sitter is a growing new occupation for women. Mothers go to parties or meetings leaving the family in charge of a baby-sitter who gets her training at a Club or Women's Institute. A girl student often earns her fees by working as baby-sitter or domestic help.

About dress, they are not very formal though they are tied down to fashions. There is profusion of food on the tables and generally they eat too much for my taste. The quantity of beef and pork they consume is something enormous. I was taking all manner of food but I would grow fat in no time if I adopted their customs of eating, for always. Yet you find the best figures among the girls there. They drink coffee in such quantities with both meals. They eat a heavy breakfast, then before 12 their lunch, and their dinner by 6-30 or 7 p.m. They do not have afternoon tea like us. They use the fork mostly for everything and not like the English, an array of cutlery. They eat chunks of raw salad and consume chilled food, like fruits, vegetable and tomato juice as appetisers. They drink cultured or pasteurized or grade A milk. Their desserts of ice creams, apple, blue berry, black berry, and peach pies, and their whipped sherbet of rosberry, orange and strawberry are great institutions in themselves. They are afraid of germs and microbes and atom bombs, and Communists—all in one breath, and all research is directed to the complete elimination of these. They have atom bomb research sections in their college physics, laboratories and their research section for plants, parasites, bacteria and microbes are really great. Their University and student populations constitute all manners of people. In the holidays there are refresher courses. A student can take graduation earlier on doing a certain number of terms and can even work in summer vacation and shorten the course. Farming salesmen, machine manufacturers, come for vacation courses. Teachers work in refresher courses and secure degrees while teaching. Retired men and women, have time hanging on their hands and are for ever searching for things to do. A 72-year man and his wife had just joined college at Ames—the former to study young peoples' work and the latter working as a matron in the Cafeteria.

Every one is conscious of diseases. A child starts life with shots for diphtherea, T.B., polio, small pox, tetanus and hay fever. A baby calf or dog or pony or pig or fowl starts life with shots against anthrax, rabies, brucelloses and other animal and foul pests. The use of vacuum cleaners and wire netting for window frames, keeps out dust vermin and flies and the free use of hot water keeps sanitary and household ware, free from infection. Cancer, perhaps, from earlier and better diagnosis we hear is a dreaded disease, claiming 1 in 5 of the population. They are for ever trying to find antidotes and a few days ago the papers reported isolation of the cancer causative organism. For polio, they infect gama globulin but results do not seem to be very certain. They have no State insurance companies as such, but Insurance companies have provided through their Blue Cross, for insurance for the aged, for dental care and for sickness and hospital care for men, women, children and old people. The Workmen,s Insurance and Social Security Schemes are there and each State has its legislation for it. The ordinary man is thus, cancer conscious, polio conscious, insurance conscious. and atom bomb conscious, and therefore Communist conscious!

The communist phobia is something very amusing and I feel it is almost a joke: the way they headline newspapers and drive in propaganda. Why a nation with such wealth, space, natural resources, profusion of food and with no population problem yet, should worry itself, specially with its measure of conscious and enlightened democracy, is what I cannot understand. It is not as if they are worried by poverty, poor standards, space hunger, bad climate, over-population or food scarcity like us, for whom it is legitimate to fear becoming a prey to Communism. Yet we do not fear it and these people fear it. Is not it funny? The top politicians of today's Government do not seem to be in real favour with the people though they have vested them into power. A nation enjoying democracy is in a predicament as to how to pattern its party systems and shape the ideologies to keep pace with the growing and increasing power and the capital that is accumulating in these countries of the new world. Here it is, that I personally feel that there is a lot that a rural women's organization like ACWW can do. The ACWW Conference resolutions on commodity and free movement of surplus to needy the emphasis of an international ideology the administration of individual countries world is a key to the whole problem. Added I have been trying to emphasise there personal belief in the principles of Gandhian sophy and courageous action. The possession and H Bombs have created problems. armies cannot solve warfare on the old pattern if the spirit of non-violent resistance prevails spirit can never be crushed as against the either brute force, mechanised force or atom or H bomb force. So the world has turned spiritual ultimately. The people there are in a state of constant jitters. They utilize the time which they have in plenty due to their saving devices in speeding to some one destination. Half the time they are on the covering spaces. They do not rest or ponder the basic philosophy of life. They are people who are good and virtuous and altruis they have no roots or moorings. Hence the lessness. They do not lack spirituality, as they to do good and want to beautify and create of art. They are hungering to build up traditions and archives and museums.

The tendency to return to the church denomination or other as against the liberal the hitherto common Christian faith they so far, is I think a swing to the mediæval, ing to the creation of barriers which so far kept free from. This may be, because the that their Government is not working problems quickly enough in international ing. They, perhaps, think that alternative good acts through their churches will help outlet for a better expression of their ism. But I think they are mistaken in this. hurry and strengthen their democracy at the ment levels still more, even as they have measure of harmony at the people's level, seeking expression through their churches denominations. If they do so, religious will one day preponderate and begin to roots of Government policies. They are that the State and Church are separate. keep it so, and should avoid a mixing functions of church with that of the State they must stop their tendency to treat religions of the West as separate from East and concede a common spiritual religions, recognizing that the days of and religious conversion are over. exchanges, T.C.A., Point Fours and all needy nations should not be permitted church societies, but co-ordinated and filtered

State and Govtrnment levels. Or else, minority problems will be stimulated in countries where the Methodist or the Presbyterian or the Catholic or the Jews have their enclaves of social services and technical assistance programmes by creating functional loyalties and patronages. This will add to the national problems of the receiving countries and only hamper the pace of progress of these countries and only set up more suspicious and mutual international antipathies and antagonisms both religious and political. If this should happen, then all altruism of Point 4 programme will disappear and America and Canada will only appear as nakedly imperialistic States whose expansion was necessitated by a toppling, rising capitalism in turn necessitating greed for foreign markets and a desire to become a world power for its own sake.

So much about the generalization about this New World and its people. Passing on to certain particular aspects of that programme, connected with Extension Work, which really constituted our particular sphere of observation and study. One came across the best example of this service in Iowa State. It happened that our visit coincided with the State Fair there. This State Fair focuses the achievements of the whole year's Extension programme in the form of a huge Exhibition *cum* fair *cum* Competition *cum* fete, in which the whole of the rural population participates in some capacity or other. A number of commercial interests play a very active and vital part in these fairs, and very often one discovers that it is the insurance company that sets the standard for health programme; the frigidaire and kitchen-range manufacturers who show more research into the labour-saving problems of the house-wife; the farm implements manufacturers who stimulate the farmers' greater interest in mechanical farming devices, the fabric manufacturers who put out very good programmes for the best modes of dress making and the best washing methods which educate the dilettantes, etc. All this often necessitates the Agricultural Extension Worker to be on the alert so that his prestige as an educator of the rural population does not suffer. At the same time the very scientific approach and the real intent with which manufacturers train their salesmen to study the needs of the people, creates a demand for trained Extension Workers and Home Economists. Thus, opportunities of employment in ever-growing new lines are created. I was thus able to gather that the whole philosophy behind Extension and Demonstration ultimately leads to a progressive betterment of standards, to perennial demand for goods to a constant pursuit of production. Thus, too, the production potential of the citizen is kept constant at its peak, by providing everwidening opportunities to produce for his country and his people. All this spells America's and Canada's prosperity perhaps and the high standards they have established in the world today.

I was, therefore, very glad to have had the chance to make the study of Extension Work. Specially in Iowa State I met some of the finest Extension Workers and members of the staff. This advanced extension technique is able to link up the best efforts of the government machinery to the best response from the masses themselves. While from the top there is the whole cadre of the Extension Workers of the State Departments, from the peoples' end there are the Farm Bureaus, Women's Institutes, Home Makers' Clubs, Home Demonstration Clubs, Future Farmers' Associations, Future Home Makers' Associations, Home Economics Associations, Dietatic Associations, Youth Clubs like Four .H Clubs, etc., etc., all of which put out their best efforts to improve their home and country, resulting in a unique democratic set-up offering unique chances for expression of leadership, and where every citizen is a conscious citizen, proud of himself and his country.

Seeing all this activity of the American and the Canadian people, I feel that even the most casual visitor to these countries cannot return without carrying some real piece of experience worth translating to his people at home. At the same time, I found it necessary to interpret our country to them from three angles, *viz.*, our cultural and traditional heritage, the interregnum during the British phase of shattered economics and exploited peoples, and the resurgent phase of new life after freedom and recoupment after the holocaust of war and partition when we are trying to settle down to the Constructive Land Revolution of Vinoba Bhave, the Five-Year Plan with its Community Projects, Social Welfare, and National Extension Service. Whatever the changing political currents may be, I feel that we should decide on that type of constructive work on the lines of Extension Services in America and Canada, but modified to our needs, in which alone our people can find anchorage and succour.

When one enters with discussions about mutual problems with the ordinary average American, he does not bother about high-brow politics of the politicals as such. Individually and nationally, Americans are extremely nice whatever they may be in other countries. Very many of them are extremely apologetic about their foreign policies, and their past and present treatment of the Red Indians and the Negroes. The younger generation generally, the working class as a whole, most educationalists and intellectuals, and some of the democratic party people I came across, are all quite sound and genuine and really international-minded as we have begun to understand internationalism in India. They are genuine about extending motiveless aid to under-developed countries. But their very profusion and surplus of food itself is their great problem. Their highly mechanised existence and their disinclination to reduce standards, is what is going to precipitate a major crisis, sooner or later in their national existence. Perhaps, only such a crisis will set a correct pace and lend a certain sanity to their foreign policies. At the moment it is only a new rich Uncle Sam, giving away his riches and surplus food right and left without thought about the problems ahead of him. A section that advocates this giving away, genuinely believes that it is the surest way to insure against Communism. This Communist phobia is the lighter side which does not fail to tickle the amusement of an occasional visitor. There is yet another section which is very naive about their foreign programme, all of which does not escape the really discerning visitor. But with all that one gets a feeling that the common man in America is really a most bewildered individual today. Really speaking, this common man is a happy-go-lucky individual, normally who has obtained a degree of classlessness in spite of vestiges of class still clung to by a few snob socialites, and race conscious persons. But these latter can never become strong enough, to successfully effect cleavages in the fabric of the real classless democracy that the American is trying to build up. He has a constitution that makes him befriend every comer in sheer good humour, which is a very quality indeed. Very often he is ignorant of thing except America and his own particular He cannot conceive an outside world that chain stores or department stores, or drug cars or tractors, or gadgets, and his own institutions. He knows very little of other history or geography. But he is quick on the of all new information and ideas that he can is systematic, methodical, intelligent and learn, eager for adventure, eager to adv eager to enjoy. Because of his being constantly to new threats of his own scientific tions, he has become a defensive individual. conditioned himself he tries constantly to the weather, to condition the clouds, to cond food, to condition his surroundings and to the world. Thus, in a circle, he pursues a conditioned existence, which is making him a to himself and to the world around him wi wishing it at all.

This is the America that I have been dis during this trip abroad.

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WORDSWORTH IN INDIA

By Dr. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.

Judged by the text book importance, Wordsworth is perhaps the most popular English poet in India. Right from the stage in which the study of English poetry begins to the very highest, Wordsworth has a place of honour in the syllabus. This may be taken to mean that he is most liked by the students or that study of his poetry is most edifying. The reasons in justification for such a view may be as follows. Wordsworth is a reflective poet and his reflections on life and philosophic attitude towards Nature, are in agreement with the Indian points of view regarding these subjects. The ethical content of his poetry and its deep religious tenor are, therefore, naturally considered to be of special value and significance to the Indian students. Moreover, his poetry is thought to be consistently and characteristically free from the passionate longing in love or the sensuous ecstasy of fulfilled desire so that it could safely be prescribed to the students who were expected to learn moral values from literature rather than pure aesthetic enjoyment. And above all, Wordsworth writes a very simple style and therefore it is taken for granted that he is the easiest to understand.

Thus the study of Wordsworth had begun in this country with quite a lot of wishful expectation. So in the process he could easily become a legendary Helicon to his Indian readers and the apotheosis of the Wordsworthian creed began to mean the rehabilitation of an ethical attitude which being orthodox, became typical of Wordsworth. And not only was his poetry praised as a repository of pious sentiments, but even worth the man was hailed as a saintly representing the highest sense of morality. In his pantheism also agreed considerably with our what anthropomorphic conception of God and The teachers of the last few decades, therefore, Wordsworth with a zeal that was not very different from that of a missionary. There was deeper reason for this extra-ordinary enthusiasm. by the need and the fashion of the day, they profess their admiration for English culture and of life, but at the same time their instinctive to the national pride and prejudice could altogether subdued. The poetry of Wordsworth the situation for them—he was an acknowledged poet of England and he also satisfied in a manner, their ethical aspirations and flattered religious sentiments. This apart, his poetry its preoccupation with the joys and sorrows, frustrations of the common man and its of urbanity appealed to the Indians for obvious When the first phase of imitative enthusiasm we began to realize that certain elements of the way of living and culture could never assimilated into our pattern of life. The core civilisation being agricultural since the very we had almost an inherent dislike for industrial and believed that nothing morally good or uplifting come out of any artificial means of living—

fling at Nature at every step. In Mr. F. L. Lucas's ords we would have said:

"All civilisation is an encroachment on Nature. Yet encroach on nature one step too far and her revenges are terrible. She can not prevent the giant city from smoking where once waved her woods; but her slow retribution sets its mark on paling cheeks and failing nerves, on foreheads haggard with the rush of modern life, on childless hearth."

Much of Wordsworth's poetry was warning against erdoing in that direction—in encroachment and we pproved of it with the greatest amount of moral zeal ecause our literature was also full of such precautions gainst excess. Thus for inculcating a genuine love or Nature and a belief in her benign influence on life uch poems as 'Daffodils,' 'Education of Nature,' Cuckoo,' etc. were assiduously taught to the students; or a deep philosophic and religious understanding of ife, 'Lines written on Tintern Abbey,' 'Ode on the imations of Immortality,' and convenient extracts from he 'Prelude' were prescribed with the expectations of he most hopeful results; for arousing sympathy with the ufferings of humanity' 'Affliction of Margaret,' 'Simon ee' and the like were selected as the most effective ieces of poetry; as warnings against deviation from he simple and normal way of living Michael and Ruth ere presented as eye-openers to the young men who ere likely to be deluded by the dazzle of the superficial ity life; even for restraint in amorous feelings Wordsworth was called to the help of ardent youth and his She was a Phantom of Delight' and the Lucy poems or aodamia were recommended as a few of the best speciens of the genre of ideal love poems; and above all nes such as the following were often quoted and recited or reaffirming through English poetry some of the ocial and moral virtues sanctioned and recommended y our society:

One impulse from the vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.
Sweet is the love which Nature brings;
Our meddling intellect
Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things:
We murder to dissect.

To her fair works did Nature link
The human soul that through me ran;
And much it grieved my heart to think
What man has made of man.

And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.

r again:

Give unto me' made lowly-wise.
The spirit of self-sacrifice;
The confidence of reason give;
And in the light of truth thy Bondman let me live.

r yet again:

Be taught, O Faithful Consort, to control
Rebellious passion: for the gods approve
The depth, and not the tumult of the soul;
A fervent, not ungovernable, love.
Learn by mortal yearning, to ascend—
Seeking a higher object. Love was given,
Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end;
For this the passion to excess was driven—
That the self might be annulled: her bondage prove
The fetters of a dream opposed to love.

In this process of adoration, as I have already said, the qualities of his poetry began to be attributed to the poet, and he was considered to be an incarnation of the ideals he preached. We never doubted that a man, particularly a poet, so distinguished for his keen sensitiveness could not realize the significance of faith in value without reacting to some deep and shattering personal experiences. The greatest possible mistake that we committed at that stage was to accept that Wordsworth was born a 'seer blest' and that he had an inherent mystic power of apprehending truth directly. And this was a mistake which we had been encouraged to commit by many zealous Wordsworthians for a long time.

We responded, *pari passu*, to Shelley's poetry in a somewhat similar manner. Our patriotic feeling and love of freedom was greatly roused and nourished by his poetry for a considerable span. But Shelley was essentially a poet of young men, though for his transcendentalism he had his admirers among the leisured and the old—and his life was also an open book to his readers. So there was no confusion of issues regarding his life and poetry—he was taken for what he meant both as man and poet. Shelley, therefore, retained throughout these years, his position among his admirers. But a certain disillusionment about Wordsworth suddenly began to creep into the minds of his worshippers, partly because of a new attitude towards his poetry and partly because of the discovery of certain unpalatable facts about his life. Mr. Aldous Huxley's essay 'Wordsworth in the Tropics' rather strongly voiced this new attitude and M. Lesouis's discovery of his 'affair' with Annette Vallon revealed a god that failed to those who made so much out of his poetry.

For Indians these were two major incidents in the history of the study of Wordsworth in this country. M. Lesouis's revelation deprived Wordsworth of his saintly halo and there was no scope for holding one's own against facts. Mr. Huxley presented Wordsworth as a poet of narrow vision—and also as one unfaithful to his immediate impressions about men and things,—working always on his Procrustean bed. Mr. Huxley's pronouncement was also taken seriously because of the revolutionary spirit of his earlier writings and his interest in India and sympathy with the Indian philosophic attitude in his later works.

Thus Wordsworth was brought down in the estimation of his Indian readers rather too adventitiously. And this could be possible because his poetry was never understood in any stage, in spite of his text book popularity in this country. Sometimes we read our own meaning in his poems, sometimes we approached him with a preconceived notion about his life and work, and most often read his poems, selected for our own convenience, as moral precepts in verse, but seldom as works of art or as the poetic utterances of a mind deeply agaitated by the great and fundamental problems of life.

The study of Wordsworth's poetry in relation to his life may not have been possible in the earlier stages either because of the non-availability of complete facts about his life or because of the desire to disregard whatever facts were then available. At a later stage wrong conclusions about his poetry were drawn on the basis of cerain superficial facts of his life. Thus Wordsworth was called a lost leader, a reactionary and even a traitor *apropos* of the French Revolution. In this we of course followed some of the English critics of Wordsworth and therefore could not realize that Wordsworth in a positive way was more loyal to the fundamental tenets of the Revolutionary ideal than the acknowledged poetic high-priests of the Revolution of that age such as Shelley and Byron. While the younger poets were obsessed by the dazzling ideal of liberty, Wordsworth was guided in his poetic search for truth almost entirely by the more abiding ideals of equality and fraternity. But when the full facts of his life were made available, some were repelled by the contradiction they brought forth in their wake and thought him insincere and too much of an idle preacher, others considered him partial, capable of looking at life and Nature only from a fixed angle of vision.

All this now brings us to the most important question regarding the study of Wordsworth's poetry in India. Was his poetry ever read with relish and understanding in this country? The answer to my mind is that most often it was a text book imposition and we were also asked to discover a particular meaning and truth in his poetry and we therefore always discovered only that and nothing else, for the purpose of which convenient selections of his poetry were prescribed to the students. And this is why we recoiled too quickly from our admiration for his poems when new facts were brought to light or new interpretations were given to his works, for they disturbed our cherished notion about his poetry and also revealed a different and perhaps an unlikable Wordsworth. Needless to say, all that could be possible because his poetry was read piecemeal and we refused or did not care to see the other side of the picture. Thus those who read :

'tis her privilege
Through all the years of this our life, to lead
From joy to joy : for she can so inform
The mind that is within us, so impress
With quietness and beauty, and so feed
With lofty thoughts—etc., etc.

were taught to believe that a certain facile optimism was the essential note of his poetry and consequently they did not care to know that Wordsworth had also genuinely written elegiac pieces and sung of 'This sea in anger, and that dismal shore,' 'This rueful sky, this pageantry of fear' and 'The lightning, the and trampling waves', or that he could write as :

There hung a darkness, call it solitude
Or blank desertion. No familiar shapes
Remained, no pleasant images of trees,
Of sea or sky, no colours of green fields ;
But huge and mighty forms, that do not
Like living men, moved slowly through the
By day and were a trouble to my dreams.

Or yet again, those who by habit, ran into over poems like 'She was a Phantom of Delight' Lucy poems because of the spiritual tone and the of restraint in these love poems, would perhaps been uncomfortably astonished by the passiona vour of :

Arabian fiction never filled the world
With half the wonders that were worught for
Earth breathed in one great presence of the
Life turned the meanest of her implements,
Before his eyes, to price above all gold ;
The house she dwelt in was a scented shrine
Her chamber window did surpass in glory
The portals of the opening of a door,
The portals of the dawn; all Paradise
Let itself in up on him : pathways, walls
Swarmed) with enchantment, till his spirit
Surcharged, within him, overblest to move
Beneath a sun that wakes a weary world
To its dull round of ordinary cares ;
A man too happy for mortality !

But there are other reasons too for partially standing if not misunderstanding Wordsworth's in this country. Paradoxically enough the very city of his style was a foil to our understanding appreciation of his work. His metrical skill variety is concealed so much by his reflections on the widest commonalty spread that at first sight only the unadorned trappings and the common but fail to gauge the depth. Generally speaking, always expect a specific effect from poetry, that it should not only be characterised by heightened impassioned style but also by a strangeness of and cleverness in expression. And the oriental nourished on the glamorous and the grandiose naturally finds little in Wordsworth's poetry that give at least an initial thrill. It is the poetical that we want and it is exactly this that worth can never give us. And therefore not appreciation for his poetry could be secured quoting parallel passages from our religious books teaching his poetry in the class room, because his bare and unornamental style but also his near earth and the sinewy idealism springing from the objects and sentiments of this existence, were Indian readers the most unexpected qualities of

Every reader perhaps wants to hear the echo own voice in the writings of his favourite author. may be said sometimes even of a whole nation. Shakespearean criticism of the earlier German full of such national echoes. But change of stances brings now and then opportunities for proper understanding. If Wordsworth's poetry is to be read and taught in this country—as I think it must be—now and in future we should better be guided primarily by the motives of poetic values.

So a new attitude will be the essential need, which by implication will also mean a careful study of his entire poetical works without being influenced by any orthodox or unsympathetic view of his poetry however attractive that might be. Under present circumstances the study of Wordsworth's poetry will be of special value, for he has much to say to a generation of disillusioned men and women. And on the other hand to the serious students of literature and particularly of poetry, he will long remain a challenge and a liberating force, because being initially an enthusiastic upholder of the ideal of the French Revolution he ultimately brought about a greater revolution in poetry. And the subsequent experiments in poetry are a vindication of the Wordsworthian method and approach.

:O:

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE REHLA OF IBN BATTUTA: (India, Maldive and Ceylon): *English translation and commentary, by Dr. Mahdi Husain. Pp. lxxvii+300 with 8 plates, 8 maps and 17 illustrations. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, No. 122). Price Rs. 37.*

This is the most valuable addition to the well-reputed Baroda Oriental Series since the *Sadhan-mala* (now out of print and extremely scarce). Ibn Battuta's travels form a first-rate authority on the social conditions and government of India in the middle of the 14th century, and no earnest student of our history can do without it. For the first time a reliable translation from the original Arabic has been made after collating various early MSS. in the European public libraries and elucidated with notes based on the study of modern Survey maps and works of reference. Dr. Mahdi Husain has earned our thanks by his devoted work on this book for nearly 26 years and his performance is highly creditable by reason of its scholarly accuracy and careful annotation. No library in India ought to miss this book.

It now remains for local scholars to trace this Moorish traveller's route through their district and correct the small place names where necessary, and publish such emendations in some learned journal. *Sinnor* in the Deccan books like *Saghor* in the Maghrebi Arabic MS., *Nun-wa-re* being misread as *ghain-wa-re*. And so on.

J. Sarkar

INDIAN STUDIES: *United Publications, Delhi. Author's name and the year of publication not mentioned. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.*

Consisting of a collection of papers contributed to the Mizan Newsletter for the benefit of foreign readers, this is a highly informative brochure on the varied aspects of Indian life and culture. In seven sections packed with facts drawn from a close study of standard works on the subject and from the reports of experts it surveys the field of government, religion, and society, art, literature and science, internal economy and public finance, agriculture and industry and the army in our vast land. The author's comments on the tendencies and characteristics of these different factors of our complex national life are as a rule shrewd and sensible. Witness, *e.g.*, his fine account of Hinduism as religion and as a social system (pp. 19-25), his keen appreciation of Indian culture (pp. 39-42) and his admirable survey of Indian folk-culture in the branches of song, music and dance as well as of arts and crafts (pp. 49-53). Where he offers himself open to criticism is his undertone of apology for British rule (of which the errors of omission and commission are but slightly touched in his account) and his veiled hostility to the Indian National Congress (which is in sharp contrast with his repeated vindication of the Muslim separatist movement culminating in the rise of the Muslim League). A more serious defect is that he brings his narrative (as is shown by the internal evidence) down to the closing years of the last Great War. In the result the author's claim (Foreword, p. 5) that his book gives us the best and the most up-to-date information about India should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt.

U. N. Ghoshal

DR. SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJI: *By Balraj Madhak. Deepak Prakashan, 157 Amrit Kaur Market, New Delhi-1. Illustrated. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 5.*

This book should be more considered as study of Dr. Mookerji as leader of the Jana Sangha than a regular biography. The biographical portion, strictly speaking, consists in the first sixty pages only. It has been necessarily brief. In a full-length biography of Dr. Mookerji, activities in various aspects of his public life should deserve more space and detailed discussion. As an educationist Dr. Mookerji played an important role in Bengal. His arrangements for the introduction of Bengali as medium of instruction in the Matriculation stage (not in the college stage as wrongly stated by the author on p. 4) during his Vice-Chanchellorship of the Calcutta University will be appreciated and remembered with gratitude by his countrymen for all times. Since the attainment of Independence in 1947, Dr. Mookerji emerged as an all-India leader, and his claims as such could not be overlooked by the Congress. He was appointed a first-rank Cabinet Minister of the Congress Government. While he felt necessary, he did not hesitate to throw off his ministership on the question of the relation between Pakistan and Indian Union. Dr, Mookerji carried on a tearing campaign throughout India on this subject, and the result was the formation of Jana Sangha. This Sangha fought the last General Elections. Dr. Mookerji came out victorious as leader of the Sangha. A consummate debater and a foremost parliamentarian, he was destined to be the leader of the Opposition in the Union Parliament. But the Jammu and Kashmir question had in the meantime come to a head. As leader of the Satyagraha movement, he courted arrest on his way to Srinagar. He met his tragic end in Kashmir on 23rd June last year. The nation paid its last homage to the departed great in a most befitting manner. We are awaiting a full-length biography of this great national leader of ours.

TOWARDS NEW EDUCATION: *By M. K. Gandhi Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1-4.*

Gandhiji's scheme of New Education or *Nai Talim* contains three stages, namely, Pre-Basic, Basic and Post-Basic. This comprehensive scheme was made public for the first time in 1937. But Mahatmaji was thinking of children's education for a long time since. He had experimented upon his educational ideas in his Tolstoy Farm while he was in South Africa. He continued his experiments even after his return to India. Gandhiji's ideas on education became more pronounced during the Non-Co-Operation movement, when national education formed one of its constructive items. Mahatma Gandhi expressed definite views as regards medium of instruction, national language, education on a self-supporting basis, higher education, religious instruction and so on. In this land of religious discord, Gandhiji's solution of the question of religious instruction sounds most original and holds good even today. He writes: "A curriculum of religious instruction should include a study of the tenets of faiths other than one's own. For this purpose the students should be trained to cultivate the habit of understanding and appreciating the doctrines of various great religions of the world in a spirit of reverence and broad-minded tolerance" (pp. 45-6).

JOGESH C. BAGAL

1. A GLIMPSE OF NEW CHINA: *By M. Mujeeb, Published by Maktaba Jamia Ltd., Delhi. Price Rs. 2.*

2. THE PROMISE THAT IS NEW CHINA: *By K. T. Shah. Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay-2. Price Rs. 4-8.*

3. WINDOW ON CHINA: *By Raja Hutheesing, Published by Casement Publications Ltd., Bombay-1. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Most divergent views have been expressed and are held on China's New Democratic experiment. To many, it is the best—barring Soviet Russia perhaps —government that our planet has yet known. To others, again, present-day China is a vast prison-house. To a very few the Chinese People's Republic has its strong as well as weak points. The atmosphere, in a word, is "clouded by rival propaganda and prejudice born of one's own upbringing and environment" and it is perhaps not possible to arrive at a fair judg our days.

Prof. Mujeeb is impressed with what he saw New China in 1951 and concludes, "If we must cise our imagination, let us try and see the P Government from the point of view of the Chin whom the Government has given unity, self-con dignity and strength and whom it has inspired the resolve to build their life, if necessary, with hands" (p. 93). He does not however suppor Chinese Government blindly. He does no example, favour the military display on the N Day, which represents "the externalisation of a P Power, and reduces by implication the significa moral values" (p. 29). Nor does Prof. M accept New China's definition of literature as som produced by "intellectuals in workmen's clothes does not "believe that personality is determined by its environment" or that "writing is wholly mined by material causes" (pp. 54-55).

New China, writes the learned Professor, "all personalities, ideas and movements that buted to her growth." When would we take this from Mao Tse Tung's China?

The late K. T. Shah, who visited China i has given the reading public a very readable acco New China. It is clear that Chairman Mao a Government command the sincere allegiance of Whelming majority of the Chinese population. Shah is convinced that China is no tool of any Chinese agency or power and that New China's has been and will be shaped by the exigencies own requirements. Unemployment seems to been abolished and social unrest, a thing of the He was no doubt impressed by what he saw in C but he had his doubts as well. The author w allowed to go down a coal-mine at Fushan beca his age and remarks, "Years, I feel sure, coul nuisance, as brains could be a burden" (p. He complains further that relative statistics were available. They were promised and the pledg yet to be redeemed at the time of the compl his book. Guides and interpreters, very co and eager to serve, were unwilling to answer questions. "I do not know. I shall enquire. the invariable reply to such questions. Prof. suspects that this might be due to standing instr

Notes appended to the various chapters, Constitution and Government, industrialisatio Huai River Project, education, the Communis land-reform, the Trade Union movement and enhance the value of Prof. Shah's work. The suffers from a number of defects, which are more regrettable in view of its authorship. are, for example, irrelevant digressions at place first chapter of 28 pages might have been easily. The author's Secretary, the Indian Mi Manila and his wife have been given more prominence than is called for (e.g., pp. 22-23 Frequent references to what the Secretary did fill one with disgust.

When everything has been said, the fact that Prof. K. T. Shah has given us a truer p the People's Republic of China than many oth on the subject.

Mr. Hutheesing visited China in 1951 an He says that the Government of Mao Tse Tu won the support of the Peasantry by its agr form and that an era of austerity and hard dawned. He however does not believe that industrialisation has gone far or that land-redistribution is a permanent solution of China's economic problems. He contends that New China has renounced her traditional culture and philosophy, that "New China is harsh, dogmatic and cruel" (p. 137), that "There is no reason or pure study" (p. 143) and that "In the colleges and schools life begins with Marxism and ends with Maoism" (p. 142). Everything is subordinated to the Party and the Government.

The author concludes, "But I have not seen happiness . . . there is none of that reckless, irresponsible elan which is the right of youth. There is no joy of love or sorrow of frustration" (p. 144) and "China offers little hope for the future" (p. 191).

Mr. Hutheesing's work, propagandist in tone as it is, is not perhaps mere propaganda.

Sudhanshu Bimal Mookerji

THOUGHTS IN CURRENT PHILOSOPHY: *By Sri Chunilal Mitra, M.A. With a Foreword by Dr. Sushil Kumar Moitra, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Philosophy, Calcutta University. Published by Sri Indu Bhusan Ghose, 30, Talpukur Road, Calcutta-10. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book is an interesting collection of fifteen thoughtful essays written by the author about a decade back. Most of the essays appeared in the *Prabuddha Bharata* and *Calcutta Review* of Calcutta as well as in the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras between the years 1939 and 1945 serially. Dr. Moitra rightly remarks in his Foreword that some of the essays show great originality. "The writer is to be commended," the learned professor observes, "for the remarkable critical ability he displays throughout and the thoroughness with which he discusses his selected themes. I like especially the essay on General Will and its somewhat novel suggestion of a religious re-solution of a dilemma in the Vaishnavic concept of Prapatti or Surrender to the Lord as the Incarnation of a Will that is at once universal and individual."

But the essay on *Maya—A Misnomer* exhibits the philosophical shortsightedness of the author. He wrongly thinks that *maya* is a misnomer in a social and political sense. He further believes that the theory of *Maya* is "based on a baseless assumption and a false notion of the universe." He, therefore, concludes that "this world is not a *maya*, but *yogamaya;* not a product but a process." All these observations clearly show that the author has utterly failed to understand the meaning of *maya*. It is regretted that an M.A. in Philosophy of our University has such a wrong conception of Advaita Vedanta, the crown and glory of Indian thought.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

A GUIDE TO THE W.B.C.S. EXAMINATION *by B. Sanyal M.A., B.L. Published by the author from 106, South Sinthi Rd, Calcutta—30, Price Rs. 6-8, Pages 216.*

This useful publication in the form of questions and answers—1949-52 containing English Essay, Bengali translation, English composition, Elementary mathematics and General knowledge is meant for candidates of the Civil Service examination. The reports of these examinations as published in recent years reveals an utter lack of preparation on the part of candidates, so the present publication compiled by an experienced author is likely to be of real help to the examinees.

A. B. Dutta

KINGFISHERS CATCH FIRE: *By Rumer Godden. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London. 1953. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 6-12.*

Miss Rumer Godden's name will be chiefly remembered by Indian readers as the author of the story of that delightful film, *The River*. Set in Kashmir, her present novel, which is marked by her usual enthusiasm and broad sympathy for her characters, breathes something of the crisp, clear air of that lovely country.

Sophie is an impetuous English girl who makes a hasty marriage and goes to live with her family in Kashmir. Her husband, who was never much of a success in life, suddenly dies leaving his widow and his two children practically stranded. Sophie recovers quickly from the shock, takes stock of her unenviable situation, and decides, instead of going back to England, to brave it out among the simple village folk—away from her own people and the protecting care of the English mission in town. For a time, against all fears, Sophie seems a complete success and it looks as if she is going to settle down. But fate steps in as a see-saw struggle develops in the village between rival families in order to worm into Sophie's confidence and to monopolise the favour that a "rich" foreigner is capable of bestowing. Beginning innocently enough, this "cold war" soon flares up into a bitter clan feud, and Sophie's position in the village becomes increasingly difficult. Fights ensue, a little blood even is shed, and the police nose in. Sophie has to go back to the English mission. In spite, however, of Sophie's best efforts, her estrangement with the village is complete. Helpless and all alone in the world, Sophie, for a moment, seriously considers marriage with her childhood friend back in England. In the end, however, warned by a very shrewd and sensible aunt, she gives up this idea and goes to Beirut on a welfare job.

Miss Godden's chief virtue is her readability which proceeds from her naturally lucid narrative power and her sensitive understanding of the life and the problems of the simple, gregarious folk who are her subjects. *Kingfishers Catch Fire,* straightforward without being brilliant, will earn for Miss Godden many new friends in this country.

Ramesh K. Ghoshal

HISTORY OF KOH-I-NOOR: *By N. B. Sen. Published by New Book Society, Delhi. Price Rs. 3-12.*

This little book, badly printed and filled with portraits which have no relevance to the subject, can only be called a piece of journalism pushing its way into literature. The author wishes for the return of this diamond by England as a gesture of good will to the people of India (p. 158). He forgets Ranjit Singh's valuation of it, *Iska kimat panch paizar.*

N. B. R.

MAIN FACTS—MYSORE CENSUS 1951: *By J. B. Mallaradhya, Census Superintendent, Mysore. Pp. 20. Price not mentioned.*

Census Reports even of one's own State are seldom read. There is collossal inter-State ignorance of even the basic facts relating to population and its problem. In this admirable little book, the author gives, as the title says, the main facts about the Mysore Census of 1951. It removes a want felt by busy but interested, public men of this part of India. We hope other State Census Superintendents will publish similar booklets.

J. M. Datta

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

PREFACE TO MRICHHAKATIKA (The Little Clay-Cart): *By G. K. Bhat, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi and Ancient Indian Culture, Gujrat College, Ahmedabad. The New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4.*

The work in the words of the learned author is 'an humble contribution to the aesthetic appraisal of a reputedly great work.' It has been rightly pointed out that this very important aspect of literary study has not been given proper recognition either in the traditional method of India or that followed by Anglo-Sanskrit Indian Scholars of the present day. The former is primarily concerned with textual interpretation and analysis of external element, while the latter lays more stress on the historical aspect like problems of chronology and authorship and on textual criticism. The work under review seems to draw attention to the special artistic features of the *Little Clay Cart* which, in the opinion of the learned auhor, 'stands apart as a unique play in the entire range of the Sanskrit drama' (p. 18). It has separate chapters on plot-construction, characterisation, humour, representational aspect and Sudraka's art. Incidentally it deals with the sources of the play and Sudraka's innovations. Chapters on authorship, date and picture of contemporary life have been added apparently to give the work a complete form to meet the requirements of all types of readers. On the whole, the book is well-written. At times it would seem to reveal rather too much eagerness to find beauty and excellence even in what would appear to be ordinary normal matters. Books of the type dealing with well-known Sanskrit works and authors have a special purpose to serve. They may attract the sympathy of the general reader who is usually scared away by the niceties of Sanskrit grammar on which undue stress is normally laid in teaching Sanskrit in schools and colleges with disastrous results. In this connection reference may be made to attempts made in this line in Bengali among others by Poet Tagore and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

NYAYARATNA: *By Manikantha Misra with the commentary Dyutimalika by Nrisimhayajvan. Critically edited by Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University and Pt. V. Krishnamacharya, Special Editor, Adyar Library. Madras. Madras Government Oriental Series. No. CLV. Madras. 1953. Price Rs. 10.*

We have here a nice edition of a valuable Nyaya work by a Maithil School with a Commentary by a Southerner. Manikantha is certainly earlier than Gangesa Upadhyaya. In him we find clear signs of the new orientation which seems to have started with Udayana and culminated in Gangesa. Besides dealing with some of the traditional Nyaya Categories he introduces *vyapti, upadhi, paksata* and *paramarsa* which, though connected with the system of the old Logicians, have found greater emphasis in what is called Navya-nyaya. A chapter is devoted to the *mahavidyanumana* which formed an important topic amongst earlier logicians but found no favour with later writers like Gangesa and his followers.

The work has been edited for the first time only from four manuscripts available in Madras and though other manuscripts are also known.

ANANTALAL THAK

BENGALI

BANGLAR UCHCHA SIKSHA: By *Chandra Bagal. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2 Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Annas Eight*

This is a recent addition to the 'Visva-vidya-series of the Visva-bharati Granthalaya.

With unstinted devotion, Sj. Bagal has been on his research into the Nineteenth Century of Bengal. In several volumes he has very comprehensively dealt with its manifestation in spheres: social, political and cultural.

The present brochure is a short, compact the progress of higher education in this province the British rule. The author has clearly indicated forces working behind and gradually shaping it administrative and political interests of the philanthrophy of certain broad-minded British, the for modern knowledge among the upper class and their reaction against the cultural and onslaught by foreigners.

Sj. Bagal's culling of facts from various, rare, sources, intelligent analysis and agreeable tion make it a really valuable work. There are ters including the introduction, dealing with the tions for higher education, Government policy at the selection of medium of instruction, controversy the gradual expansion of English education results.

Brief as it is, the booklet contains much not easily available to the average reader and as likely to be very much appreciated by him; and to say, it has its direct appeal to the scholar for its and unbiased attitude.

D. N. MOOKER

HINDI

MAHAKAVI SHRI NIRALA: *Abhinandan Edited by the Abhinandan Reception September, 1953.*

It is a fortunate augury for Hindi literature different literary and cultural associations time to time for a united venture. The present sprung out of such an effort designed to put elements of biography of the poet Nirala and eulogies in prose and verse. Current history is running forward, and to snatch something from the is always a contribution towards history. The sers had been to Mahisadal in Midnapur to birth-place of the poet and to scrape together materials they could from local people. The tion of Niralaji's photographs has been very It gives the reader an idea of the depth of revealed in his glance. Nirala is none else than Suryakanta Tripathi who had had his journalism—who is called a Mahakavi without written any epic. He has had his journalism and passed through mysticism and a phase of patriotism and revolutionism and his eminence. The volume will be hailed with welcome by all lovers of Hindi literature and it to be well received by discriminating readers critics.

P. R.

ARTHIK SAMASYAEN: *By Dayashankar Nag. blished by Gautam Brothers and Co., Ltd., Kanpur. p. 225. Price not mentioned.*

BHARAT KA SAMVIDHAN: *By Raghuraj pta. Published by H. Chatterji and Co., Ltd., Cal-tta-12. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-12*

Both are educative and seasonal publications. or, now that India is a republic, it is the bounden ty of every citizen to take an *intelligent* interest the working of the constitution of the country and what may be called, the play of economic forces d formulas. But before he is able to do so he must ve the necessary data. And this is precisely what e author, actuated by a healthy civic sense, have ne in their books. *Arthik Samasyaen* deals with ational Income, Foreign Capital, Agriculture and her cognate subjects, while *Bharat Ka Samvidhan* an exposition of the Constitution preceded by a rd's-eye view of the various political and legislative actments that existed before the framing of the onstitution. The authors' grip of their respective bjects has enabled them to avoid successfully the rgon" of the specialists. The books, therefore, will found useful not only by our college students but o by the general reader.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) ITIHAS SAMMELAN NIBANDH SAN-RAHA, (2) GUJARAT SAHITYA SABHA (Karya-li 1946-47): *Both published by the Gujarat Sahitya bha, Ahmedabad. 1948, 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 231, 5+20. Price Rs. 4, Rs. 3.*

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, is a literary society of long standing, functioning ably and efficiently from year to year. It is the premier society of its kind in the Province and can compare itself to similar Hindi and Bengali societies in the U. P. and Bengal. It held a History Conference in 1943 and the instructive and useful papers read thereat are published in No. (1). The second publication contains reviews of works published in various branches of the literature of Gujarat in 1946-47 and lectures delivered during the course of that year. It presents a gold medal to a deserving writer and the proceedings at a meeting held to present it to Prof. Mankad with his erudite speech are published herein.

SANDHYA: *By Rajvaidya J. K. Shastri (now Maharaj Shri Charantirtha Maharaj)*, Gondal. *Printed at the Rasashala Electric Printing Works, Gondal, Saurashtra. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 2-4,*

The founder of the Rasashala Aushadhashram and the Bhuvaneshwari Pitha at Gondal, Rajvaidya Jivram has entered on the third Ashram of a devout Hindu's life, *vanprastha* (retirement) but his work for the Indian system of medicine and spread of Sanskrit language and books and MSS. is as keen as ever. The book under notice is the fourth edition of directions given in great details about the performance of the Sandhya and Viswadeva rituals for the orthodox Brahmin, with reasons and explanations, and it will be found of much use by devotees. It contains other information also as to the duties of kings and their servants. There is an English edition also published for information of foreign Orientalists.

K. M. J.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Influence of Literature

R. H. Ward writes in *The Aryan Path* :

All literature of any real importance and value has two meanings, an outward one and an inward one; and it is probably true to say that the inward meaning can be discovered and defined in as many different ways as the work in question has readers. For we are capable of discovering in it only what we are capable of bringing to it.

I am not in any exact way equating the two meanings of essentially valuable literature with form and content. Any piece of writing must be "about something," and to this extent it has content: any piece of writing uses words to express that "something," and to this extent it has form. But if we put the word "signicant" before the words "form" and "content," we leave behind the conventional concept and lay emphasis only on form and content which are meaningful; literature of real importance has a meaning to be found in its shape or construction and a meaning to be found in the ideas underlying this. We have now abandoned as essentially unmeaningful, the great majority of the world's writings, all ephemeral literature of whatever sort; for only meaning will preserve the life of words and the ideas they stand for.

We can continue to speak of form and content, as convenience and the limitations of language require us to do, though we have limited both. Now we must limit them further by suggesting, though in no hard-and-fast way, that the construction of meaningful forms is, *relatively* speaking, an intellectual activity, and that concern with meaningful content is, equally relatively speaking, an activity in which the feelings take the lead.

In the creation of a significant work of literature these two faculties of mind and heart work together integrally, neither can work effectively in separation from the other, though this will not prevent many contemporary critics from concentrating, in the over-intellectualized fashion of our times, upon form to the exclusion of content. This is another way of saying that we tend at present to be concerned with processes of thinking rather than processes of feeling.

When there is this kind of approach to literature, the very phrase "intellectual beauty," so full of meaning for Shelley, becomes nonsense, because beauty itself implies emotion; the heart as well as the mind must appreciate it. Therefore to emphasize only the form of a work of literature, and appraise only that, is not really to criticize it at all. Supposing it to be a work of real literary value, and its form and its content fully interdependent, the one reveals the other and only both reveal the whole with which criticism should properly be concerned.

Literature of any real importance speaks from two levels, a more superficial and a deeper level. We can properly say that the outward is more directly expressed by form, but it is form, and we can properly say that ward level is more intimately related to but not that it is content.

In order. however, to discuss the matter, make a kind of conventional separation of meanings. This is a matter of convenience the nature of language, which, for the sake of or ease, tends to absolutes, whereas we are ing all the time with relatives.

"Man shall not live by bread alone." dom question the meaning of these familiar We have some notion that they indicate ma for religion, or that humanism is not enough, God must come into man's purview; and these words do imply these things. The fact that man can "live" by bread alone, if by meant nourishment for his body and its bra the next words, "but by every word which out of the mouth of God," indicates that the "live," bears an inward and deeper meaning to some other potentiality in man, a kind which requires to be thought about in an enti rent way from his bodily life. The full seems to imply that this different kind of also die if it lacks nourishment of the sort ap to it.

At once we find ourselves considering having the outward form of a body and the content of a soul; and the soul requires to be about on a different level of understanding. while, man as a whole—for we are making an tially false separation between his two aspects— yet a third kind of thinking if he is to be un he requires whole thinking, thinking with heart, or imaginative thinking; it might app be called "visionary" thinking.

Literature which is worthy of considerati ways imaginative or "visionary." It sees thing The text quoted proclaims man's need of oth bodily nourishment and of learning to thi himself in other than merely "rational" ways. seldom strikes us that our inward and dee would perish did we receive no nourishment deeper level. We do not think of ourselves as of souls which actually live on impress perceptions, as our bodies live on bread. We think of ourselves as dying inwardly if our denied the proper food.

Still less do we think of ourselves as wh whose wholeness will be preserved only if the tw of our nature are fed adequately, each with the of life" appropriate to it. If we did so think selves, maybe we would never have allowed to c existence the industrial civilization which now ur existence, an intellectualized civilization permitting nly the nourishment of the body and progressively epriving the soul of the nourishment fit for it; a vilization in which the emotional life inherent in man's elationship with unspoilt nature and with unspoilt uman beings is at a discount. Meanwhile, literature f the kind which ministers to man's mind and to his eart has meaning on the third or imaginative level, d so ministers to man as a whole. Such literature is od of the kind which comes into question when it said that man cannot live by bread alone.

Man can be poisoned in his body, and indeed illed, by bodily food which is inappropriate or ontaminated; and it is equally true that he can be oisoned in his soul, and indeed killed, by absorbing o his psyche impressions and perceptions which the ul cannot usefully assimilate.

Impressions and perceptions which relate nly to the animal level of existence cannot be d to the psyche without doing it harm. Literare which has only superficial meanings, can ly starve or actively poison the soul.

Almost all literature as we know it, including much t is very highly thought of, is of his kind. Not olutely so: it is a question of degree. But the gree of psychic nourishment contained in most of t we call literature is so small, the degree of psyic poison so great, that the harm done to man by e majority of books published far outweighs the od.

Let us look at it as a matter of values. The dy and its mind have their own proper values belongg to the "rational" man, sometimes called the "scienti- or even "mechanized" man. The soul's values are quite another kind; they are the values Pascal erred to when he said that "the heart has its reasons which the reason knows naught."

What makes most literature poisonous to the soul our ignorance of the difference between these ways hinking; an attempt to impose the body's values on the soul. This is food which the soul can assimilate. Man's soul can no more live on d which does not "speak to its condition" than his dy could live on the symphonies of Beethoven.

Literature of the kind with which we are conned has a more superficial meaning which the mind erstands by "body-thinking," and a deeper meang which the heart understands by "soul-thinking." e New Testament is, I suppose, Western man's arest example of literature of this kind. The tation which we have been considering is an ance of its dual significance, which comments turn upon the dual significance of man himf. (In recent years the New Testament has been amined from something like this point of view in e writings of P. D. Ouspensky and Dr Maurice oll.)

On one level the Gospels are the outward y of the birth, life and death of Jesus of Nazareth. ey can be understood on that level only, and e so understood by most who read them, whether not such men call themselves Christians. Of rse it is realized by these readers that this story, or tory, as Christians prefer to call it, "has a al" and carries the ethical implication that you st conduct the life of the body and its mind, ich can live by bread alone, in a particular way.

If you suggest that the Gospels also have a meaning of great emotional and psychological importance, which only the heart, working in harmony with the reason, can imaginatively understand, it is very probable that they will refuse to consider your suggestion seriously. At best they will attempt to argue it away by treating it on a purely rational or "body-thinking" level. But these matters can be dealt with only on their own level, where a different way of thinking operates.

What emerges from your discussion with those who read only the surface of the Gospels is that, where any consideration of the soul is in quesion, there are many whose understanding is incapable of functioning in the necessary mode. Such people cannot but dismiss the soul and the things which belong to it as either nonsensical or non-existent. They lack the apparatus for thinking as the soul thinks; whatever psychological quality they may once have possessed which would have given an inward and deeper meaning to their bodily and mental existences, that quality is there no longer. The circumstances of the average contemporary human life are such that the soul, if it does not actually die, falls into the coma which results from starvation, and from this coma something more than words, even the singularly potent words of the Gospels, is required to wake it.

We can say that, to the majority of men the inward meaning of such literature is inaccessible; it must escape their understanding. They can apprehend the Gospels only as a history which evidently "has a moral," but a moral which, when they try to apply it to their own outward lives, they find themselves powerless to

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implement; for it is not to the outward life that the real "moral" of the Gospels belongs.

To be properly understood and used, the Gospels must be studied, not only as the history of the birth, life and death of the historic Jesus, but also as the psychological history of the birth, life and death of the soul itself.

The outward history of Jesus is a symbol for something of quite another kind. All literature of a certain order is essentially religious, however secular it may superficially appear. If, for example, we examine in the light of imagination a work such as the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyar, generally considered to be the exaltation of materialistic hedonism, we shall see that it is a document of very profound and extraordinary psychological and religious significance.

The outward meaning is never the same as the inward. We can only say that the outward meaning "stands for" the inward. The inward meaning is an enigma; the outward meaning is the clue to it. The enigma always requires to be interpreted, and the interpretative faculty is neither the reason *per se* nor the emotions *per se,* but the imagination which is their synthesis. The soul has no words; it and its life are ultimately ineffable. But the way in which writers, who are in the proper sense creative, use words, making exoteric symbols for that which is esoteric, brings them near, at their best, to "speaking for" the soul. Only he who has eyes to see and ears to hear can read such words as they should be read. The soul of a book can speak to a reader's soul only if his soul is awake to hear. But literature is literature in the sense in which we have been considering it only if great art on the part of the writer bridges the gap between the two different kinds of thinking, marrying the outward form and the inward content as closely as the body and soul of a human creature, and demonstrating clearly their interdependence, so that one reveals the other in the light of the third way of thinking, the imaginative way.

Imagination, the quality which gives literature value, like God whose servant it is, is undefinable, except in negative ways.

It is not "fancy" or "fantasy" or "surrealism" or any mode of thinking noticeable merely because it is bizarre. Indeed, imagination is often not noticeable at all, though a man who was himself imaginative would notice if it were absent from a work of literature. God, after all, is known only to the man whose consciousness is such that it can recognize God's existence; for a man lacking this consciousness, God does not exist; except perhaps as an intellectual supposition. But such a man does not himself exist; he lives, but by bread alone. Really to live is to live, not only in the body and the mind, but also in the soul, which, when it is properly nourished, co-operates with the intellect to bring forth the imaginative vision.

The influence of all literature which has the necessary dual meaning is an influence for life of this kind, for "more abundant" life. A book matters vitally in so far as its form carries a content which is a soul. In such a book the reader whose own soul is awake can see that soul mirrored as he reads; from such a book he can learn something which will enhance his own self-knowledge, waken him further, lead him toward the development of imaginative vision in
All literature which does not have this my
ward effect upon men is negative, and
harmful.

It is an ironic reflection that, while p
creative literature contains within it that wh
save the contemporary world from the soull
lack of imagination which threaten it with d
probably nothing has done more to bring a
soulless and unimaginative condition than lite
the negative kind. Book can be lethal. But t
also be the bread of eternal life.

Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Sikh

The following article is reproduc
The Sikh Review. The author Balwant S
based this article on material from the a
tive Sikh history, *Panth Parkash*:

Ahmad Shah Abdali, victor of the third
Panipat, was repeatedly molested and harassed
guerrilla bands of Sikh desperados. They str
lightning blows under cover of darkness, seized
ever they could lay their hands on and vanis
thin air. Abdali was exasperated beyond mea

The Sikhs decided to leave their families wit
in the neighbourhood of Rajpur and Gujjarwal
Malwa area. Zain Khan, Nawab of Sarhind
messengers to Ahmad Shah Abdali that the Sikh
gathering at Kup near Malerkotla. Since Ab
anxious to swoop down upon them and wipe th
the combined forces of Zain Khan and Ahmad
by forced marches, reached Kup where, acc
some versions, 100,000 Sikhs—men, women and
—were encamped.

The Sikhs were taken by surprise. The
Sikh warriors of all *misals*, of all areas. The
Sikhs of Majha, Malwa and Doaba. S. Char
Sukarchakya was one of the pre-eminent lead
directed the Sikhs.

The entire Khalsa was faced with the qu
survival or extinction. If they were all killed, t
race of warriors would be stamped out. Ho
they save the women and children?

A hasty council of war was held and the
warriors decided upon a running fight. T
warriors would keep the vanguard of the enemy
and in the meantime the women and childre
be rushed ahead beyond the reach of the enemy
The Sikhs thus stood up, received blows
blows and thus blocked the progress of the e
the women and children were safely removed fa
away.

The enemy's numbers were overwhelming
had no such impediments as the safety of th
and children. The Sikhs fought with arrows
swords and guns while Abdali's men fought wi
and guns and wore red uniforms.

The Sikhs' objective was Malwa, then a
wilderness, where they would be safe. The
vanguard fought Abdali's forces while the flank
rear of Abdali's men were challenged by
contingent of Sikhs. The rest of the warriors
the women and children and rushed them
safety.

Abdali's startegy was to envelop the Sikhs
wipe them out. But the Sikhs repeatedly,
frustrated his designs. The Sikhs were

swordsmen and wielded their swords skilfully and ruthlessly. The Pathans fell as the Sikhs continued fighting. But being far outnumbered, the Sikhs could not shake the enemy off. It was a running fight. The Sikhs for a while engaged the enemy but seeing their position they then flew ahead to make a desperate stand a mile or two farther away. The enemy was in hot pursuit. But all the while the Sikh banners waved and their trumpets sounded.

The Sikh *sardars* behaved magnificently but Sardars Jassa Singh and Charat Singh were peerless. Jassa Singh was a terrific swordsman and a sure shot. He was constantly in the thick of the fight but he seemed to have a charmed life. He sustained 22 serious wounds and his cloths were dyed red with blood. Jassa Singh's horse became so tired that it could not move so a comrade whipped the horse to make him go. S. Jassa Singh chided him for it so the comrade dismounted and offered his own horse to Jassa Singh while he himself fought on foot.

S. Charat Singh was thirsty for hand-to-hand combat with Ahmad Shah Abdali. He looked for Abdali but could not locate him.

Throughout the battle the Sikhs carried the two volumes of the Guru Granth Sahib, one from Amritsar and the other from Damdama.

Eventually the Sikhs reached the Gehal and Qutbo Bahamani villages but the villagers would not let the Sikhs take shelter inside their villages. Some of the Sikhs hid themselves in the midst of the standing crops but the villagers smoked them out.

Great was the carnage by noon of that day. The sun was hot and the pursuers and the pursued had fought on for 12 *kos*. They were so thirsty their tongues stuck to the roofs of their mouths.

Soon they sighted a big pond of water and for a while their natural thirst for water overcame their thirst for blood. The clash and clang of swords stopped until they had their fill of water and then they were on the move again.

The Sikhs went on another 10 *kos* and the Pathans were left behind. According to some accounts only 000 Sikhs out of the original 100,000 escaped. Other versions say 50,000 escaped. The Sikhs suffered terribly but they talked lightly and merrily of it and said they were purged and purified of dross.

Abdali returned to Lahore and caried with him 50 carts loaded with the heads of Sikhs killed in the battle of Kup. Pyramids of the heads were erected and exhibited at Lahore. More, he went to Amritsar on the eve of the Baisakhi festival and blew up the Hari Mandir with gunpowder. The sacred tank was filled with refuse and barley was later sown thereon. The *bungahs* or resthouses were also destroyed and, as the buildings were being blown up, a stray brick struck Abdali on his nose and he carried the scar to his grave.

The Sikhs soon had their revenge. About 60,000 of them gathered at Amritsar to again fight Abdali, who sent messengers to negotiate peace. But the Sikhs would have none of it and Abdali was compelled to quit.

The Sikhs thirsted for revenge and they had it in full measure and running over. Abdali had to withdraw his forces to Lahore under cover of darkness while the Sikhs withdrew to the Lakhi jungle, their good old haunt.

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The Role of Mixed Economy in India

G. Srinivas Rao writes in *The Indian Review*:

The concept of mixed economy has been very popular in recent times. It implies the fact that the state should limit itself to those sectors where its activities could be supported both by its administrative resources and requirements of political democracy, and that private enterprise should be duly favoured to enable it to discharge its responsibilities.

Mixed economy is a sort of compromise between the capitalistic and the totalitarian forms of economy. Though at least in theory capitalism works beautiful by maintaining that there is complete freedom of choice, in reality it has its own defects and handicaps. Again, the totalitarian economy, which is a possible alternative for us to adopt, also suffers from too many rigid principles and is limited in its scope. Capitalism alone cannot do wonders. It is not able to ensure full employment and reasonable standords of living, while in the economy of controls all available goods are rationed and there is practically no freedom of labour or expression. It has, therefore, been suggested that we should follow the principle of mixed economy which claims to do away with the demerits of the above categories of economy.

THE NEED FOR A MIXED ECONOMY

Mixed economy has been favoured due to a number of reasons. The world war made it necessary for us to increase production to meet the extraordinary demands of our masses. The Government felt it necessary to encourage private enterprise with lesser controls so that more and more may be produced. Merciless exploitation of labour also called for the state management and controls to a reasonable extent. Hence, in 1948 the Government declared its policy of undertaking new measures of improving the lot of our various industries.

Any economy contains to some degree at least, a mixture of private and public investment, the corresponding increased production of which determines whether the economy is socialistic or capitalistic. In India the construction of roads and railways and undertaking of some other public works are examples of mixed economy put into practice. The need for a rapid and revolutionary change in our structure is now clear and self evident.

Mixed economy has really no diagnosis behind it and it works by the method of "trial and error." It is likely to put an end to monopolies of various sorts and give impetus to production. It aims at maintaining full employment and ensures investment for carrying out our ambitious plans. It is supposed to bring about a better distribution of incomes by resorting to suitable means of taxation and offering subsidies to those in need. Mixed economy is favoured for ironing out the ups and downs of the Trade Cycle.

In a mixed economy public enterprise assumed to have a much wider scope th capitalistic economy. "Our conception of must be a self-disciplined system of liberty; Government should take greatest care in controls and the banking system must be managed. There is the danger that state will not give necessary support to increase tion as private capitalism. A private enterp always been more potent due to its personal and, as such, the Government has decided to cate both these forms.

Certain industries, however, must be while some others can only be partly According to various statements issued by the tral Government, arms and ammunition, and the production and control of Atomic be completely nationalized. Various kinds of financial subscription, loans and debentures, and provision for cheap land and training are to improve the situation.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND MIXED ECONOMY

India's lofty aims of achieving economic through the Five-Year Plan give considerable to the role of mixed economy. This system, which the Government and private individuals bute to the capital investment, was already in some States like Mysore. For instance, the duction of Ammonium sulphate fertilizer is now taken by the Government factory at Sindri and is also produced by privately owned "This form of enterprise combines the advan initiative and flexibility with a larger conce public welfare and avoid meticulous con complicated regulations." The Five-Year Plan a plan of mixed economy. It envisages a directed economy in which the State plays part and there is close relationship between and private sectors.

The Planning Commission's Report light on the type of Economy they have in mixed economy with anti-monopoly program with State playing increasing role has effects. Until we are sure about the type of economy contemplated by the Commis cannot judge the prospects of the Plan.

The policy of mixed economy will be its purpose if production of consumer's goods taken up seriously. A vigorous plea has be made for stepping up of production and possible facilities for the growth of private ment. The State can help to create a "Wel by putting an end to monopolies and les equalities of incomes. The secret of India's lies in encouraging private enterprise by the patriotic spirit of our shy capitalists. A tionary change in our present day economic can be made possible by following the ciples of mixed economy.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Qazi Nazrul Islam—Poet of the People

Qazi Nazrul Islam is usually called the "Rebel Poet" f Bengali Literature. The epithet is due primarily to magnificent poem he wrote called VIDROHI—The Rebel—and to some extent to the rebellious role played y him throughout. Nazrul appeared like comet in he firmament of Bengali literature and practically but ot physically disappeared from the scene after a spell f about twenty years with a lot of effulgent light and onsuming fire to his credit.

Nazrul was born in a village named Churulia under sansol sub-division of Burdwan district. His forefathers are reported to have migrated from Bihar to Burdwan. He was the fifth child born after death of our other children. The fond parents, therefore, ick-named Nazrul "Dukhu Mea" under the superstitious elief that such an uncouth name might shield the ew-born babe from the angel of death. "Dukhu ea" in Bengali literally means a "child of rrow." But alas! the name proved only too literally ue.

As a child, Nazrul was both precocious and naughty. e read little, but none could beat him in the class. He sed to pester the whole village by his boyish pranks nd for this he got from the local people the appellation f "Khepa'—mad fellow—a prediction again which came ue late in life. Nonetheless, he passed from the village Primary School ahead of others and had the stinction of becoming a pupil-teacher or "Chhota stadiee."

The ballads he composed are reminiscent of those by e Muslim bards who wrote thousands of what are popurly called "Punthis" which have regaled the rural population now for years, if not for centuries. Nazrul was ndoubtedly the product of Punthi Literature, at least in s childhood. In his later phase Nazrul gave to Bengali nguage many Muslim words and helped influence the evalent ideologies.

In 1916, (he was but 17 then) Nazrul slipped away Calcutta and joined the 49th Bengal Regiment. As private in the Regiment, Nazrul went to Karachi and om there was sent out to Mesopotamia where he rose be a Havildar within a short time. It is as "Havildar Qazi Nazrul Islam, 49th Bengal Regiment" that he ade his first debut in Bengali literature.

On the disbandment of the 49th Bengal Regiment, e Havildar-Poet came back to Calcutta and took elter in the office of the Bengali Muslim Literary ssociation in the year 1918-19. He was well on his ay to being the most moving poet Bengal had oduced.

His poems were fiery, exciting and inspiring and he imself moved from place to place throughout Bengal, ith no attachments, no fixity of home or purpose but spected, almost adored, wherever he went. He roamed. ymed and sang. He proved to be the most dynamic the Bengali poets who roused the people of Bengal om the torpor of slavery and this with signal success.

At about 22, Nazrul began editing a weekly called hum Khetu (Comet). His fiery writing embarrassed the British administration and he was arrested on a charge of sedition. At the trial Nazrul made a remarkable statement which gives a glimpse into his real self. The statement was in Bengali and was later published in boooklet form.

Despite his defence Nazrul was convicted and gaoled for a year. He went to jail cheerfully, for the rebel in him could not be subdued. He wrote and sang and made the life of jail authorities miserable by his fiery songs and sallies. It is in jail that Nazrul composed his wellknown *Shikal Parar Gan* (the Song of Shackles).

After his release from prison, Nazrul Islam dominated the field of Bengali literature for about 20 years, writing prolifically—more than 500 of his songs have been recorded.

His contribution to Bengali poetry cannot be forgotten. He wrote many stirring poems and songs which were and are the inspiration of the people. A number of his books such as *Bisher Banshi* (Flute of Poison), *Agni Bina* (Flute of Fire), *Bhangger Gan* (Song of Destruction), *Pralay-Shikka* (Fire of Destruction), etc., were prescribed by Government but later almost revered by literateurs. His work is immortal.

POEMS OF NAZRUL ISLAM

Translated by Mrs. Muhammad Hussain

MARCH OF YOUTH

On! On! On!
The drums beat up in the sky,
Beneath the troubled earth doth lie,
Youths of the dawning age do cry:
On! On! On!
Strike at the doors of early morn,
We shall augur a richer dawn,
The shades of dark will by us be torn
And the limits of Vindhyachal:
On! On! On!
We shall sing the song of life,
Reborn will be this vale of strife,
We shall bring strength to life
In youthful arms, anew.
On! On! O band of youth!
Lend ear to this forsooth:
At the gates of death,
There's the hope of life for all:
Break, O break the bar,
Onward move onward—far—
To a life that is for you.
On! On! On!

* * * *

NIGHTINGLE ON THE BOUGHS

Shake not the branch, O nightingle,
The buds have yet to wake from sleep,
The South wind moves 'cross barren boughs,
And the butterfly is lost in pleasures deep.
When shall the flower maids rip ope the veils

And blush awake by dewdrops twinkle ;
Rousing Spring's fragrant flood
Whelm lips with smiles ; wake cheeks to dimple.
O Poet, lost in the fragrant tide,
You found not any shores,,
Full is your heart with wealth of flowers,
Now, bring tears to those eyes—of yours.

—*Pakistan Today*, June 1, 1954.

Social Unrest an Obstacle To Peace

ILO CHIEF'S SURVEY OF WORLD ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Mr. David A Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Office, in his report to the annual conference of the ILO, opening at Geneva on 2 June, has pointed out the extent to which social disorder and civil unrest undermine and weaken attempts by nations meeting in international assembly to construct a workable and lasting peace.

Mr. Morse asks the conference to give special attention this year to the question of finding ways to alleviate the worldwide housing shortage but at the same time stressed the ILO's traditional and practical approach to many social problems affecting the workers. He says :

"The issues of peace and social progress are inextricably interwoven at the present time. Social discontent and impatience for social progress in our world today is a ready occasion for political agitation and is often quick to become a cause of civil unrest. The nations meeting in international assembly to construct a workable and lasting peace cannot risk having their strength and determination in this cause undermined by social disorder at home.

"The reality, and not only the promise, of better living conditions, especially in the vast underdeveloped areas of the world, is an essential element in strengthening the cause of peace, just as the establishment of peace is necessary to the continuing long-term improvement of social conditions throughout the world.

"At few periods in its history has the ILO's work been more directly relevant to the great international political issues of the day.

"The ILO has traditionally had a practical approach to social problems. It brings together the most powerful social forces in each country, workers and employers as well as Governments, to work out agreed solutions to concrete actual problems. I ask Governments in particular to reflect upon the importance of strengthening this practical undogmatic approach at a time when social problems are a prey to internal political dissensions and to international cleavage.

"This year I am asking the Conference special consideration to the question of housing all the great social problems, housing affects virtually in every country. It does not respect logical or geographical barriers. Workers need in Eastern just as in Western countries. There housing shortage in the industrially advanced and in the underdeveloped. This is one problems which is closest to the individual human son and it is to him that our ultimate obligation

MAN NEEDS SENSE OF PURPOSE IN HIS

Urging management and labour to adopt that will make possible the development of a purpose by those who perform the world's work Morse says that the worker must feel that his has social value—that he "is participating in a constructive effort towards a purpose broader own personal wants or the profitability of his

"To arouse this sense of purpose requires attitude by management as well as by labour. techniques and institutions may help foster it, is the underlying attitude and not the methods that count. The greaest challenge which faced through democratic labour-management is to spread this new attitude towards work industry."

It was beginning to be recognised, Mr. explains, that man must have "job satisfaction" as decent living and working conditions and security. This means that industrial work given the social content that it now generally lacks. has to be enabled to make a contribution to Unless he feels that he is doing so, he develops conflicts giving rise to discontent. To resolve conflicts, he has to believe that his work had a purpose.

HOPES PLACED IN INDUSTRIALISATION

Over much of the world, the report points modern forms of economic and social organisation industrial techonology are regarded as man's best of overcoming poverty and improving the conditions of life. Yet almost everywhere the of industrialisation touches off a conflict between and old social forms, attitudes and human values. sufferers in this conflict are the peoples whose in the old society is undermined before they security in the new industrial community.

"Great social strains and conflicts," the emphasises, "emerge among people uprooted from traditional way of life and forced by circumstances adjust to a new and alien routine. Where the physical poverty, disease and hunger, these tensions be aggravated. The interaction of bad conditions of life with the psychological social change makes a highly explosive

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threatening to burst into political disorder and thwart the possibility of peaceful progress."

Surveying the trend of industrial development throughout the world at the present time, the report declares that in Asia "overpopulation" is the compulsive force behind a great structural change. An industrial revolution has become a demographic necessity, "and the awareness that poverty may be alleviated through modern economic organisation has aroused hopes in Asia which the world cannot afford to see frustrated." Throughout the less developed areas there is a latent conflict between the aims of those who have realised that the hopes of the future lie with industrial development and the attitudes and habits of the rural masses. This was occurring at a time when world opinion was calling for the removal of the compulsions which have operated in the past to create the labour supply on which industrialisation has been founded. But measures taken in response to this trend of opinion were not solving the social problems of industraialisation. What was being done was rather to reject unacceptable solutions. There remained "a great problem of labour suppply to be overcome by those who are committed to the course of industrialisation."

Mr. Morse suggests that the trade union "may be one of the most powerful instruments for creating a new industrial society and for helping the new recruit from the rural community to adjust to the conditions of industrial life." Of great importance was the union's role in "giving the worker a social status where he may previously have been an unregarded item at the bottom of the social scale." The problem of how to promote the growth of trade unions on sound and stable lines had been posed for governments in many parts of the world. It was not enough to say that the workers must be left alone to organise themselves; yet there were grave dangers in unionism fostered by the State. The problem was a complex one which called for serious consideration in the light of the experience in recent years of the countries undergoing economic development. If progress could be made in improving labour-management relations, more favourable attitudes by workers and employers would overcome some of the human obstacles to economic growth. But the report warns it is useless to create attitudes favourable to economic expansion if investment capital is not ready to finance expansion. "Labour mobility without new job openings does not make sense." Achieving the first without the second will only court disillusionment and a recrudescence of restrictive attitudes and practices in perhaps even more rigid forms. The social and economic problems of economic development must be solved together; they cannot be divorced from one another without either frustrating economic development or diregarding its social purpose.—*ILO News Service*, May 14, 1954.

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Israel 1948-1954

On the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, President Izhak Ben-Zvi has published a message, extracts of which are given hereunder:

"We have witnessed in these six years the ingathering of the exiles, whole communities reaching Israel from the east and from the west. Their coming has doubled the numbers of those who dwell and labour in our ancient land, in field and in the factory, in the re-settled hills of the Galilee and in the revived Negev wastelands. Throughout the length and breadth of our homeland our heritage has been renewed by blood and toil."

"We have not been unaware of the dangers that have threatened us since the establishment of the State. Even to this day—five years after the signing of the armstice agreements —our neighbours still seek our downfall. The incessant bloodshed on our frontiers has shown us that we must be even watchful, ever on the alert, and that we ignore these dangers at our own peril."

"In the year just ended, as in former years, Israel has neglected no opportunity to express her sincere desire for peace, . . . yet we failed in our efforts to make peace with our own close neighbours who persist in their aggressive design upon us."

"A system of national education during the year replaced the old. wasteful system in education, and today a quarter of a million schoolchildren receive a unified, standard Hebrew education administered by the State. The nation's defence and security forces were strengthened with the continued stabilisation of both the Regular Army and the Reserves within the Defence Army of Israel."

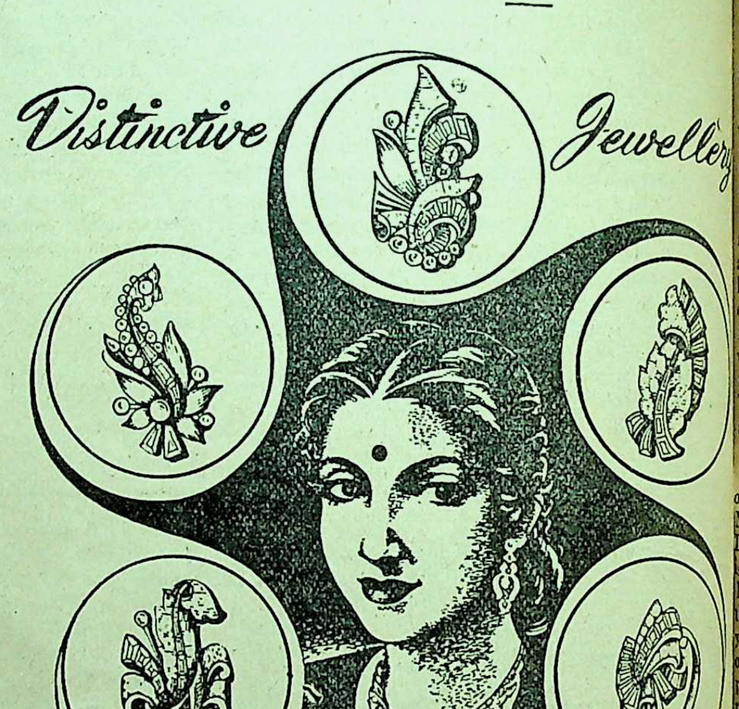
Turning to the question of religious minorities in Israel, the President said:

"We have succeeded in resolving many essential questions in the spirit of the Law of Moses and the Prophets: 'One law shall there be unto you and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you . . .' Our hope is bright that those problems yet unsolved will find their solution with the passage of time in this democratic spirit."

Paying tribute to the citizens who gave up their lives in the War of Independence, the President recalled King David's consolation: "They compass me about like bees; they are quenched as the fire of thorns: but in the name of the Lord I. will overcome them."

The President concluded his message with words :

"On this festive day I send my good wishes greetings to all citizens of Israel and to the childr Israel in their dispersion wherever they may be. bid them be strong and of good courage in their task of aiding in the upbuilding of Israel and the gathering of the exiles. I pray to the Rock of I that He may strengthen our hands and yours, and ours may be the privilege of witnessing with our eyes the prosperity and peace of our bl land."—*News from Israel*, May 15, 1954.



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Newspapers in Ceylon

Ceylon should be proud of her newspapers. In fact, it is an island of newspapers. People read very few books. Most of their reading is confined to newspapers. The Ceylon newspapers are far ahead of all Asia except Japan in their technique and circulation.

There are eight daily newspapers in the three languages selling round about 300,000 copies every day. Of these, the three Sinhalese dailies—*Dinamina 80,000, Lankadipa 60,000* and *Janata* 20,000 sell between themselves half of the 300,000 copies. The other five English and Tamil language papers altogether sell the balance of *150,000 copies—Daily News 40,000, Observer 25,000, Times 20,000, Virakesari 35,000* and *Thinakaran 15,000.*

The Sunday or Weekly papers of which there are five sell round about 45,000 copies—*Silumina* 150,000, *Sunday Lankadipa* 100,000, *Virakesari* 35,000' *Sinhala Jatiya* 25,000, *Sunday Thinakaran* 35'000. So that for a week Ceylon newspapers sell about 750,000 copies of daily and weekly newspapers which means that one person in eleven of the whole population buy a newspaper for a week. If you take it that in a population of 8½ million, only about 2½ million are adult and literate (according to statistics), it will be seen that nearly one in three buy a newspaper every week. We know that every newspaper bought is read by at least three persons. On this basis we might go so far as to say that every one who can read does read a newspaper once a week at least. This is a very high rate for any country. But we are here talking only of statistics !

WHAT DO THE CEYLONESE READ ?

The *Dinamina,* the Sinhalese daily, had, in the old days under the famous Sinhalese literary celebrity Mr. Martin Wickramasinghe, the status of the London *Times* as far as Ceylon was concerned. It is a 40-year paper for which once Sir Baron Jayatilaka regularly wrote. But after the emergence of the *Lankadipa,* the older paper began to ape the younger upstart. If the *Dinamina* had struck to its old traditions of conservative and rigid journalism, no power on earth could have shaken its solid foundations. But its newly acquired spirit of sensationalism and the search for popularity in an effort to vie with *Lankadipa* went ill with its traditions and gave the younger paper, full of pep, vigour, and originality, a grand opportunity. Thus, the *Lankadipa* within six years, has increased its circulation to 60,000.

The *Ceylon Daily News* under the late Mr. D.R. Wijewardene was something like the *Daily Telegraph* of London, a reliable, serious, but a popular political paper without sensationalism and any ballyhoo. But, of late, it too has gone off the rails and no one can say what it exactly is today, Clearly it is the mouthpiece of the Christians, the Managing Director and all Editorial Staffers being Christians. There is, I believe, one Buddhist, Mr. Austin de Silva on the higher rungs of the ladder at Lake House. But he is the forgotten man and nobody knows what he does. To the *Daily News* all Buddhist leaders are jokes. All those who show any kind of national aspirations have to be laughed out of the newspaper, Any man who does not pay pooja to the English language as the most indispensable precious possession deserves to be pilloried. Big Buddhist school events get only a few lines. When one considers that more than two-thirds of the readers of the *Daily News* are Buddhists, the wonder is not that it is not increasing its readers but how it keeps the readers, That is simply because there is no other English morning daily at present !

NEWSPAPER TYCOON

The *Daily News* appears to be under the influence of the American Embassy which gives scholarships generously to its staff to the U.S.A. and takes a lively interest in the machinery Lake House purchases. Time and again, the paper seems to sample the best interests of the country to those of the U.S.A. The *Daily News* is also controlled by the U.N.P. to such an extent that it is virtually a party paper. Once when a very "big noise" in the U.N.P. was asked why they didn't start a daily paper he asked blindly "Why should we ? We have the *Daily News* and the *Dinamina* !"—*Tribune, Ceylon News Review.*

U. S. Library of Congress Treasures Folk Songs

Washington: Much of the rich tradition of American folk music seemed doomed to vanish for ever at the beginning of this century.

The ballads which American pioneers had sung in dozens of versions as they made their way West were all but forgotten.

The old Red Indian war chants were disappearing as Indians of the young generations left their tribes and forgot tribal ceremonies.

The railroad workers who sang their way across the continent laying track were long dead and their songs seldom sung.

The rhythmic swing of the sea-chanty disappeared with the mariners who hoisted sails.

Recently, however, there has been a revival of interest in folk music. Today, the U.S. Library of Congress has more than 60,000 recorded folk tunes.

Thirty years ago, folk-song enthusiasts began to search the isolated North Carolina mountains for early versions of Scotch-English ballads. They went deep in the mine tunnels to record the voices of the miners, They went among the prisoners in southern penitentiaries and to the Red Indian tribes in the West.

EXPENSIVE PROCESS

Collecting was an expensive process. Portable recording machines were costly. Days—sometimes months—were required for the ballad hunter to find the old people who would remember old tunes and then to wait until the singers were disposed to record them.

The list of folk singers includes some surprises. Judge Learned Hand stepped down from his U. S, Court of Appeals bench recently to sing two ballads from the American Civil War that he had learned more

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than 60 years before. The songs are included in an album of "Songs and Ballads of American History."

A famous Red Indian, Crazy Bull, similarly recorded half-forgotten tribal songs. He is the grandson of Sitting Bull, the famous chief whose Sioux warriors in 1876 massacred a cavalry contingent under General George Custer in one of the most famous episodes of U.S. frontier history.

OBSCURE PEOPLE SANG

Most of the Library's records, however, were sung or played by obscure people in their native environment rather than in a formal studio. The Library says of these recordings: "The singers and musicians......are heard against the natural back-ground of their lives. The portable recording machines of the ballad hunters caught such realistic sounds as the informal shouting, laughter, clapping, and stamping of group dances, the thud of a lumberman's axe as it swung to the rhythm of a work song, the cracking of a whip as a Southern Negro 'mule skinner' drives his team of mules."

The tunes and lyrics of America's folk songs reflect a heritage from other parts of the world: the English ballads and seachanties, Afro-American spirituals and "blues," and French and Spanish songs of the southern and western United States. Often one song will have many variants. An unusually international ballad is *The Hangsman's Tree,* a favourite Negro spiritual in the southeastern United States. Versions of it are also sung in English, Scottish dialects, Spanish, Faroese, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, German, Esthonian, Wendish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Slavonian.

The native music of other countries is also represented in the Library's archives. In exchange for albums of American music, the Library has received songs from Scotland, France, Ireland, Italy, Finland and South America.

As a result of the Library's leadership in the folk-music revival, many collections have been established throughout the United States, particularly in universities and city libraries. Students in 60 universities in the United States can now take courses in folk music.—*American Reporter,* June, 1954.

The Teacher

Prof. Henri Wallon writes in *Tribune*, the Ceylon News Review, as follows:

Youth is the period through which the individual passes from his birth to the age at which he is able to take an active part in society, not only with his professional capacities but through all the relations in which he will be involved, family, human and civic relations. Youth is also the whole body of individuals of many different personalities who compose the rising generation, the herald of the future.

Education consists in guiding the child and later the young man or young woman through this long and difficult preparation. And upon whom should this responsibility fall?

The answer given to this question by history varied widely with the different types of society and aims of each society.

TEACHER'S DUTIES

A revolutionary, a friend of Robespierre, Convention member Le Peletier de Saint Fargeau, said in his report on the organisation of education: "At the age of five years, the nation will receive the child from the hands of nature. At twelve years, he will be turned over to society." Nature was the family circle to which was given, only the responsibility for feeding and clothing the children and for their first effective impressions. From the age of five to twelve, the takes all children in hand to educate them on fectly equalitarian basis. After the age of turns them out to try their luck in a society economic inequalities.

This unlimited responsibility of the educator, is supposed to be a substitute even for that family, is even vaguer than it is vast. The duties and rights are not precisely defined nor aims even of education itself.

There are two possible definitions of which are often opposed. One considers it transfer through successive generations, of the heritage and ways of thought peculiar to a people or a race. It is easy to see the this: traditionalism, conservatism and eventually The second definition is the opposite of the is essentially individualistic and prescribes the ment in each child of his leanings and aptitudes ing their spontaneous appearance. This can a fundamental egotism, difficulties in social in a spirit of fierce competition.

Certainly every child has the right to and an education which is best able to fit him society in which he must live and act. But this is not that of the past—it is that which towards the future, which is in the process of the development of which cannot be halted. teacher, therefore, must not take refuge in the security of traditions, in the comforts of routine. must refresh himself foreseeing, through events, being born. He must not hide himself own past and within the narrow limits of his sional habits. He must try not to be overtaken needs and aspirations of the new generation.

APTITUDES

Certainly the teacher must also try to each pupil or student, all those tastes and which are most capable of developing his and moral capacities to the utmost, but must be separated from the common tasks. stress the occasion when the pupil will feel or his responsibilities in connection with the he receives.

The teacher must influence the pupil, above his own example.

It is the teacher who directs the child society. And his own links with society without question. He should be someone public welfare the law of his life, who will dignity of intelligence, of conscience, the right examination, the right to reject debasing which would demand of him pretence and lies, ject of respect in his own person.

COLLABORATION

It is the teacher who forms men and eventually prove it by not standing aloof currents of enthusiasm or indignation which are throughout the world by great human interests injustices.

Finally the teacher must know how to his school and against the shortages which threaten the students' future. He must the scandal of children unable to pursue their not because of lack of ability but because not enough schools; of the children who a trade because there are not enough ing centres; of the children who grow to without any professional qualifications, precarious and insecure existence, denied any satisfaction.

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INDEX OF ARTICLES

Page

bdullah Asked for It (*illust.*)
St. Nihal Singh 105
ir Transport in India
C. B. Mamoria 25
lladi Krishnaswamy Ayer, The Late Dr. Sir
P. Rajeswara Rao 319
ncient Pottery from Tamluk (*illust.*)
Paresh Chandra Das Gupta 213
rt as a Means of Livelihood (*illust.*)
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury 138
shtadikpalakas from the Katinamkulam Temple (*illust.*)
R. P. Nair 220
sic Ideals of Hindu Religion and Philosophy
Swami Nikhilananda 357
ginning of the National Movement in Pre-Congress Days
Nanimadhab Chaudhuri. 67
oodan and Economic Revolution
S. N. Agarwal 444
uffing, The Gentle Art of
C. L. R. Sastri 285
ok Reviews 69, 153, 237, 321, 404, 489
Calcutta Meseum Brings Orissa Closer (*illust.*)
Ajit Kumar Dutta 297
ntre and the States in the Indian Constitution, The Relation Between the
P. L. Sahgal 373
ildren of Hari, The (*illust.*)
T. B. Naik 45
ina in Retrospect
D. P. Shrivastava 451
istian Missionary Work in India
Abinash Chandra Bose 58
istian Missionary Work in India
C. S. Kirby 393
Children Learn the Joys of Gardening (*illust.*)
USIS 415
y of Calcutta and the New Alignment, The (*illust.*)
P. C. Chakravarty 141
ment and Criticism 44, 393, 488.
ribution of Industrial Control by Community
M. M. Mehta 294
nomics of the Hydrogen Bomb
S. N. Agarwal 380
nomics of National Defence
S. N. Agarwal 117
nomics of Students' Turmoil
S. N. Agarwal 23
cation and Life
Roma Chaudhuri 396
cational Dilemma, The
Sarla Devi 121
teenth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts (*illust.*)
aniklal Banerjee 216
Census of Free India, The
Ashish Bose 114
eign Periodicals 79, 164, 248, 332, 415, 500
ch Riviera, The (*illust.*)
A. N. Sen 386
ch Riviera and the Alps, The (*illust.*)
A. N. Sen 301

Page

General Budget, The
S. N. Agarwal 296
Harold Laski and the Ideal of Nationalism
Rani Mukhopadhyaya 311
House of the People—Its Personnel
G. D. Srivastava 21
100 Years of Cotton Textile Industry in India
Har Charan Lal Garg 461
Icons of Ohrid, The (*illust.*)
R. P. Singh 304
Impressions of Sevagram and Some Reflections
Chandos Reid Rice and Theodore D. Rice 485
Incidence of Taxation in India
A. C. Minocha 119
Indian Citizenship
C. J. S. Bindra 377
Indian Periodicals 73, 157, 243, 327, 409, 494
Indian Tax System
B. K. Goswami 203
India's Population Problem
Ashish Bose 365
India's Spiritual Heritage
T. S. R. Rao 52
India's Struggle for Existence
Kali Charan Ghosh 195
Industrial Relations in West Bengal (1948-52) (*illust.*)
Kanika Som 33
International Regional Arrangements
N. Subrahmanian 453
International Status of India
Anadi Bhusan Maity 288
Kibbuzim
Karl Loewy 36
K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur (*illust.*)
Chintamoni Bose 130
Leo Tolstoy—The Last Phase
J. Minattur 65
Life in Kulu Valley (*illust.*)
G. Srinivas Rao 473
Lion-Hearted Leader, The
St. Nihal Singh 61
Man Comes
Amiya Kumar Datta 126
(Dr) Mahendra Lal Sircar (*illust.*)
Narendra Nath Basu 308
(Mrs.) Margaret E. Cousins (*illust.*)
O. C. Gangoly 306
Mass Society and City Culture
Ram Swaroop Vyas 39
Mechanisation of Indian Agriculture
K. C. Peter 31
Mediaeval Monuments of Yugoslavia (*illus.*)
R. P. Singh 50
Menace of the "H"-Bomb, The
C. L. R. Sastri 441
"Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India"
Swami Sankarananda 398
Message of Kalyani, The
S. N. Agarwal 234

Page
Munich University Honors Dr. Taraknath Das (*illust.*) 481
New Impetus to Rural Housing (*illust.*)
PIB 55
Nilgiris, A Trip to the (*illust.*)
Maniklal Mukherji 469
Notes 1, 85, 169, 253, 337, 421
Onward March—India
Rathindra Ray 455
Our Holy Mother
Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri 148
Parliamentary Democracy in India
Saila Kumar Mukherjee 273
Place of Eastern Asia in Indian Foreign Policy
S. G. Kashikar 402
Political Novel in England, The
Darshan Singh Maini 143
Portuguese Possessions in India
H. L. Saxena 477
Preserving a Great Heritage (*illust.*)
PIB 393
Problem of Earning and Non-earning Dependents, The
Kali Charan Ghosh 111
Progress of Community Projects (*illust.*)
PIB 227
Punjab Villages, In the (*illust.*)
Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji 381
"Rajeswar Das Gupta"
Indubhusan Chatterjee 488
Salihundam—A Buddhist Stupa in the Andhra Country (*illust.*)
Sisir Kumar Mitra 465
Sanskrit in India, The Position of
Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya 361
Sharqi Architecture at Jaunpur (*illust.*)
M. Yasin Siddiqi 222
Shillong—The Beauty Spot of North-East India (*illust.*)
Joseph Minattur 389
Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir
Chintaharan Chakravarti 44
Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Policy
G. P. Srivastava 189
State Legislatures in India—Their Powers and Privileges
K. V. Rao 446
(A) Study of Surnames
Sudhir Brahma 149
Swami Vivekananda and His Impact on Western Savants
Ramani Kumar Datta Gupta 146
Syama Prasad Mookerjee
S. N. Dutt 315
Taxation for Endowments in Northern India
Puspa Niyogi 198
Theory of Emergence in the Philosophy of Alexander, The
Katyayanidas Bhattacharya 208
Towards Better International Understanding (*illust.*)
Krishna Bai Nimbkar 42
Tulasiduta Kavya of Trilochana, The
Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri 235
Unemployment in India
C. B. Mamoria 276
Vedantic Approach to Communism, The
Arun Kumar Ghosh 317
Visa System Between East and West Bengal, T
D. N. Banerjee
Warangal: The Home of Temples (*illust.*)
G. Srinivas Rao
What I Saw in Eastern Pakistan
Monoranjan Gupta
Where Stands Sarvodaya?
D. R. Pendse
'White-Collar' Unemployment in India
G. P. Gupta
Widespread Locust Breeding (*illust.*)
BIS
William Taylor—A Colourful Personality
P. C. Roy Choudhury

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Andhra, The Glory That was
Clash of Languages
Democracy in British Guiana
Europe's Responsibility to Africa
Gandhian Way to World Peace, The
India and the Commonwealth
India and Indonesia
Indian History, Correct Approach to
Is Reading Ability Essential?
Joad, Dr. C. E. M.
Journalism, Preparing for
Lin Yutung
Maeterlinck, Maurice
(Sri) Sarada Devi—The Holy Mother
Statistics and Public Health
Swami Vivekananda and Modern India
(The) United Nations and non-Governm
Organisations
What the West Expects from India

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Antioch College Welds Thought and Action
Course in French Civilisation for Foreign St
Education for Living
Emerson, Ralph Waldo
(Dr) Frederick Kettner's Open Letter to Pope P
XII
French Trade Balance in 1953
(A) Great Scholar
India's Raw Materials Aid Science and Industry
Iqbal (1873-1938)
Israel
Is the U.S. Alienating India?
Kashmir, On Holiday in
Machine Tool Output Expands 13 Times
(A) New Academician in France
(A) New Work by Cezanne at The Na
Gallery, London
Nobel Prize-Winners on Weizmann Institute B
Pakistan Celebrates 77th Birthday of Its Fo
Population of France in 1953
Racial Strife in Central Africa
Shanghai Launches First Chaina-made 1,500-to
Soviet Union Seeks ILO Membership
Unesco's Activities in 1953, Highlights of
U.S. Medical Achievements of 1953
Village School Teacher, The
Weizmann Exhibition
Which America?

	Page
WHO Experts on Health Education of the Public Meet in Paris	81
World Health Day'	502
(The) Zagreb Fair's Contribution to Yugoslavia's International Trade	504

NOTES

	Page
Abolition of Upper Houses	15
Administrative Changes in NEFA.	102
All-India Primary Teachers' Conference	103
All-India Radio	356
American Lobby in Parliament, The	352
American Policy in India	4
Anti-Ahmadiya Riots, The	346
Anti-Ahmadiya Riots in Pakistan	433
Anti-Rajaji Moves in Madras	272
Asian Premiers' Conference	353
Begging as a Profession	188
Bengal Budget	183
Bengali as State Language	434
Bermuda Talks	9
Bombay Government Order on Schools	186
British Atrocities in Kenya	18
Brutality in Kenya	180
Burma Returns to Normalcy	178
(Mr.) Butler on the U.S.-Pak Pact	88
Chinese Influential in Indonesia	90
Communication Difficulties of Cachar	101
Condition of Indigeous Populations	103
Congress Session at Kalyani, The	85
Communist Party of India's Policy	94
Contributory Negligence	263
Control over Public Expenditure	424
Cottage Match Industry	14
Criminal Law Reform in India	188
Crisis in East Pakistan	421, 427
Dacca Taken by Surprise	428
'Dawn' on Pak-U.S. Military Alliance	4
Decontrol of Food Grains	339
Deportation of the Uganda Leader	438
Deterioration in Refugee Rehabilitation	17
"(The) Die is Cast"	433
Discrmination Against the Bengali	17
Djilas Controversy in Yugoslavia, The	178
Durgapur as Site for Proposed Steel Plant	101
East German State, The	264
Enhancement of Japan's War Potential	7
Ethiopia Marches Ahead	178
Extension of Press Act Ordinance	187
Fall in Indian Banks' Business Abroad	101
Finances of the Railways	343
Five Nations Want Bilingualism	186
Foreign Missionaries in India	352
French Methods in Pondicherry	268
French Pockets in India	268
French Settlements in India	347
Geneva Conference, The	
"(The) Goose That Laid Golden Eggs"	421
Handloom Weaving	261
Hindi and the Regional Languages	267
Hydrogen Bomb Tests	354
India and Japanese Prisoners	437
India Cross over Cross-Word Puzzles	181
Indian Custodian Force, The	178
Indian Custodian Forces	5
India's Adverse Trade Balance	342

	Page
India's Defence	256
India's Reply to Salazar	353
Indo-Burmese Rice Deal	270
Indo-Ceylon Pact	97
Indo-China Agreement on Tibet	436
Indonesia's Future	348
Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement	19
Industrialisation of Pakistan, The	170
International Monetary Fund Report	184
Japan and Mutual Defence Pact	431
Jute Enquiry Commission's Report	422
Karachi Canard, The	4
Karachi on Kashmir	346
Kashmir and the Plebiscite	347
Kashmir in the Colombo Conference	347
Korea	89
Labour Riot in Chittagong	254
Lesson of East Pakistan, The	253
Massage Clinics	263
Loss in Central Tractor Organisation	427
(The) Mau Maus and the Kikiyu	90
Mental Cases in Bombay Colleges	272
Missionaries Seek Firm Basis in India	89
M. N. Roy	104
(Sri) M. N. Roy. A Correction	263
(Mr) Mohammed Ali's Broadcast	428
Moral Climate of New Delhi	355
Narayanganj Mill Riots	435
National Plan Loan	340
(The) Near East and the U.S.A.	173
Neguib Displaced—and Replaced	174
Nehru on Indo-China	350
Nehru Wants A "Peace Area"	430
New Companies Bill	340
New Sheriff of Calcutta	20
New Year's Portents	1
N.N.R.C. Commission Report	8
No Taxation Increase	259
"N.Y. Times" on Travancore-Cochin	171
Ordnance Factories	257
(The) Pact and the "New York Times"	4
Pak-Turkish Pact and U.S. Aid	171
Persian Daily on Kashmir's Accession	170
Palm Gur Industry	15
Pandit Nehru on the Pact	87
Parliamentary Report on Kenya	266
Peace in Our Time O Lord!	337
Pencil-making as a Cottage Industry	188
"People's Daily" on Pak-U.S. Base Talks	7
Petrov Case, The	430
Police Highhandedness in Silchar	17
Politics of Wealth and Poverty	438
Portuguese India	348
Portuguese in Goa, The	178
Portuguese Terror in Goa	18
Problems of Private Enterprise	11
Prohibition in Bombay	16
Pure Drugs	440
Racial Discrimination in S. Africa	265
Racialism in Western Films	187
Rajaji's Education Scheme Dropped	440
Recommendations of the CABE	180
Recession in the U.S.A.	182
Re-organisation of States	89
Reserves of Iron Ore in India	344
Sales Tax in India	270
(A) Second Four-Year Plan for France	181

Page
Seminar on Arts and Crafts 89
Shipping Target 13
Situation in British Honduras 265
Situation in Pepsu 102
Slavery in Modern World 438
Slump in Free Gold, The 99
South-East Asia Treaty Organisation 351
Soviet Pakistan Relations 255
Spain in Western Defence 95
Spanish Claim on Gibraltar, The 264
Sterling Becoming Indivisible? 344
Strength of Russia and Satellites 429
Strength for Soviet Succession, The 10
Sydney Conference, The 95
Tax Evasion 356
Teachers and Politics 180
This is America! 91
3000 Apply for Jobs in Burma 16
Traffic in Women
Travancore-Cochin Ministry
Turkey after the U.S. Pact
U.-N. Faces Two-sided Problem in Korea
Union Budget, The
Unrest in Nepal
USA and Colonialism
U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan
U.S. Arms Deal with Pakistan
U.S. Brand of Militarism, The
U.S. Intrigues in Nepal
U.S. Plans for Russia
Visva-Bharati at Cross-roads
West Bengal Budget
Workers Buried Alive near Oil Refinery
World Languages
World Rice Position

——:O:——

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Page
Agarwal, S. N.
  Bhodan and Economic Revolution 444
  Economics of the Hydrogen Bomb 380
  Economics of National Defence 117
  Economics of Students' Turmoil 23
  The General Budget 296
  The Message of Kalyani 234
Banerjee D. N.
  The Visa System between East and West Bengal 376
Banerjee, Maniklal
  Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts (*illust.*) 216
Basu, Narendra Nath
  Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar (*illust.*) 308
Bhattacharya, Katyayanidas
  The Theory of Emergence in the Philosophy of Alexander 208
Bindra, C. J. S.
  Indian Citizenship 377
BIS
  Widespread Locust Breeding (*illust.*) 136
Bose, Abinash Chandra
  Christian Missionary Work in India 58
Bose, Ashish
  The First Census of Free India 114
Bose, Chintamoni
  K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur (*illust.*) 130
Brahma, Sudhir
  A Study of Surnames 149
Chakravarti, Chintaharan
  "Shiva-Shakti Workship in Kashmir" 44
Chakravarty, P. C.
  The City of Calcutta and the New Alignment (*illust.*) 141
Chatterjee, Indubhusan
  "Rajeswar Das Gupta" 488
Chaudhuri, Jatindra Bimal
  Our Holy Mother 148
  The Tulasiduta Kavya of Trilochana 235
Chaudhuri, Nanimadhab
  Beginning of the National Movement in Pre-Congress Days
Chaudhuri, Roma
  Education and Life
Das Gupta, Paresh Chandra
  Ancient Pottery from Tamluk (*illust.*)
Datta, Amiya Kumar
  Man Comes
Datta Gupta, Ramani Kumar
  Swami Vivekananda and His Impact on Western Savants
Devi, Sarla
  The Educational Dilemma
Dutt, S. N.
  Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Dutta, Ajit Kumar
  A Calcutta Museum Brings Orissa Closer (*illust.*)
Gangoly, O. C.
  Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins (*illust.*)
Garg, Har Charan Lal
  100 Years of Cotton Textile Industry in India
Ghosh, Arun Coomar
  The Vedantic Approach to Communism
Ghosh, Kali Charan
  India's Struggle for Existence
  The Problem of Earning and Non-Earning Dependents
Goswami, B. K.
  Indian Tax System
Gupta, G. P.
  'White-Collar' Unemployment in India
Gupta, Monoranjan
  What I Saw in Eastern Pakistan
Kashikar, S. G.
  Place of Eastern Asia in Indian Foreign Policy
Kirby, C. S.
  Christian Missionary Work in India
Loewy, Karl
  Kibbuzim

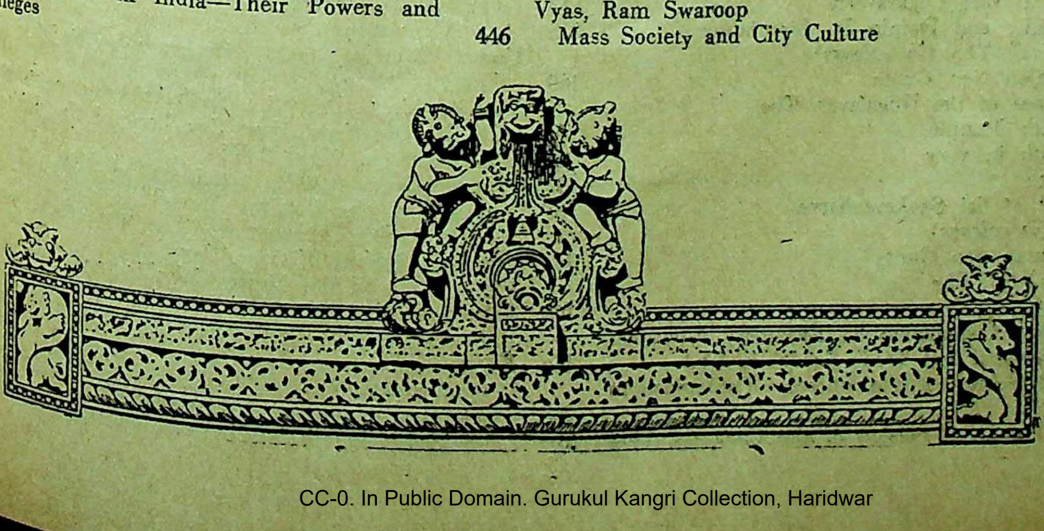
CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Page

Maini, Darshan Singh
The Political Novel in England 143
Maity, Anadi Bhusan
International Status of India 288
Mamoria, C. B.
Air Transport in India 25
Unemployment in India 276
Mehta, M. M.
Distribution of Industrial Control by Community 294
Minattur, J
Leo Tolstoy—The Last Phase 65
Minattur, Joseph
Shillong—The Beauty Spot of North-East India (*illust.*) 389
Minocha, A. C.
Incidence of Taxation in India 119
Mitra, Sisir Kumar
Salihundam—A Buddhist Stupa in the Andhra Country (*illust.*) 465
Mookherji, Sudhansu Bimal
In the Punjab Villages (*illust.*) 381
Mukherjee, Saila Kumar
Parliamentary Democracy in India 273
Mukherji, Maniklal
A Trip to the Nilgiris (*illust.*) 469
Mukhopadhyaya, Rani
Harold Laski and the Ideal of Nationalism 311
Naik, T. B.
The Children of Hari (*illust.*) 45
Nair, R. P.
Ashtadikpalakas from the Katinamkulam Temple (*illust.*) 220
Nimbkar, Krishna Bai
Towards Better International Understanding (*illust.*) 42
Niyogi, Puspa
Taxation for Endowments in Northern India 198
Pendse, D. R.
Where Stands Sarvodaya? 369
Peter, K. C.
Mechanisation of India Agriculture 31
PIB
New Impetus to Rural Housing (*illust.*) 55
Preserving a Great Heritage (*illust.*) 391
Progress of Community Projects (*illust.*) 227
Rao, G. Srinivas
Life in Kulu Valley (*illust.*) 473
Warangal: The Home of Temples (*illust.*) 53
Rao, K. V.
State Legislatures in India—Their Powers and Privileges 446

Page

Rao, P. Rajeswara
The Late Dr. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer 319
Rao, T. S. R.
India's Spiritual Heritage 52
Ray, Rathindra
Onward March—India 455
Ray Chowdhury, Deviprosad
Art As a Means of Livelihood (*illust.*) 138
Rice, Chandos Reid and Rice, Theodore D.
Impressions of Sevagram and Some Reflections 485
Roy Choudhury, P. C.
William Taylor—A Colourful Personality 151
Sahgal, P. L.
The Relation between the Centre and the States in the Indian Constitution 373
Sankarananda, Swami
"Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India" 398
Sastri, C. L. R
The Gentle Art of Bluffing 285
The Menace of the "H" Bomb 441
Saxena, H. L.
Portuguese Possessions in India (*illust.*) 477
Sen, A. N.
The French Riviera and the Alps (*illust.*) 301
The French Riviera (*illust.*) 386
Shrivastava, D. P.
China in Retrospect 450
Siddiqi M. Yasin
Sharqi Architecture at Jaunpur (*illust.*) 222
Singh, R. P.
The Icons of Ohrid (*illust*) 304
Mediaeval Monuments of Yugoslavia (*illust*) 50
Singh, St. Nihal
Abdullah Asked for It (*illust*) 105
The Lion-Hearted Leader 61
Som, Kanika
Industrial Relations in West Bengal (*illust*) 33
Srivastava, G. D.
House of the People—Its Personnel 21
Srivastava, G. P.
Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Policy 189
Subrahmanian, N.
International Regional Arrangements 453
USIS
City Children Enjoy the Joys of Gardening (*illust.*) 475
Vyas, Ram Swaroop
Mass Society and City Culture 39



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page
Abdullah Asked for It 107
Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammed 109
A Beauty Spot of Kashmir 108
A Co-workers of Abdulah's 110
A Hindu Priest 109
A Shrine of Kashmir 106
Sankara's Shrine overlooks Srinager
A Stronghold reminiscent of Mughal might in Kashmir 104
Air-Marshal Subrata Mukherjee and Srimati Mukherjee 337
Tribeni-Sangam, Allahabad 204
The Fort, Allahabad 204
Astadikpalakas from the Katinamkulam Temple
(3 illustrations) 221-22
Josi Math, Badrinath 85
Mt. Nilkantha, Badrinath 85
Bronze bust of G. Venkatachalam
Bronze bust of Khasa Subba Rao 421
D. P. Roy Chowdhury
(A) Calcutta Museum Brings Orissa Closer
(7 illustrations) 297-300
Ceylon Parliamentary Delegation at a Community Centre Near Delhi 372
(Sri) Chaitanya and Basudeb Sarbabhauma
(in colours) 421
Bires Chandra Ganguly
Children of Hari, The (8 illustrations) 45-49
City Children Learn the Joys of Gardening
(2 half-plates) 457
(4 illustrations) 475-76
The City of Calcutta and the New Alignment
A Map of Calcutta showing commercial areas and canal zones 142
Dance *(in colours)*
Manicklal Banerji 85
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury 139
Egyptian Aircraft at Palam in Delhi 372
Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts
(7 illustrations) 216-21
(2 half-plates) 289
Electric Power from Atomic Energy 456
(The) French Riviera and the Alps (10 *illustrations*)
301-304
French Riviera, The
(9 illustrations) 386-89
Happy Home *(in colours)*
Ramendra Nath Chakravorty 13
Hellen Keller and Dwight D. Eisenhower 373
Holi Festival, The *(in colours)*
Niharranjan Sen Gupta 169
Holy Shrines of the Himalayas, The
Kedarnath Temple 36
Kedarnath in view 36
Okhimath 37
Samadhi of Sri Sankaracharya 37
Hunting *(in colours)*
Niharranjan Sen Gupta 337
Icons of Ohrid, The
Christ the Psychosoter 305
(An) Indian Commission on Secondary Education at a Technical and Trade School in USA 456
Jawaharlal Nehru at the Unesco Conference in New Delhi 253
Kalyani, The Open Session of the Congress, 1954 169

Kashmir
Aggressors turned this exquisite rive-scape into a base of operations for their "push" to Srinagar
A Maharaja had built this structure of pure white to serve as a palace
K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur
(12 illustrations)
Kumbha Mela at Allahabad
A Mohunt in procession
A procession of Sadhus
Life in Kulu Valley
(5 illustrations)
Mahatma Gandhi
Sudhir Khastgir
(Dr) *Mahendra Lal Sircar*
(Mrs) *Margaret E. Cousins*
(Dr) Nimbkar, Krishna Bai
Pandit Nehru Addressing the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Kalyani
Portuguese Possessions in India
1 Map
Preserving a Great Heritage
Renovating the Frescoes at Ajanta
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Ustad Alauddin Khan
Progress of Community Projects
A Training Centre in one of the Community Project areas
Progress of Community Projects in Hyderabad
(2 illustrations)
Punjab Villages, In the
(8 illustrations)
Sakuntala *(in colours)*
Kalyani Chakravarty
Salihundam—A Buddhist Stupa in the Andhra Country
(5 illustrations)
Sharqi Architecture at Jaunpur
(6 illustrations)
Shillong—The Beauty Spot of North-East Indi
(5 illustrations)
Sweet Thought (*Stone bas-relief*)
D. P. Roy Chowdhury
Tamluk, Ancient Pottery from
(8 illustrations)
Toilette
Makhan Datta Gupta
(A) Trip to the Nilgiris
(9 illustrations)
Unesco Director and Chairman at Rajghat i Delhi
Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan with S R. R. Mcgrigor, First Sea Lord of the Unite Kingdom in New Delhi
Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the curre session of the General Assembly and Secretar General, Dag Hammarskjold at the celebratio of the United Nations Day
Visit to the White House, Washington
Warangal : The Home of Temples
(8 illustrations)
Widespread Locust Breeding
(5 illustrations)
Yugoslavia, Mediaeval Monuments of
(5 illustrations)

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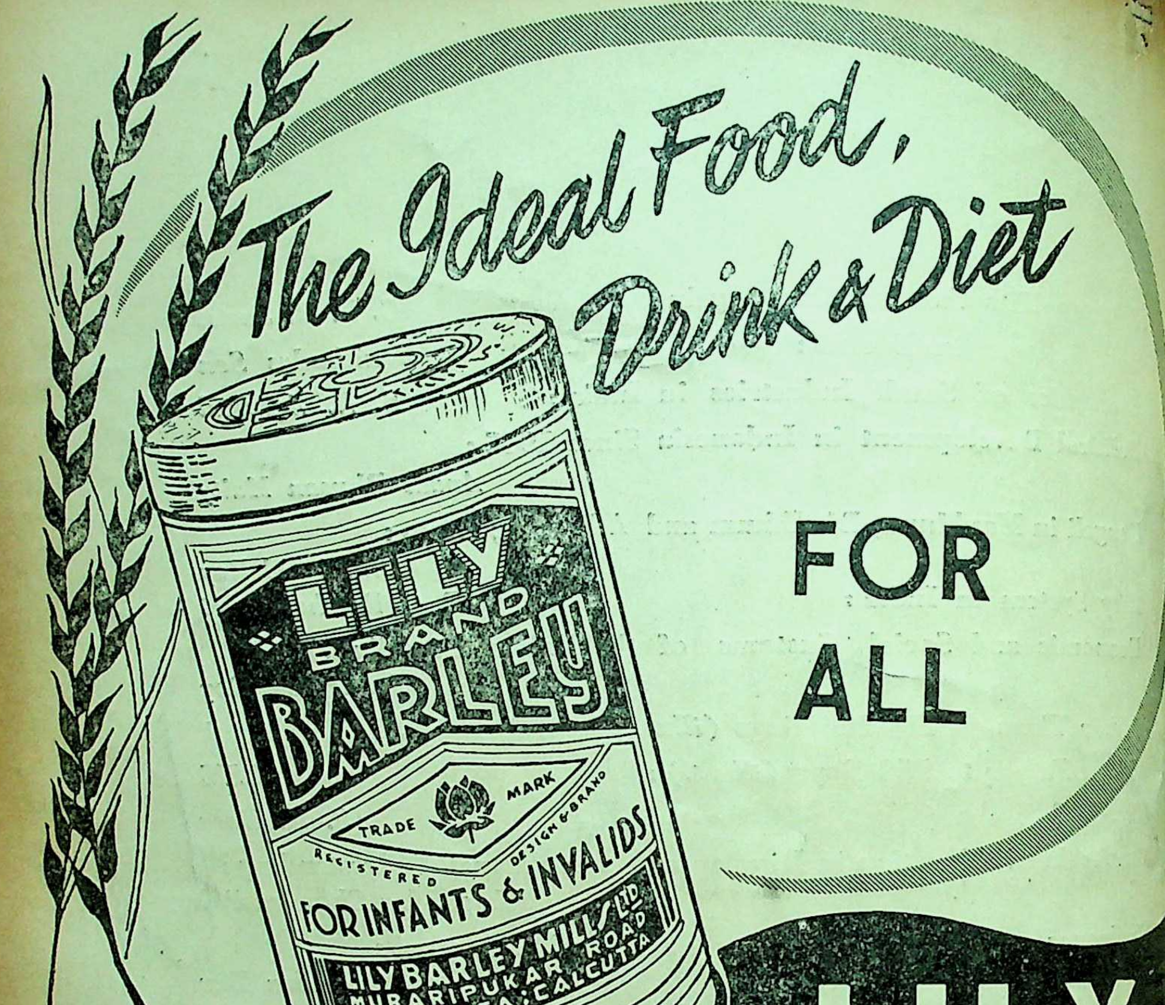
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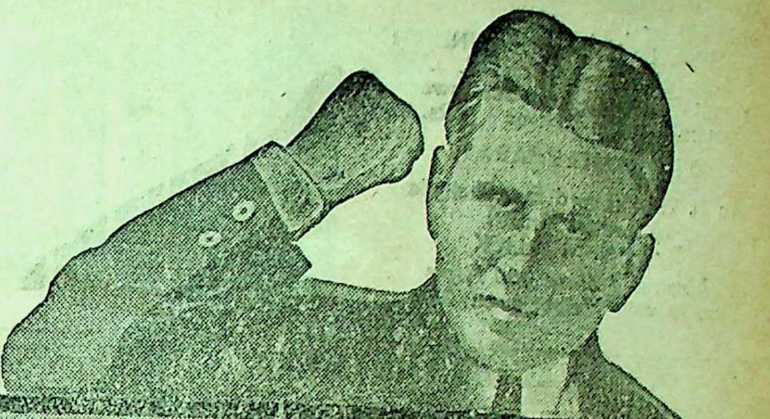

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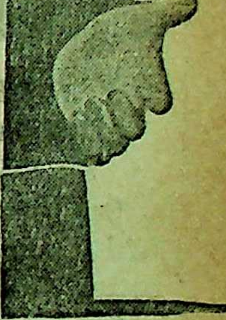

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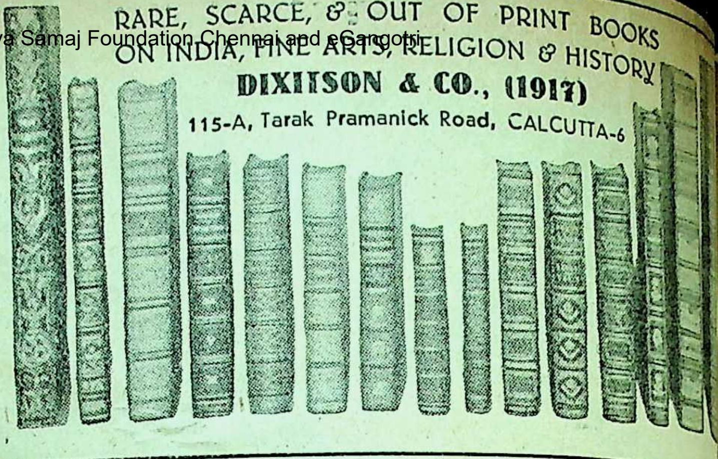

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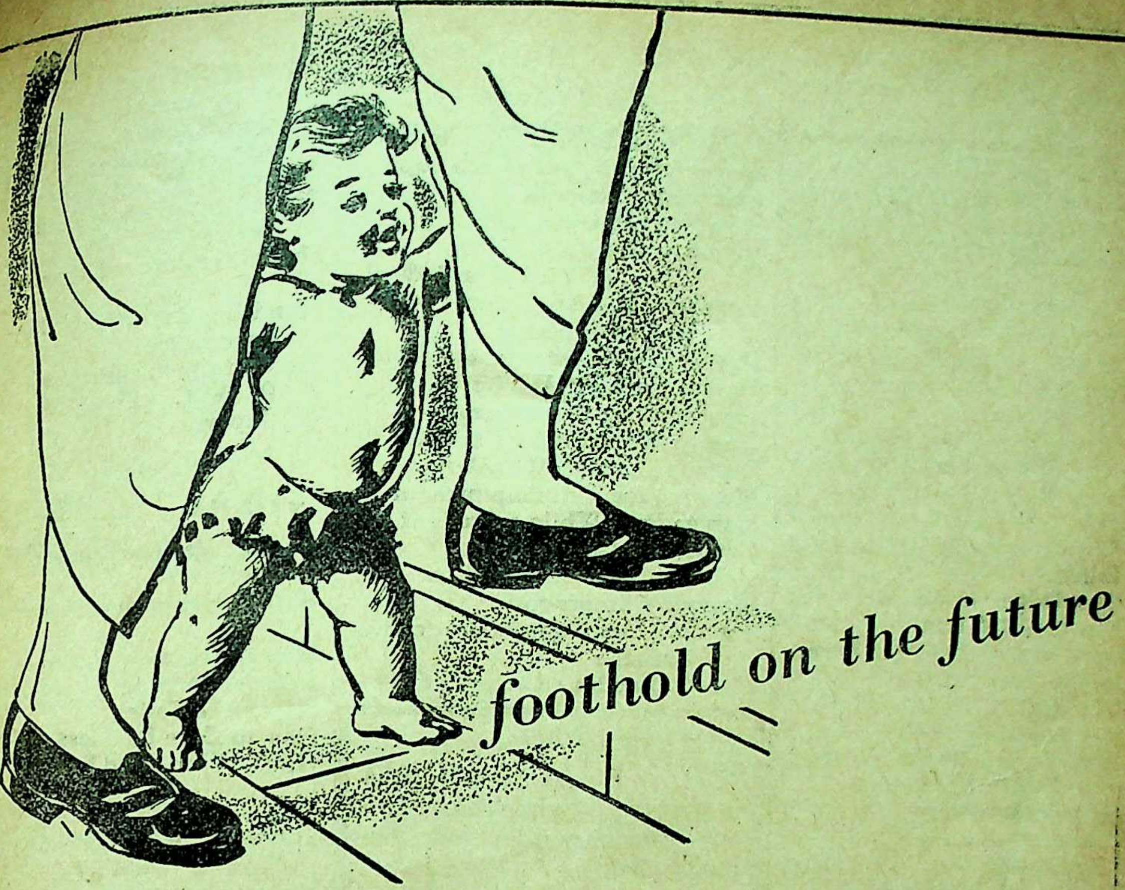

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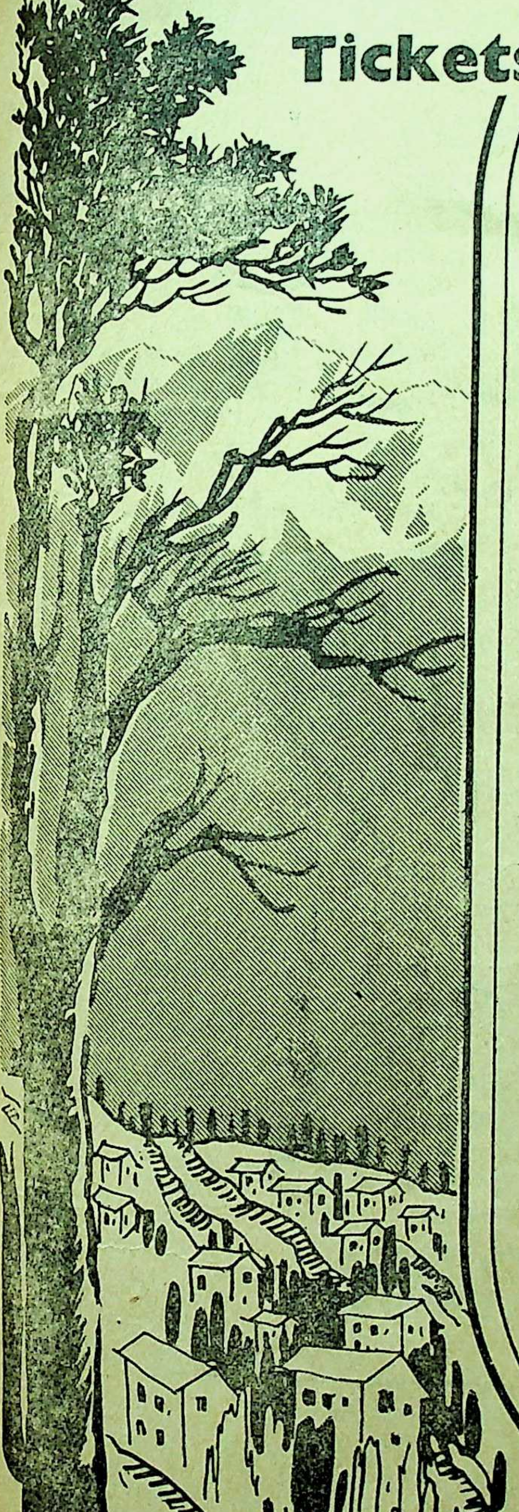

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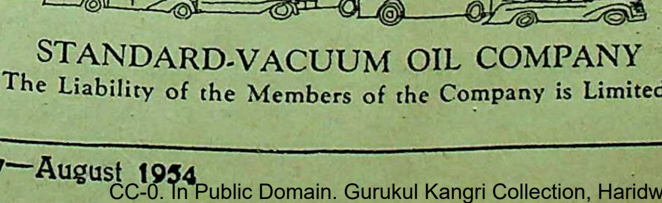

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

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FOSTER FATHER TO 150 BOYS (*illust.*)—USIS

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INFLUENCE OF THE RAMAYANA ON BENGALI LITERATURE—Narendra Dev

DR. J. C. SINHA (*illust.*)—S. K. Bose

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA--Prof. V. K. Shrivastava

BOOK REVIEWS : 155–

INDIAN PERIODICALS : 159–

FOREIGN PERIODICALS : 164-

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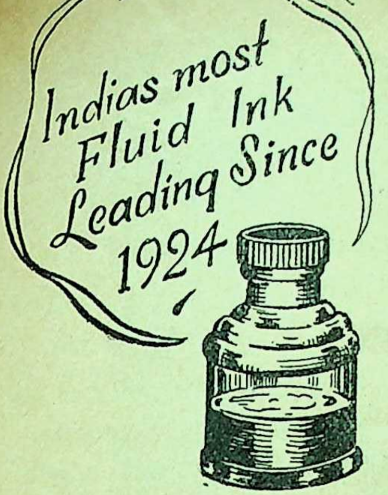

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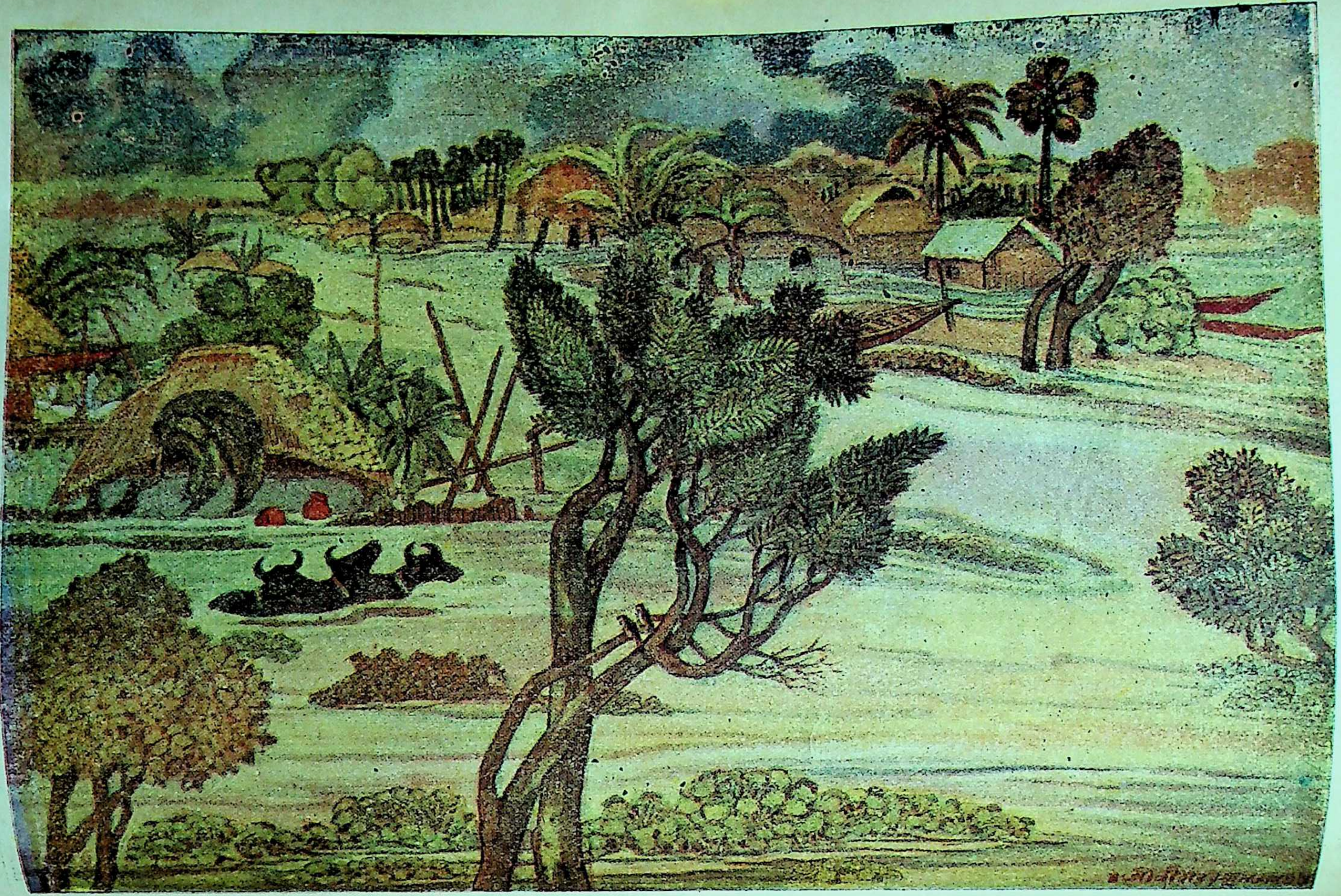

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AUGUST 1954

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NOTES

Education and Progress

Speaking at Nangal on the 8th of July last, Pandit Nehru declared at a public meeting that "We have won a decisive victory against food scarcity," and further expressed great satisfaction at the progress of the Government's campaign for greater food production. He said that the results were far beyond expectations.

We are in agreement with all that he said on the point of food production and we are glad that he warned the country against the adoption of a complacent attitude. We have no doubt that with the completion of the great multi-purpose projects, like the Bhakra-Nangal, our food position will be reasonably safe. Pandit Nehru's pride in the achievement is more than justified on this score.

But Pandit Nehru was treading on far less firm ground when he referred to our progress in other spheres, from "the uplift of Harijans to scientific research." Here we have little to show in comparison with more progressive nations of the world. Industrial progress and scientific research has gone hand in hand in all lands where there has been a real harnessing of science to industry.

Here, in our country, no such link exists as yet. A chain of National Research Laboratories have been established all over the country, twelve in number. But as yet no substantial progress in any line has been the outcome. Indeed, we may be permitted to say that their usefulness and efficiency has yet to be proved. We do not say this in a scoffing spirit, but we must not take scientific research for granted. Fine buildings and costly equipment have been provided, but only substantial results can justify their existence.

We do not know if Pandit Nehru has ever considered the curious fact that scientific progress—indeed Cultural Progress—is highest in countries that have a high standard of general education, and also have the literacy index up to the saturation mark. We would say that it would be a veritable miracle of the first degree if a nation with an extremely inefficient and poor standard of general education and a literacy index of about 15 per cent, could achieve anything in the way of scientific progress that would justify a song and a dance.

Our literacy index was about 40 per cent when the British started building their Empire. Ruthless exploitation and a total disregard for the welfare of the subject peoples, brought that down to below 10 per cent in a century and half of British rule.

In the same speech Pandit Nehru expressed grief at some promising Indian scientists going abroad in order to earn more money than they could get here. But so long as nepotism and parochialism is as rampant in Indian administrational circles as it is today, is that anything to be surprised at? Given a fair chance to get an adequate return for his labours, and ample facilities and scope for research, no scientist worthy of his name would ever stir out of his homeland. Pandit Nehru should give deep consideration to this established fact.

India has many hurdles to cross before she can attain the position, in the comity of Nations of the world, to which she lays claim. After food, the next major hurdle is education, without which no nation can make any progress in the modern world, however great its potentials. Pandit Nehru should realise this axiomatic truth and set about the repair and reconditioning of the completely neglected educational structure of our country, which is in a miserable state everywhere.

Student riots and disturbances have become a perennial source of trouble in West Bengal and the Uttar Pradesh. Recently Indore witnessed a particularly lamentable outburst of disruptive activity and the total failure of the forces of law and order.

This epidemic is highly contagious and the conditions in most major educational institutions are favourable to such outbreaks. Pandit Nehru and his advisors should give earnest consideration to that.

Discipline, in the fullest sense of the term, which is akin to the Sanskrit word *vinaya,* is totally absent in our educational practice. Some few schools and a very small number of colleges have tried to keep up the traditional modes of training its students into a cultured way of life and thought. Even they are finding it difficult to maintain their standards, however much though they screen their student applicants. For not only is the raw material tainted, but the skilled staff that process it is also in a state of decay. Two famous colleges in Calcutta and two famous residential Universities of India, one of which was built and sustained by the very life-blood of a great son of India, are the outstanding miserable examples.

Press Commission's Work

The Government of India have come out with a summary of the recommendations of the Press Commission "for public information" and "not to be used for forming judgments upon the recommendations" until the full text of the report became available.

The Government of India announced the constitution of a Press Commission of eleven members under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha on September 23, 1952.

The report of the Commission, reports the *Bombay Chronicle,* was divided in three volumes. The first volume contained the recommendations; the second was packed with statistics and a history of Indian journalism; the third volume contained the appendices.

The Commission had held fourteen sessions of about a fortnight each at New Delhi, Ootacamund, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Simla and had examined 414 witnesses.

The transcript of the oral evidence taken by the Commission and the written memoranda submitted to it ran to more than 10,000 pages.

The terms of reference of the Commission had been to enquire into the state of the Press in India, its present and future lines of development and to examine:

(1) The control, management and ownership and financial structure of newspapers, news agencies, etc.;

(2) The working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair views;

(3) Forms of external influence as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism;

(4) Conditions of employment of working journalists and settlement of disputes affecting them;

(5) Machinery for (*a*) ensuring high standards of journalism and (*b*) liasion between vernment and the Press;

(6) Freedom of the Press and re amendment of laws not in consonance and to make recommendations thereon.

The members of the Commission, besides already referred to were Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Dr. Zakir Hussain, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Patwardhan, Mr. A. R. Bhatt and Mr. T. N.

Press Commission's Recommendat

"The constitution of an All-India Press by statute which is to be charged with the safeguarding the freedom of the Press and the Press to maintain its independence, the of a code of ethics for journalists, the app of a Press Registrar and the establishment of trading corporation to deal with newsprint are some of the principal recommendations Press Commission," reports the *Statesman.*

The Press Council to be composed of 25 of whom 13 or more should be working journ ten years' standing in the profession, working editors was to have in addition a who should be either a sitting or a retired a High Court to be nominated by the Chief of India. The objects of the Press Counc include: 1. To safeguard the freedom of the and help the press to maintain its indep 2. by censuring objectionable types of jou conduct, and by all other possible means, up a code in accordance with the highest pro standards; 3. to keep under review any deve likely to restrict the supply and dissemin news of public interest and importance; encourage the growth of the sense of resp and public service among all those engaged profession of journalism; 5. to study deve in the Press which may tend towards conc or monopoly and, if necessary, to suggest therefor; 6. to publish reports, at least once recording its work and reviewing the perfor the Press, its development and the factors ing them; 7. to improve methods of re education and training for the profession creation of suitable agencies for the purpose a Press Institute.

The Press Registrar was to keep a clos on the circulation of newspapers and if he the conclusion that in a particular are language a monopoly had developed, he was it to the attention of the Press Council, wh conduct an investigation into the existence monopoly, whether that had acted again interest, whether undesirable practices had resorted to for eliminating competition, measures, if any, were necessary to deal situation.

The State trading corporation for news

to be entrusted with a monopoly of imports and take over the entire output of Indian mills on a fair basis and sell it along with imported newsprint, at equated prices.

The Commission recommended that the publication of newspapers and periodicals should be made a Central responsibility, and suggested the banning of crossword puzzle competition forms. It also recommended the introduction of price-page schedule for newspapers and suggested that advertisements should not cover more than 40 per cent of the total space.

It favoured single unit papers wherever possible and said that in the case of multiple editions each unit should be separated from the others in the matter of accounts. Where a chain consisted of a number of groups, each group was to be separated from the other. The adoption of a strict code of advertising by an association of publishers was recommended. It suggested the enactment of a legislation to regulate the newspaper industry which should make it punishable with fine or imprisonment to give fraudulent advertisement.

The Commission found a considerable degree of concentration in the ownership of Indian newspapers and felt that there was danger that that tendency might develop in the future. The Commission could not favourably view the accentuation of such a tendency. The proposed Press Council was to review, at the end of five yaers, all the consequences of newspaper ownership in the light of circumstances then existing and to make appropriate recommendations, including the setting up of a fact-finding enquiry, if it considered that necessary.

Referring to the news agencies the Commission said that they should not be State-owned or State-controlled and any assistance from the State to the news agencies should be without any strings attached. The State should have no voice in the control of the agency either editorially or administratively. The Commission laid down for adoption new schedules of charges for news agency services which they expected would result in a more equitable division of operating costs over large and small newspapers. A revision of the basis for calculation of the charges payable by the All-India Radio for the use of news agency services was also recommended.

The Commission suggested that a public corporation based on the existing organisation but controlled by a board of trustees under a chairman to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India should take up the management of the *Press Trust of India.* No organizational changes were prescribed for the *United Press of India* except that the management was to be controlled by a board of trustees. In both the cases, one of the Trustees should represent the employees.

The Government should, the Commission said, base their advertisement policy on considerations of the circulation of the paper, the readers designed to be reached and the purpose of advertising.

The Commission noted a general decline in the status and independence of the editor and suggested "that with a view to stabilizing and defining the editor's ultimate responsibility in the conduct of a newspaper, the appointment of an editor should be attended with the execution of a contract of employment laying down the genenral policy of the paper in as precise terms as possible. The editor in discharging his responsibility should be bound by the generally accepted code of journalistic ethics and practice.

"As regards presentation of news, there should be no question of favouring a particular policy or trimming the news to suit that policy. The editor should decide finally what items of news should go in a paper and the owner should not be in a position to order a blacking out of any items of news."

The Commission found nothing wrong with the organization of journalists along trade union lines. It recommended a minimum basic wage of Rs. 125 per month with varying amounts of dearness allowance at different categories of places. The Commission said that an employees' providend fund should be created to which employees and employers were to contribute each one month's emoluments of the employee concerned and gratuity on the basis of 15 days' pay for every year of service. It also prescribed periods of different kinds of leave a working journalist should be entitled to.

Surveying the condition of the Press in India, the Commission said that the well-established papers had, on the whole, maintained a high standard of journalism. Such papers represented a decisive majority of the total circulation. "In the Commission's opinion India possesses many papers of which any country may be proud."

The daily press in India comprised more than 330 newspapers with a total circulation of nearly 2,600,000 engaging a capital of about twelve crores of rupees including loan capital amounting to Rs. 5 crores. The annual revenue of the daily press was about Rs. 11 crores, of which Rs. 5 crores come from advertisements. Salaries and wages paid in the industry amounted to over Rs. 4 crores of which about Rs. 85 lakhs went to journalists.

The daily newspapers were largely concentrated in big cities and capitals of States and the penetration into rural areas was very small. The Commission felt that the number of newspapers in the country should be greatly increased and that more newspapers should come up in the district towns. The readers in large cities had freedom of choice of the newspaper he wanted to read and every metropolis was adequately served. The competition of the metropolitan papers throughout the area they served provided a choice even to the readers in small towns where no papers were published.

The Commission unanimously approved of legislative restrictions of a reasonable character on incitement to offence permitted under the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. Four members would prefer that the restrictions imposed in the interest of the State should be replaced by a reference to "prevention of public disorder," while others felt that such substitution of words was unsatisfactory. The majojrity favoured the retention of restrictions "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" but suggested that any legislation imposing restrictions should be confined to cases of systematic diffusion of deliberately false or distorted reports which undermined friendly relations with foreign States and should not punish any dissemination of true facts although they might tend to endanger the friendly relations with foreign States.

The Commission expressed the opinion that in so far as a particular section of the Indian Penal Code penalised mere exciting or attempting to excite feelings of hatred, contempt or disaffection towards Government without exciting or attempting to excite disturbance of public order, that section was *ultra vires* of the Constitution even under the amended Article 19(2) and opposed to the freedom of the Press. The repeal of the section was recommended. But the Commission thought that expressions inciting persons to alter by violence the system of Government with or without foreign aid should be punishable by insertion of a new Section 121B. An amendment to Section 153A was also suggested including an explanation that advocacy of change in the social or economic order not intended or likely to lead to disorder or to commission of offences would not be an offence.

The Commission supported the view of the Press Law Inquiry Committee that it had not been the intention of the framers of the Code that Section 144 Cr.P.C. should be applied to the Press. The Commission recommended that when an order was issued prohibiting the assembly of more than a certain number of persons, the authorities concerned might grant, in the order itself, special exemption to bonafide reporters who should be asked to wear distinctive badges in token of exemption and carry the permit on their person.

The Commission considered it desirable that both Parliament and State legislatures should define by legislation, as contemplated in Articles 105 and 194 of the Constitution, the precise powers, privileges and immunities they possess in regard to contempt and the procedure for enforcing them.

It recommended that Exception 4 to Section 499 I.P.C. be amended by inserting the words 'or of Parliament or State Legislature' to give effect principle that publicaion of a substantially report of the proceedings in a legislature was vileged on the same principle as an accurate of justice was privileged, and that the advantage publicity to the community at large outweighed private injury resulting from the publication.

The Commission did not approve the sugge that defamation of a public servant should constituted as a cognizable offence. But it co that a third proviso might be added to Section Cr. P. C. to meet exceptional cases.

The Indore Tragedy

Indiscipline and disregard for law and seems to be a contagious disease amongst our hopefuls. With their immature brains and im minds, they become the tools of every rogue o look-out for fomenting trouble. And on each sion some knock-kneed official or minister is p into making confusion worse confounded.

The latest such disturbance has been at I in Madhya Bharat. We have received a full s from a reader, Shri N. C. Zamindar, which we below. We can only say that this lamentable on the part of the authorities is not without p elsewhere.

Students of colleges are regarded as the bearers of the future of a nation. On them lie hopes. And yet neither at the Centre nor i States can we see any realisation of that fact. about time capable persons were put in charge problem.

We give the letter below:

"Indore, the biggest and the most enlighte not only of Madhya Bharat but of the whole India and Rajasthan—witnessed a complete bre of the machinery of law and order from 20th 22nd July. The Government failed miserably tecting the High Court and its own Secretariat wonder, if people have lost confidence in the ca the Government to protect life and property an tain law and order, in short, to govern.'

"Starting from simple but childish de students the trouble developed into a menace. social forces mobilized, rather focussed, their on the machinery of law and order and have in delivering a cruel blow at the prestige of the rity. Let me recount facts which I saw perso the 19th a crowd of students approached the E Minister of Madhya Bharat with demands to r a retired Principal and transfer of some Pr The Education Minister, according to the version, behaved rudely. He was imputed violent words, *e.g.*, that he wanted to try the of students, etc. There was a mild clash in the noon between the police and the students. Fr night the trouble-brewers started planning. The cal leaders appeared on the scene. In the afternoon when I visited the Secretariat the situation had become explosive. Stones were being thrown breaking the window-panes. The students and others had completely occupied the Western area of the premises. The Chief Minister and the Development Minister came to pacify the mob but they were not listened to. It is a painful fact to record that the Ministers misjudged and miscalculated the whole demonstration. In the meantime, the Mill labourers, which are infested with Communists, took over the lead and a regular pictched battle started between the police and the mob. The authorities dumbly suffered the ridiculous stone-pelting. ,

"In the evening Lathi-charge was ordered. Tear Gas Bombs were thrown and water sprinkled. These measures proved futile. The same evening I witnessed wooden planks, logs and stones being thrown at the Fire Brigade and other cars from the Government Hospital which is in front of the High Court. The mob had attacked the Court and taking out some files burnt them. The cars of the Ministers and some officers were damaged before the very eyes of the special Armed Forces, still no action was taken. I toured the whole disturbed area and found that the situation has considerably deteriorated. People mocked and pelted stones at the Police. The situation descended even to the ridiculous level when in sheer exasperation the police also began to pelt stones. In the night, Sec. 144 and Curfew till dawn was imposed. Under the cover of night perhaps detailed plans were drawn. On the 21st at about 9 a.m. all round the Secretariat preparations on the anti-social side were going on. Municipal dustbins were filled with Gitti (small stones) and the police stood doing nothing. Let it be recorded that the police were disgusted at the indecisiveness of the powers that be. Inspite of Sec. 144 crowds swelled in the High Court premises and large scale unprecedented icnendiarism and destruction began. Files were taken out and burnt, witness-boxes and furniture, etc., were reduced to ashes. The whole sanctity and authority of the High Court disappeared for the time being. The police stood seeing all this receiving stone-hits without effective action. Perhaps when most of the destruction was over, firing took place with a vengeance. There was indiscriminate shooting and as a result ten persons were killed and about a hundred injured. Curfew was strictly imposed. At about 4 p.m. the police had to open fire again. From the 22nd the city is under the cover of curfew and Sec. 144 I.P.C.

"There is much truth in a local newspapers' remark that it was a regular guerilla fight between the anti-social elements and the authorities. The High Court building has become a most ghastly witness to the extremely weak, inefficient and indecisive policy of the Government. An influential citizen rightly summed up the situation, 'The city has experienced total anarchy for two days. There was no law and order under the very noses of the Ministers and Secretaries. The attack and Vandalism in the High Court premises proves amply that the Government is incapable and not worth its name.' It is a very strong verdict but the amount of destruction in the High Court fully justifies it. The C.I.D. department had collapsed and has proved not even worth the labels which it uses. It could get no important information otherwise things would not have reached this limit. The tragedy is over but the situation is all the more serious because the local press, which is completely owned by the party in power, is not only defending but praising the dilatory policy of the Government under the plea of non-violence and humanism of the Chief Minister. It is ridiculous but true. There is a complete blanketing of the true and serious aspects of the Indore Tragedy. For Indoreans it has been a warning written in fire and blood. But, perhaps, the lessons of it will be lost over the powers that be. The real causes and consequences can be known only after some lapse of time, till then one has only to gaze at the half burnt witness-boxes, chairs, tables and the ashes of most valuable and lost-for-ever records of the temple of Justice."

Undergraduate Students in Calcutta

Dr. J. C. Ghosh, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, is really to be congratulated in causing a survey to be held regarding the life and work of the undergraduate students in Calcutta. The foremost problem the Survey has emphasised is the poverty of the middle class students—the poverty is appalling and degrading too. The Surevey has made various suggestions, long-term and short-term, with a view to improving the conditions of students and the education in the State of West Bengal. Dr. Ghosh in his foreword to the Survey has given his most considered opinion on the unfortunate state of affairs in the undergraduate field of education.' The remedies suggested would involve large amounts and it is the primary duty of the State Government to take necessary steps. Education in this State receives somewhat a step-motherly treatment from the Government. The Government of West Bengal spends much less on education, *pro rata*, than what is spent by the Governments of Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Education in this State has been fostered and developed mainly through private initiative and munificence.

The attainment of independence has not apparently in any way changed the outlook of the Government of West Bengal towards improving the standard of education and the lot of the students. They can find enough money in sending members of the majority party in the State Legislature to foreign countries to learn the parliamentary practices in different countries of Europe, as if Indians know nothing about parliamentary practices and Government; they can find money for sending representatives after representatives to foreign countries to negotiate for the purchase of trawlers which, along with the scheme, runs out of order, but when comes the question of spending money on education—and the students and the teachers—the Government put forward the plea of the shortage of funds.

The Survey is very interesting and informative. In a short editorial comment it is not possible to discuss in detail all the topics dealt with in it. But we must say a few things about the University authorities themselves. It is too well known that there has been a shortage of educational institutions in the city and the guardians and the students scramble for seats in the colleges. But all the students seeking higher education in colleges cannot get seats and in consequence turn towards other avocations to which they are not at all suited. The Vice-Chancellor in his foreword has stressed the need for 8 more colleges for men students and two for women students for undergraduate studies in Arts and Science Faculties in Calcutta. But it is to be pointed out that a renowned educational institution in Calcutta, with a long philanthropic tradition in pioneering the cause of education in the State, has recently erected its own building in South Calcutta and made arrangements for women's section in the morning and boys' section in the day in both arts and sciences. But for reasons still unknown and unexplained, the University has refused permission to this college to open the women's section in the morning; and after much harassment and delay, has given permission to open the day section only. The people of South Calcutta eagerly awaited the opening of the branch of a renowned college in this part of the city, but they were disappointed. The permission to the day section has been given only for commerce studies and arts and science are not being allowed. This attitude of the University is strange and seems to be ironical, especially when the Survey pleads for smaller colleges with divided units or branches in order to improve the personal touch between the teachers and students. The more the number of colltges in this great city, the less will be the number of students in each unit and the better will be the standard of education. And the action of the University just cited runs counter to the so-called ideals of the University in spreading the education among the people.

Similarly the case of the oldest Women's College in West Bengal seems to be ignored, both by the University and by the Government of West Bengal. Far reasons best known to both, this college seems to be passed over in all matters regarding improvement and expansion.

Further, when in the immediate future technical education cannot be provided to all those who need it for lack of arrangements and provision, it is better that students should be enabled to get college education so that the general standard of education in the country becomes higher. A democratic government inevitably lives on a certain standard of intellectual development of its people and that is most needed in India today. Technical knowledge, of course, is also essential, but technical knowledge will be useless unless there is an improved standard of intellectual developmen technical knowledge without imaginative gr intellectual development will make the man a m not a creator.

On page 27 of the Survey, there is a serious in calculation. The floor space of a college is only once, while the college is stated to be double shifts. The floor space should b doubled in computation.

Nationalisation of Text Books

According to the *Hitavada* of July 8, the G ment of Madhya Pradesh had decided to the preparation, printing and publication and bution of language text-books for primary The Government reportedly had overru objections of publishers, who in a memoran drawn the attention of the Government adverse effects of the move on the general p business. The publishers said that, deprived chief avenue of earning profit, they would forward not be able to undertake publi books of a general nature which were relati remunerative.

The *Hitavada* supports the Governme and hopes that the Government would rem defects of bad printing, poor production an durability—so common to the books brough private publishing concerns and thereby ju entrance into a field held by private enterp

Strongly critical of the move of the Gov of Madhya Pradesh, Sri Maganbhai Desai w the *Harijan* on July 17 that it was "bad for e as well as the growth of healthy democratic ment." He fails to see why the Governme have decided "to take the unusual step of printing and even selling the books itself monopoly control in educational matters was desirable nor conducive to free and un education. Sri Desai approvingly quotes Sri C varty Rajagopalachari, who had condemned suggestion because in Rajaji's opinion "it w dangerous than appeared on the surface. In event text books would change whenever Go changed and political views would get books."

Sri Desai entertains serious doubts wh nantionalising text books the evils of the trade could be eradicated, and urges the Pradesh Government to reconsider its which, as things remained, was to be effe 1955-56.

We also support Sri Maganbhai's conte Governments, both at the Centre and in the ought to be more attentive to the develo the publishing businesses. The enlargement sphere of Government publications, beyond what is essential for the purposes of recording the activities of governmental departments and the deliberations of the legislatures, should only be undertaken after mature consideration of all aspects, by any government run on democratic lines.

Community Projects in West Bengal

Striking progress was made in the work in eight community development blocks in West Bengal, reports the weekly *West Bengal.*

Each of the eight Community Development blocks had 800 to 1,000 half plots for demonstration of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation, use of improved seeds (both *aus* and *aman*), green manures, chemical fertilizers and methods of kitchen gardening up to the end of April, 1954, 7,779 maunds of seeds, 69,857 maunds of fertilizers and 49.392 lbs. of chemical fertilizers had been distributed in those blocks and 15,772 tons of compost prepared. Short term loans had also been given to enable poor agriculturists to buy seeds, etc., and seed and seedlings for kitchen had been given free for kitchen gardening. Rs. 1,97,149 were distributed as such short term loans, and of that about Rs. 42,680 had already been recovered.

Four blocks had Demonstration Fish Farms. In alhati 11,000 fry had been transferred in April from nursery and rearing tanks to the stocking tanks, and in Guskara, Baruipur, Fulia, a total of 45,780 fry and six-and-half maunds of *chala* fish had been sold. Loans amounting to Rs. 69,250 had been given for the scheme of development of tank fishery in dry districts under which 404 acres had been brought so far. About 383 acres had been covered by the Union-ari Tank Fishery Scheme. Under the latter scheme Rs. 40,765 had been advanced as loans.

The area acquired for purposes of afforestation amounted to 768 acres. Notification for acquisition of another 607 acres had also been published.

So far 5,268 acres of cultivable waste land had been reclaimed. A sum of Rs. 183,940 had been advanced in different blocks for such land reclamation on the basis of Rs. 75 per acre.

About 4,896 acres of land had been brought under irrigation with the execution of 53 small irrigation schemes.

Almost all the eight blocks had gone ahead in the matter of site selection of two to three health sub-centres and had realised local contribution, in nd, cash or in bricks for that purpose.

A total of 101 primary schools had been taken up for conversion into Basic schools. Thirty-four secondary schools had been taken up for improvement and four Junior Basic schools had been established. As regards Social Education centres, the target of 80 per block would quite possibly be surpassed. A scheme of graded, circulating library had been devised to assist social education teachers giving something more than mere literacy to the villagers. Each block was now in possession of five such libraries, each having 150 books. All the blocks had been supplied with audio-visual equipments, *i.e.*, film and film-strip projectors.

The total amount of the contribution received from the people in the form of cash, labour and materials was Rs. 738,100. The largest contribution was in the form of labour (Rs. 333,100), the second in materials (Rs. 252,000) and the rest in cash (Rs. 153,000). The largest amount, whether in cash, labour or materials, had been donated for education followed by contribution for drinking water supply, health centres and other items.

Bhakra-Nangal

A new chapter was started in the history of India's struggle against scarcity and economic bondage with the opening of the Bhakra canal. Immense benefit will accrue to the whole of northern India when the entire scheme is in full operation. It is not an exaggeration to say that the opening of the Canal has meant the opening of the portals of prosperity to all East Punjab, the PEPSU and a large tract in Rajasthan. The people of Punjab have greeted the ceremony with joy and thanks-giving.

It is a pity that our neighbour cannot view anything that gives prosperity to hard-pressed India with anything but envy and hatred. In this instance also there has been chanting of the old and familiar hymns of hatred against India.

Pakistan's friends in the West have also joined in the chorus, but in somewhat lukewarm fashion, as for instance, Mr. Ian Stephens in the B.B.C.

Pandit Nehru has truth, justice and equity on his side. There is no cause for hesitation and uneasiness. We welcome his statement as made on the auspicious occasion:

Nangal, July 8.—I.A.F. planes dipped low in salute as Mr. Nehru today opened the Bhakra canal here, describing it "a gigantic achievement and a symbol of the nation's energy and enterprise."

Crackers were set off and thousands of gas-filled balloons were released as Mr. Nehru declared: "On your behalf and on my own behalf I dedicate the Bhakra-Nangal works to the good of the Indian people."

In his one-hour address, the Prime Minister advised Pakistan to develop its own canal system which may allow India gradually to reduce its supplies. This, he declared, was the only course open to Pakistan, and India was willing to help in the task.

India, Mr. Nehru said, had no intention of injuring the interests of Pakistani farmers, but "we cannot allow the present state of affairs to continue indefinitely." He asserted that none could challenge India's right to Sutlej waters.

In a detailed reference to the Indo-Pakistan dispute over canal waters, he made it clear that Bhakra's opening would not lead to any immediate reduction in supplies to Pakistan. "We intend giving them time to build their canals."

Speaking with deep emotion, Mr. Nehru said what they had completed in Bhakra-Nangal would inspire people in the country to greater action in fulfilling the great tasks they had placed before themselves. Bhakra, he said, would be a source of strength to the nation.

, Bhakra and Nangal and other places, where solid work was being done were the "modern places of worship." He considered them sacred because they symbolized "our endeavour to go forward."

Besides its evaluation of Bhakra's place in the national economy, Mr. Nehru's address was marked by an unambiguous statement of India's stand on the controversial canal water issue. He covered developments from the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 1948 to Pakistan's "virtual rejection" of the World Bank's award.

Legally, the Prime Minister said, India's stand on the subject was sound but "we have constantly been trying to keep it above legalistic squabbles and solve it on a humanitarian plane. As we see it, the question does not involve legal rights but the interests and welfare of millions of people on both sides-of the border.

Mr. Nehru was amazed at the "hue and cry" that had been raised in this connexion in Pakistan. From what one heard in Pakistan, it appeared as if India was going to starve Pakistan's irrigation net-work by opening the Bhakra canal. Nothing, he said, could be farther from the truth. India wished Pakistan and its people well. It was in India's own interests to have a prosperous neighbour. Division of the canal water was a matter which, he said, must be considered against this background.

While India would do nothing to injure Pakistani farmers' interests, it could not tolerate its own farmers continuing to live under a constant threat of famine. It must be realized that while Pakistan had enormous water resources, Punjab had only the Sutlej. Pakistan should develop its own canals speedily rather than stand in the way of India using the Sutlej waters.

The Prime Minister denied the Pakistani allegation that it was compelled to sign the canal water agreement of 1948 against her wishes. He said he himself had taken part in the conference and could speak with personal knowledge. It was fantastic to suggest that he had in any way compelled Mr. Mohammed Ali to sign the agreement against his wishes. Explaining the history of the canal water negotiations, the Prime Minister accused Paki "deliberately placing obstacles in the way settlement."

The World Bank had recommended a divi the Indus Valley waters and "we accepted wi few days of their recommendation being conve us, even though it placed a serious financial b on India." After reminders, Pakistan commu what amounted to a rejection of the Bank's a Under the circumstances, Mr. Nehru said, India free to make use of its river waters.

In Pakistan, there was no dearth of water b required hard work to harness the rivers. Pa appeared reluctant to work hard and instead dep on foreign aid for its progress.

The Prime Minister praised foreign ex who had been associated with the Bhakra proje said he saw no harm in seeking the assistan foreign experts in spheres where the knowledg Indian experts was inadequate. American ex had done valuable work on the Bhakra and "w grateful to them."

Earlier the Chief Minister, Mr. Sachar, ex the improvement that Bhakra canals would about in food production. He said the State be producing 750,000 tons of food-grains and 500,000 bales of cotton more. Over a crore of would find employment in factories to be r Nangal power.

PTI adds: Earlier, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Minister of Punjab, said: "In times of Punjab has been the granary of India and in of war, Punjab will remain a sword arm of Punjabis do not want to budge an inch from th of duty. For remaining in the vanguard of to the country and the nation, you can every drop of our blood."

The Portuguese in India

Colonialism dies hard, it seems, where th European imperialists are concerned. Goa, D Diu and a few very small bits of Indian are still in the possession of Portugal. W exception of Goa, they are of little economic tance, even to a midget amongst the natio Portugal.

Britain saw the writing on the wall and with what grace she could from the ill-got contested empire she had in India. France had reduced to abject misery before she saw rea Indo-China. And now we have the ridiculous s of a recalcitrant Portugal, breathing fire and stone at Goa!

Lisbon, July 30.—Portugal has decided to wi recognition from the Indian Consul General in G the Vice-Consul in Marmagao and to give the midday on Saturday to leave these settlements.

A Foreign Ministry communique early to-day said the presence of Mr. Vincent Coelho, Consul-General in Goa and Mr. G. A. Prabhu, Vice-Consul in Marmagao, is highly inconvenient as their personal activities constitute a serious menace for the internal security of these territories.

In a note handed over to the Portuguese Charge D'Affaires at 1 o'clock this afternoon the Ministry of External Affairs state they have taken note of the Portuguese demand for the withdrawal of Mr. Vincent Coelho and Mr. G. A. Prabhu, Consul-General and Vice-Consul of India at Goa, respectively, and that they should leave Portuguese territory not later than 12 o'clock on the 31'st July, 1954.

The note added, "The Government of India emphatically repudiate the unfounded imputations cast against their representatives in Goa. The Government of India consider that this is another manoeuvre on the part of the Portuguese Government of making grossly exaggerated statements and extravagant demands to confuse world opinion on the issue of the Portuguese colonies in this country.

"Mr. Coelho, the Consul-General, and Mr. Prabhu, the Vice-Consul, are being instructed to leave Goa within the specified period. The Government of India would, however, invite the attention of the Portuguese Government to their note dated the 29th July, 1954, personally delivered to the Portuguese Charge D'Affaires, demanding an assurance and guarantee from the Portuguese Government for the security of the Consul-General, his staff and their families in Goa. The Government of India demanded an immediate reply to that note, and an assurance for the passage to the frontier of Goa for Consul-General, Vice-Consul and their families.

"In view of the grave accusations made against the consular representatives of India in Goa and the demand for their withdrawal, the Government of India, reserving to themselves all further necessary measures.

As a first step they have decided to withdraw the exequatur of Dr. Emilio Patricio and Dr. Antonoio Eduardo De Carvalho Resano Garcia, Portuguese Consul-General and Consul, respectively, in Bombay. These officers should leave the State of Bombay by 18.00 hours July 31 and leave the territory of India not later than 12 O'clock on the 1st August, 1954.

"The Government of Bombay has been instructed to communicate the above decision to the officers referred to above."

A spokesman of the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi, however, explained that this did not involve any diplomatic break, inasmuch as the Consulates at both the places would be allowed to continue.

Peace At Last !

The uneasy world has at last seen the dawn of Peace. The French Premier has kept his promise and has succeeded in the seemingly impossible task. Let us hope that a just and proper peace settlement will follow the armistice, which was announced as follows:

Geneva, July 20.—Agreement has been reached on a cease-fire in Indo-China. A French spokesman told me: "We were determined to sign the agreement tonight even if we stopped the clock."

The cease-fire will be phased with probably the maximum limit of a fortnight in outlandish Viet Minh territory.

A session of the nine-nation Conference on Indo-China, called for 9 p.m., G.M.T. (2-30 a.m., I.S.T.), will approve the cease-fire agreement. The signing will take place even if minor points are delayed.

Reuter adds that virtual agreement was reported after the second meeting today of four key Ministers—M. Mendes-France, who declared earlier that it was "midnight or never" in his gamble for peace, Mr. Eden, M. Molotov and Mr. Pram Van Dong, he Viet Minh Deputy Premier.

M. Mendes-France phoned President Coty to tell him of the peace agreement. French sources said earlier. The French Premier will fly back to Paris in a special military plane tomorrow afternoon.

Peace hung in the balance as Ministers began a series of decisive meetings aimed at sweeping away the last few obstacles to a cease-fire by midnight.

Agreement for Viet Nam was reported to have been reached on these main points:

1.—The true line should run about 20 kilometres ($12\frac{1}{2}$ miles) north of Colonial Route 9, main highway leading from Viet Nam into Laos (in the area of the 17th parallel);

2.—Regrouping of troops and withdrawal of opposing forces into their respective territories to be completed within 10 months:

3.—Elections to take place before the end of two years. Representatives of the Viet Minh and Viet Nam to consult each other after one year to organize the poll;

4.—The international armistice supervisory commission to comprise India, Poland and Canada with a mixed system of majority and unanimity voting; India to be chairman.

Suez-Canal and Britain

At last the vexed question of the British troops in the Suez Canal zone has been settled. Egypt has had its sovereignty fully recognised at last. This also is an advance in the way of Peace. The welcome news was announced as follows:

Cairo, July 27.—Britain and Egypt have reached an agreement on evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal Zone, and it was initialled here tonight.

All outstanding points had been settled, said a British Embassy spokesman.

Mr. Anthony Head had met the Egyptian team led by the Prime Minister, Col. Nasser, at formal talks last night and this morning.

Agreement means the evacuation of the estimated 73,000-strong British garrison, concentrated in the Canal Zone area since British soldiers, sailors and airmen left the main cities of Egypt in 1947.

A maintenance staff will remain for some time to look after the Canal Zone military installations, valued at £400 million.

Chief points of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement are:

1.—Evacuation of British troops from the Canal Zone within 20 months.

2.—Reactivation of the base in the event of an attack on the Arab States or Turkey.

3.—The duration of the new agreement to be seven years.

4.—The base to be maintained by a British civilian contracting firm.

"Dust and Deed"

The above headline is taken from an editorial that appeared in the overseas edition of the Tokyo *Mainichi* for April 15. It is an unemotional verdict on the thoughts and acts of the power-drunk megalomaniacs who are playing with the destiny of mankind today. We quote:

The nation and the world were justifiably shocked to learn that a number of humans had been affected by the dust of particles produced by H-bomb explosions. Indeed, the situation clearly indicates that total extermination of mankind is possible by the ingenuity of the same mankind.

While it was Japanese people who were baptized with the ash of death, it is essentially a world problem. Without rancour or bitterness, Japan has spoken for the world how these men were suffering. She has told the world with humility how dark the future of the world would be if mankind was ever showered with the radioactive dust.

It was true there were emotional elements. Emotion was not to be condemned. They had every reason to be emotional. They even charged Japanese were no more than guinea pigs. They castigated the manner with which American doctors were handling the situation. The situation aggravated as the "security angle" came into the picture.

When the dust of emotion settled down and subsided, the dust of particles had proven that despite the opinions to the contrary it was really capable of indentifying itself with death.

The problem that the capability of H-dust presents from now on is not so much the destructive power of the radiation nor how such a power should be employed as how humanity can survive without it. The proven power of destruction is, in any reasonable mind, more than enough to forestall any attempt to use it.

While it will be madness alone that would consider in any serious degree letting it loose upon mankind, which includes those who contemplated it, such a thinking, it appears, does not seem to have been removed from the mind of some people. It may that the established power could have increased confidence in the overall strength of a nation or that possesses it. To say the least, such a is as dangerous as it may appear dangerous in mind to deny the use of it.

It is regrettable that the rulers of the world an armed peace is the only peace formula of the So long as the ruling concept of the world is might is the only element that can sustain the it would be indeed very difficult to expect a without arms.

However, the immediate reaction to what happened was that if it was not impossible for world to live without either using or denying existence of such a dreadful potential. At least popular thinking correctly diagnosed the cause of world ailment.

It would be a mistake to think the demonstr of H-bomb power has set a milestone for a perm peace; it has, on the contrary, definitely increased tension and anxiety.

The tension is on an international political while the anxiety on human and moral level. interest of a nation, it is regrettable to note, not in this particular case represent the wish prayer of the people. It will be either the succumb to the dictates of the country or the heed to the conscience of the people.

The dust which in itself may be innocent has become the factor which will determine the the world in the future. It is the greatest the wisdom of mankind is now confronted with.

B.C. 3000 and A.D. 7000

In the *Worldover Press* for June 18, Devere gives a commentary on the topsy-turvy thinking of the ultra-modern civilized Man. It keeping with the tunes played on both sides of iron-curtain, only it is in a satirical vein.

"Pharoah Cheops believed he could only heaven by means of solar ships that would bear spirit far into space. Looking back 5,000 seems a quaint and naive point of view. But if enterprising archaelogists should unearth ashes of time the records of our behavior, appear, in the sight of people living 5,000 years now, any less fantastic?"

"Our half of the world looked over into controlled East Germany, and bewailed the of youth by which 300,000 boys and girls were into a vast peace festival. It was all very and thousands of words were written However, did the anti-Communist nations, or Communist West Germany, do anything to greater demonstrations of young people—as they have—for peace and anti-militarism, in genuine No, we just complained—and went on trying to

the mind of youth for war and conflict. We let the Communists steal the show by default."

"If anything constructive is likely to come out of the McCarthy-Army hearings, it is a better code of conduct for Congressional investigating committees. Various Senators and Congressmen have brought plans forward, and 19 Senators have initiated a move which has won considerable backing. The Administration is irked by the ways of McCarthy and his pals. But it lets its floor leader, Senator William Knowland, go around behind the scenes, working to get the whole reform of committee procedure held over until the next Congress. It won't be forgotten though; it will just be used in the fall political campaign as if something had been done instead of cleverly by-passed.

"We shudder about the cobalt bomb, which could release enough radioactivity to exterminate the human race, and military men both in Russia and the United States have declared that such a bomb would of course be "impracticable." Nevertheless, the biggest hydrogen bomb explosion in the Pacific produced enough radioactivity so that rain falling on the roof of buildings at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston was found to be radioactive, and radioactive particles were found in the air over Heidelberg, Germany. The quantities were not sufficient, however, to be injurious, so on this ground, there is no need to worry about the H-bomb. But if Russia and the U.S. get to throwing them around at each other, and two or three should be set off at about the same time, would this immunity prevail? Or will a warring Soviet Union and U.S. get together, and agree to keep their respective explosions far enough apart in time, so as not to harm the innocent?"

"In Pakistan a new theory of democracy seems in the making. Owing to the nature of partition, West Pakistan has 85 per cent of all the country's area, yet only 41 per cent of its population, while East Pakistan, with only 15 per cent of the national territory, has 56 per cent of the people. East Pakistan voted overwhelmingly against the government in the elections, and nurtures a large separatist movement. But West Pakistan says that the majority of Pakistanis living in a small area, will never be permitted to secede. So hereafter, it's not the numbers of a people who count, but the size of their region."

"Arrogating to itself the role of national saviour, the "For America" political movement, organized at Chicago by Col. Bertie McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, Gen. Robert E. Wood, and others is out against internationalism, interventionism, and Communism." We'll soon have another movement against "dishonesty, religion and night clubs."

"Is there not reason to suspect that we will seem, 5,000 years from now, as far from heaven as Cheops? Up around Cape Cod they tell of a woman struggling through mud after a rain, who grumbled, and was told: "After all, the heavens are clear." "Yes," she replied, "but I'm not going that way."

The Background of Geneva Talks

Now that Peace has dawned over the battle-torn rice-bowl of Indo-China, it would be interesting to our readers to see how an unbiassed American viewed the moves of the supreme executives of his own government.

We quote in *extenso* the opinion of Devere Allen, as given in the *Worldover Press* for June 4. This is how his commentary goes:

A few weeks ago, the Administration at Washington was virtually ready to put the United States fully into the Indo-China war on the side of French colonialism. That unparalleled folly was prevented by two things. First, the unwillingness of Britain to go along, a stubbornness shared by Clement Attlee, Aneurin Bevan, and Sir Winston Churchill. Second, the recalcitrance of the American people, as reflected in some vital off-the-record advice from Senators and Congressmen.

A short time later, public opinion was able to catch its breath and see how egregiously the threat of all-out force had failed. Countries friendly to America had insisted on trying to settle the conflict by negotiation. Secretary Dulles stayed a brief time in Geneva, his departure emphasizing the bankruptcy of American policy. He did not go, however, until he had boasted that he had sat in the same room with Chou En-lai time after time without once speaking to him. Dulles had to act tough in order to appease the monolithic extremists in the China Lobby wing of his party. So intransigent was U. S. policy that a writer for the conservative London *Observer,* noting that Dulles looked grim, though his aide, Walter Bedel Smith, appeared jaunty, got this explanation from an American delegate: "Dulles is going back into the Washington prison, while Bedel Smith has just escaped it."

An astute British commentator expressed a fervent wish that Mr. Dulles' second thoughts might be his first. On Indo-China, the Secretary did have second thoughts and they came closer to a clear-cut program, albeit negative. They were not without merit. The U. S. would not go further into the Indo-China war unless backed by its allies, preferably in the United Nations. It would not fight for the old colonialism. It would not send troops unless the people of Indo-China wanted this form of intervention.

Since France could not or would not grant genuine independence in time to do much good, and the people of Indo-China were either deserting to the Communists or failing to put up much of a fight against them, neither of these last two conditions seemed likely to be realized. Nor, for that matter, did the first condition, though in some third thoughts Dulles professed to find signs of more U.N. support.

The administration faced dilemmas—more of them than a rose has thorns. It seemed obvious that

Mr. Dulles couldn't have the kind of war he wanted. It was equally obvious that he was, by now, incapable of making a peace; even if he should wish to do so, that had to be done by others. His hastily-conceived remedy for Communist expansion in South-east Asia, a sort of Asian NATO, depended on his ability to bludgeon reluctant countries into action. The major nations of Asia would be left out, especially India. As Mr. Churchill bluntly said, at best it would take a long time.

Is this all that America can do for a peace? Is there no alternative for the American people except to see Communism take over Indo-China, or try to hold it back by war or the threat of war? The framework of cease-fire is being worked on at Geneva, and while press reports to the U. S. consistently stress the hopelessness of the situation, it is interesting to observe that correspondents from other lands describe the conference as opening, and continuing, on a far more promising tone than expected. If a cease-fire is achieved, what then?

It makes one sad to watch so many of the Indo-Chinese, because of Western bungling, embrace the false banner of Communism; if by military victory or by a fallacious peace they fall under Communist rule, they will learn to rue it, as so many other peoples have. Many dangers lie ahead, even after a cease-fire. Perhaps, the best that can be anticipated is partition, with Laos and Cambodia saved from Communism, and Vietnam divided between north and south. For those who want a true peace settlement right on the heels of a devastating war, this will be a disappointment; it is, of course, no real settlement at all. But it would probably be much better than a coalition regime, for the latter plan would give the hard-working and adroit Communists a chance for constant internal manipulation.

After a cease-fire there could wisely be a relatively long period preceding any final arrangements for the future. For the West this time could be a fine opportunity. Through the United Nations if possible, but if need be outside it or half and half, the U.S. should try to wipe out the worst war damage, rehabilitate the population, and stand ready to share in the creation of a sounder, non-colonial economic life. If Americans groan at the cost, they can easily be reminded of war's much greater demands in money, and the saving of lives by the thousands if not even by the millions.

The most difficult point for Americans will be that of the role assigned for Communist China. That Red China deserves distrust and excoriation, cannot be gainsaid. But there is something almost fantastic about a self-righteous crusade that condemns China for ever to non-recognition, when an American ambassador sits in Moscow, and when Dulles goes into a huddle with Molotov. This American fanaticism can be explained only on the ground that the evils of Red China have been built up until appear even worse than those of the Soviet U

Repeatedly we are told that China, in Korea an inexcusable aggressor. An aggressor, yes, an excusable aggressor, no. China intervened only MacArthur, in defiance of plain warnings, had to the edge of Chinese territory and had att to cut off electric current vital to Manchurian try, power which had been safeguarded by with the Koreans. It is a matter of record that has helped the Vietminh cause in Indo-China also a matter of record that the United States helped the French to perpetuate colonial rule, aiding independence solely by word of mouth

The extremist propaganda that bedevils Am thinking says over and over, dogmatically, that the Communists in Indo-China are defeated virtual unconditional surrender, Red China will tainly over-run all South-east Asia. No one can that might not happen. The evidence thus far, ever, is to the contrary. The Chinese have encroached upon the soil of Thailand, India, M or even Burma—not even when, in the latter co Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops to the n of 12,000 were plaguing them on the northern tier. It is prudent to be realistic about China create a monstrous menace by imaginative ex tion is foolish.

The Chinese at Geneva do not seem to be ing for immediate recognition, or for immediate into the U.N. In any case, recognition by the could not possibly come until after the fall C sional elections. But the critical question is could not an informal pledge of eventual reco be given, provided the Chinese help make settlement at Geneva, and then, for a rea time, give proof of their intent to carry o peace-making responsiblities? There are some tions that even in Congress, opinion on this bility grows less adamant.

Any final peace for Indo-China requires an national settlement of the war, intern guaranted by the West and Asian lands alike China not excluded. A second essential is a b period, between cease-fire and eventual arrang for reconstruction. The people of Indo-China m given new hope, new ambition, new fatih the future will be better than the past. Not e gigantic program of reconstruction, though accomplish that end unless the French come with honest and thorough independence. must be given freedom, and the liberty possessed by Cambodia and Laos must be and extended. We accept it as a truism that longing for freedom will fight only for that is the same with peace, which demands an appeal to the best the people have to give.

Admission of China to U. N.

The U. S. attitude that had found expression in the utterances of Senator Knowland, Republican leader and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, came in for a good deal of criticism in the British press. The *Sunday Times* writes editorially on July 11 that Senator Knowland's assertion that the USA. should withdraw from the UN if "Red" China were admitted underlined a common misinterpretation of the Charter of the United Nations.

The newspaper points out that the articles of the Charter did not provide for the resignation or withdrawal of any member. Rather they provided for the suspension and (at the express instance of the USSR) the expulsion of any member; and "it was the clear and deliberate intention of the San Francisco Conference that no Member State, having accepted the duties and obligations of the Charter, should be able to avoid them by mere resignation."

"No doubt it is because the State Department is well aware of the true nature of the Charter that Senator Knowland has since been persuaded to modify his attitude."

Critical of the campaign in the USA against China's admission to the UN, the *Observer* of the same date writes that the choice was not between being 'soft' or 'tough' with China, but between having a rigidly paralysed or an active policy.

"We want to be able to tell the Chinese Communists they will be seated at the United Nations if they withdraw from Korea and help to bring about a compromise stttlement in Indo-China, and that they will not be seated if they do not. To refuse to the Chinese the inducement for 'purging themselves of aggression' in this way means needlessly to deprive the West of one of the few diplomatic trump cards it holds in Asia."

Ceylon Government in Crisis

The *Bombay Chronicle's* special correspondent in Colombo reports that the ten-month-old Kotelawala Government was passing very difficult days. He writes that the recent resignation of Mr R. G. Senanayake, Minister of Commerce, Trade and Fisheries, was symptomatic of a deep fissure in the ruling United National Party and presaged important political re-alignments. Mr. Senanayake's resignation came as the result of his reported disagreement with the other members of the Cabinet on five points. The most important point of disagreement related to the attitude to the Ceylon-China trade pact. A Cabinet decision to revise the trade pact with China for 1955, according to Mr. Senanayake, was contrary to Ceylon's obligations under the broad terms of the five-year agreement signed in 1952. He thought the forthcoming visit of the Ceylon Premier to Washington in December next on the invitation of President Eisenhower would largely be engaged in negotiating a Ceylon-American trade pact "in direct opposition to the policy of neutrality laid down by the late Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, and to the more recent decisions arrived at by the South-East Asian Prime Ministers' Conference in Colombo. He opposed the appointment of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, until recently Minister of Finance in the Kotelawala administration, as the new Governor-General as he felt that it was "not one which will inspire confidence in the Government." He was also dissatisfied with the handling of the charges against the Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon. He also differed on the Government's policy of solving the Indo-Ceylonese problem.

The Parliamentary group of the UNP had advised Sir John Kotelawala to solicit U.S. aid, the correspondent adds.

In an earlier dispatch the correspondent writes that accusations of bribery and corruption were being levelled against some leaders of the Government and its party. Sensational revelations were expected to follow the suspension of the Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon, Mr. N. U. Jayawardena. A commission had been appointed to enquire into his official conduct.

Serious allegations were made in a popular weekly paper against two of the most important members of the Government—Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, now the Governor-General and only until very recently Minister of Finance, and Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, the Food Minister. Opposition newspapers had asked Sir Oliver to declare his assets before he assumed the office of the Governor-General. A demand was even made for an enquiry into his actions as the Finance Minister.

The stock of the Ceylon Government was so low in public eyes that the Government found it difficult to brush aside these charges, as it could under ordinary circumstances. The Ceylonese were ready to believe the worst about the Government and the U.N.P.

The correspondent says, "Most people seem convinced that if the bank chief's investigation is conducted thoroughly some very unsavoury facts about the financial dealings of several highly placed persons are bound to come to light."

He adds that the economy of Ceylon was in a very bad state with unemployment rising and slackening of industrial development. "Most of the Government economic projects exist only on paper. Most of those that have been established are melancholy failures."

The Naga Question

The *Chronicle*, a weekly journal published from Silchar in Assam, carries a series of articles by the

Information Officer, Naga National Council on the Naga attitude to India and the foreign missionaries.

The Nagas, it is stated, did not want any help from India. They wanted to be left alone. If India should refuse independence to the Nagas, the Nagas would refer that question to the United Nations Organisation. The Nagas were opposed to what the writer characterises as "Indian imperialism."

Referring to charges in the Indian press, and specially to a statement made by the Assam Chief Minister, Sri Bishnuram Medhi, on the floor of the State Assembly on March 9, about the disrupting activities of the American missionaries in Nagaland, the author states that those charges were inspired by a desire to deprive the Nagas of the *American moral support to the cause of Naga freedom.*

The Chief Minister of Assam reportedly stated that the Naga National Council had come into existence through external, primarily American, influence, and that Mr. A. Z. Phizo, President of the Naga National Council had been sent to America by the American Baptist Mission to be educated among the Baptists. He also alleged that the Pastors under the Baptist Mission had issued circulars to celebrate the Naga Independence in all their churches.

The author, refuting all the charges, writes that the American Baptist Mission had never issued such a circular and that Mr. A. Z. Phizo had never gone to the USA and had never attended intra-mural classes in the college anywhere. As for the Naga National Council, it was established "long before the question of Indian independence was in sight."

The Naga National Council, according to the author, was not a political institution but the "centralised institution of the Nagas upholding the ancient Naga customs and culture, as the binding force is Nagaland." The Council had survived many changes in name and it was largely through its agitation that the British had recognised the Naga national aspiration for independence, and the historic conception of "Excluded Area of Nagaland" had come into being.

The function of the Naga National Council is stated to be equivalent to the Parliament of a sovereign State. It never issued orders except in the nature like the last edict for the Naga Voluntary Plebiscite in the form of thumb impressions of all the adult population, and also the one for the non-participation in the last Indian General Elections. The people had obeyed both the edicts. The various tribal councils, functioning in their own territories as a federal unit within the Naga National Council, administered their regional, local and mobile courts. Those were ancient Naga institutions. Matters affecting land, inheritance and the exercise of full authority over the civil, criminal and political cases throughout the country fell within the purview of Naga customs which the British conquerors entirely into the hands of the Nagas as the Na affairs. Every village had its own sovereign with its assembly to look after its rights and The village unit was the basic foundation Naga National Council.

The author writes that it was not known that every Naga village, area or re free to join the Indian Union if it so liked was absolutely no bar. The Nagas had be in a pure democracy and such democratic was not found anywhere in India.

Emphasising the growing solidarity of th under the Naga National Council, the auth cludes: "The existence and the growth of th National Council is the living symbol of th and the determination of the Naga people to as a nation. The truth and the right of th must be recognised as a living principle. If th is conceded, there is no room for India and th to quarrel. Nagas are not against Indians."

What the author has failed to emphasise the British had virtually kept the "Exclude of the Nagas as an ethnological museum. Eve hunting was permitted, provided of course no or soldier of the British Raj was affected. British days that area was practically su either by British administrated territories or passable natural barriers. There was no que the advancement of the Naga anywhere.

However, it is incumbent on the Govern India to look into the matter of Naga asp No people should have the idea, inside a de that their liberties or aspirations are being cribed for the benefit of others who ar numerous, or more powerful politically.

Assam-Tripura-Manipur Conferen

The Assam-Tripura-Manipur Bengali Conference was held at the Karimganj Co on the 19th and the 20th June, 1954. The was inaugurated by Sri Arun Chandra Guha Minister for Finance, Government of India presided over by the well-known journ litterateur, Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghosh hundred delegates attended the confere Assam, Tripura and Manipur. The visitors two thousand.

Eleven resolutions were passed in the conference. It was also decided to hold session of the conference at Silchar.

The resolutions adopted by the confe demned the policy of forcible suppres Bengali language and culture pursued Government and certain interested parties and said that as a result of those policies the interests of the Bengali-speaking pe being jeopardised but injury was being done to the idea of national unity, national prosperity and the national feeling. The Bengali students were deprived of scholarships even though they passed the examinations of the Gauhati University with credit and distinction. Even their admission to higher educational institutions of the State was being restricted unjustly. The attention of the Governments of Assam and India was drawn to this gross injustice to the Bengalis.

The step-motherly attitude of the Government of Assam meted out to the schools in Assam imparting education through the medium of the Bengali language was condemned in another resolution. It requested the State Government to abandon this policy of harassing and restricting the Bengalis. Another resolution pointed to the mismanagement in the work of rehabilitating the refugees coming from East Bengal.

The discriminatory attitude to the Bengalis and other non-Assamese people came in for severe condemnation in several resolutions. A resolution stated: "The Government of Assam alone was not responsible for this discriminatory treatment; the Central Government also was co-operating in the matter."

The people and the Government of Tripura were warned in another resolution against the inspired and clever move for lowering the Bengali language and literature in the State. Another resolution welcomed the heroic struggle of the people of Manbhum in Bihar under the leadership of the Loke Sevak Sangha for upholding the prestige of the Bengali language and literature there; and wished them success.

The tenth resolution said: "This conference could not agree to the correctness of the population figures of the Bengalis and tribal peoples in Assam as shown in the report of the 1951 Census."

The eleventh and last resolution proposed for the constitution of a preparatory committee with Sri Bidhubhusan Chowdhury as convenor with a view to forming a permanent organisation for the promotion of closer relations and exchange of ideas with other literary and cultural groups of Assam-Manipur-Tripura and for the development of the Bengali language, literature and culture in the area. The resolution further provided for the publication of a cultural organ and for making all necessary arrangements for the establishment of branches of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in different towns.

Aftermath of Decontrol

Discussing the problems of finding alternative employment for the employees of the Civil Supplies Department facing retrenchment in the various States after the abolition of food-rationing, the *Hindu* in an editorial article writes that it would indeed be a great relief if by following the suggestion of the Central Government, all the people thus rendered superfluous could be absorbed in the Central services, such as the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs. In West Bengal alone it would be necessary to find employment for four thousand people in services outside the State Government.

Referring specifically to the problems of Madras, the newspaper writes that in that State the Civil Supplies Department had already shrunk considerably and the small number of men still serving the Department could be absorbed in such expanding departments as the Commercial Tax Dtpartment. It urges the Government to consider the advisability of retaining the present transport organisation of the Civil Supplies Department in a modified form. The men could thus be provided with employment and there would be in existence an active fleet of vehicles which could be mobilised for use in any emergency, such as previous year's Godavari floods. The transport organisation consisting of about a hundred lorries was running on an economical basis. The units had their own workshop where maintenance and repairs of every kind were carried out and the Department had reportedly been able to extend the active life of the lorries, which should normally have been scrapped after four years, to as many as ten years.

The newspaper suggests that the Civil Supplies workshop could be rationed as a Central maintenance and repair workshop for the steadily increasing number of motor vehicles used by the various Government Departments and thinks that the growing volume of haulage on Government account alone could keep all the civil supplies lorries engaged. They could also be profitably let out to private parties when not in demand by Government Departments as had been the practice in off-seasons so long. "Such a reorganisation of the civil supplies transport system, so as to place it on a permanent basis," writes the *Hindu,* "would end the uncertainty from which the men working in it have suffered for ten long years, while securing for the Government the benefit of their experience in the future. The reorganised service should be able to pay its way, if not yield a profit to the Government."

Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank of India's Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1953-54 reviews the annual financial developments, national and international. It is a valuable record of facts and information which are not ordinarily available. Dealing with international economic developments, the Report states that the world economy displayed, on the whole, remarkable strength during the year 1953, which was characterised by a marked rise in industrial and agricultural production, a fair degree of price stability and continued improvement in balance of payments, particularly with the dollar area. The year witnessed the flexible use of monetary policy on a wide front, generally in the direction of relaxation of monetary restraints, inflation having been successfully eliminated in many countries. Further, budgetary policy was directed towards providing a stimulus to economic growth. The improvement in the economic situation was also reflected in the general movement away from direct physical and financial controls, leading to the gradual restoration of free markets. Industrial production showed increases during the year as a whole in the USA, Canada, the UK and a majority of the countries in Western Europe and Japan. In Asia, Latin America and Africa, the output of agricultural products generally expanded in 1953.

As regards international price trends, the Report observes that the progress towards a gradual downward adjustment in the general wholesale price levels noticed in several countries in 1952, following the 'break' of Korea boom, continued during 1953. The price support operations of Governments and the anti-recessionary measures taken by various countries, such as the lowering of discount rates and the relaxation of credit restrictions, greatly contributed to the arrest of the downward trend of prices and the establishment of price stability. Export prices of raw materials showed larger declines in relation to those of manufactured goods, thus resulting in improved terms of trade for the industrial countries. From October onwards, however, world commodity prices began to show a steady upward trend, which was particularly marked in the first quarter of 1954. The rise largely occurred in metals and beverages, but other commodities have recently in general shown a firm tone. The upward trend has been attributed to the following factors: (i) the necessity to build up stocks following the long spell of underbuying and depletion of stocks; (ii) expectations that the down-trend in the US industrial production would soon come to a halt; (iii) intensification of stockpiling programme in USA; (iv) relaxations of monetary restrictions in several countries; (v) tight supply position in beverages owing to increase in consumption and (vi) uncertainties of the political situation in the Far East.

Reviewing the budgetary policies, the Report states that the budgetary policy was in most countries directed towards providing a stimulus to economic activity and enabling industrial and commercial enterprise to meet the growing competition in world markets. This was sought to be achieved through tax concessions or adjustments in public expenditure, or both. In consequence, Governments have in general budgeted for smaller surpluses or in the alternative, have left the deficits uncovered. Expenditure on defence and on certain non-essential items has been scaled down in several countries. Among tax reliefs, granted or proposed, mention may be made of the removal of the excess profits levy, the reduction of personal income-taxes, increase in the exemption limit of income-tax and stepping up of come relief, liberalisation of personal exempti taxation in respect of children, medical expe enhancement of depreciation allowances, grant of ment allowance and reliefs against double tax dividends.

So far as underdeveloped countries are co their ways and means position continued to under strain, due to reduced export earnings creased outlay on development. The scope concessions being limited in these economies, ments in taxes have been mostly directed towards tating exports. Public spending on developm grammes has been accelerated in these count this has been deficit-financed to a large extent.

The year 1953 witnessed a substantial im in the world payments situation, in particular as the dollar gap. There was also a notable str of the sterling area's. payments position. These ments were all the more impressive as they took in spite of the continued fall in industrial outp United States since July 1953. The general ment in the balance of payments situation was t come of several basic developments, such as in industrial and agricultural output, elimination of tic inflationary pressures, import restrictions dollar goods, greater competitiveness of sever dollar goods and finally continued US econ military aid. The value of world trade, slightly fell partly as a result of the decline in which was more marked in the case of most of materials.

The world's dollar payments position showed markable improvement during the year. Te at least it appeared as if the dollar gap had dis The gold and dollar reserves of countries other USA recorded a rise of $2.3 billion in 1953 as with a rise of $1.2 billion in 1952 as a result transactions with the USA. Continental Western accounted for the major rise, namely $1.6 billi the rest was practically accounted for by the area. Latin American countries together impr gold and dollar position by about $270 million Asian countries outside the sterling area, recorded a decline.

The Indian economy, like the world general, recorded many gains during 1953-54, year of the first Five-Year Plan. Agricultur especially of foodgrains, is estimated to have a substantial increase, assited by a good Industrial production during 1953 also showed overall rise, though the rate of growth was in the previous year and the rise concealed some major industries like jute, sugar and ste

In the monetary sphere, it appeared disinflationary trends of the previous two years worked off. There was during the year some sion of money supply, which was in cons the increasing needs of the developing economy. The increase was mainly due to the substantial surplus in balance of payments and budgetary deficit, the magnitude of the latter being, however, smaller than the original estimate. The supply of money to the private sector was also augmented by assistance from the Reserve Bank, which was on a larger scale than in the previous year. Scheduled bank credit also showed a larger seasonal expansion, but this was in part due to the substantial restoration of trading in foodgrains to private channels and there was no major net increases in bank credit during the year as a whole. It is of interest that during the three-year period of the Plan money supply with the public (excluding State Government deposits) recorded a contraction of Rs. 157 crores.

The price situation was, on the whole, stable, although as compared with the preceding year, the general price level, as indicated by the Economic Adviser's index of wholesale prices, was higher. There were a series of short-term movements and indices of groups as well as individual commodities showed divergent trends, indicating adjustments in relative prices. The impact of the improvement in agricultural and industrial production on prices appears to have been partly neutralised by the sharp decline in imports. Following the restoration of freedom of trading to various commodity markets, there was an apparent increase in the price indices concerned, which previously were based on controlled prices. Throughout the year, the price index of manufactured articles showed relatively greater stability.

As regards the foreign trade of India, the Report states that there was a favourable turn on external account also, there being a surplus of Rs. 59 crores on current account during 1953, as against a position of near balance in 1952. This was, however, achieved at a sharply reduced level of trade in imports, both private and Government. The major decline occurred under food imports. Added to this, there was a further, though small, deterioration in the terms of trade. Region-wise, there was a spectacular improvement with the dollar area.

Although the overall payments position was thus favourable, there was during the year considerable anxiety regarding two of the major export commodities, viz., jute goods and cotton manufactures. In the case of both export demand tended to decline but the situation was eased through substantial reduction or removal of export duties by Government in September-October. In the case of cotton manufactures, the response was remarkable, exports showing a significant increase. In the case of jute goods, however, it was not so marked. On the other hand, tea exports during the year recorded a marked improvement.

While the general economic situation thus showed improvement, the employment situation continued to cause considerable anxiety, though adequate data are not available as regards the nature and magnitude of the problem. It has been recognised that, by and large, it is a long range phenomenon, requiring short-term as well as long-term remedies. An important step taken by Government to meet the problem was to raise the target of development expenditure under the Five-Year Plan by Rs. 175 crores to Rs. 2,244 crores. Special attention is also being given to the rehabilitation and development of small-scale and cottage industries, the employment potentiality of which is considerable. It would appear that the pace of rationalisation of industries is also being influenced by consideration of its possible effects on employment.

Further steps were also taken during the year to expand the financial facilities to the private sector. Five more State Governments have set up corporations under the State Financial Corporations Act, 1951 and in all cases the Reserve Bank of India has contributed 10-20 per cent of the issued capital, which has uniformly been Rs. 1 crore. In addition, proposals are under consideration for the establishment of an Industrial Development and Finance Corporation sponsored by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and an Industrial Development Corporation sponsored by the Union Government.

Development of Small-scale Industries

In recent months the importance of the small-scale industries to the Indian economy is being viewed with a new outlook, particularly in consideration of the fact that the pace of growth of the large-scale industries in India has failed to keep in line with the growing unemployment. Obviously small-scale industries were hitherto ignored, or at least did not receive the consideration, official and non-official, it deserved. The Shroff Committee has classified the small-scale industries as industries which are not integrated with the rural economy and which consist of units with assets say, between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5 lakhs. They are engaged largely in the production of articles that are ancillary to or competitive with the products of the so-called large-scale industries. Even though such small industries constitute an important element in the Indian economy, the statistical data available about investment, output or employment in them is very meagre.

The Government of India, through its Ministry of Commerce and Industry in collaboration with the National Planning Commission, and through the courtesy of the Ford Foundation, invited an International Planning Team to study opportunities directed towards increasing both industrial production and employment of people. The study was to embrace the whole field of operation—production, industrial growth, co-operatives, associations, finance, design and marketing. The International Team consisted of the following: 1. Mr. Sven Hagberg, Vice Principal and Acting Principal of the Swedish Government's Institute for Higher Education in Trades and Handicrafts; 2. Mr. Grundstrom, Managing Director of the Swedish Federation of Small Industries and Crafts; 3. Mr. Ramy Alexander, a consultant in the development of handicrafts and specialised small industries; 4. Mr. Raymond W. Miller, a consultant to the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN and a leading authority on co-operatives; and 5. Mr. C. Leigh Stevens, an expert on Industrial Management Engineering. The first two members are from Sweden while the others were American.

In the course of its tour, the Team visited a cross section of cities, towns and villages in the States of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Andhra and Mysore. The report of the Team has gripped Indian imagination and is remarkable for its distinctive intellectual background and practical outlook. It is most authoritative and illuminating on the subject of small-scale industries.

In the opinion of the Team, the Indian market is one of the largest potential domestic markets in the world. Since 80 per cent of India's 360 millions live in the villages, the rural market deserves particular attention. Further, the 60 million urban residents, as the Team suggests, present a market of "staggering possibilities." Markets are not sought for the articles produced. The articles must be produced, the Team insists, to meet the *felt* needs of the consumer. The needs of the people are now only *latent* and not *felt;* and the demand is potential, not effective. The Team is, however, convinced that when the "latent needs of these folks begin to change into felt needs, India will experience, perhaps, the greatest industrial revolution that the world has ever seen." All this has undoubtedly fired the imagination of our leaders and industrialists. If this market is fully developed in both the cities and the villages, it can stimulate perhaps the greatest industrial revolution ever seen and make India one of the foremost producing and consuming areas in the world. But the change-over from the *latent* demand stage to the *felt* stage will require systematic effort on the part of the administrators and sustained work on the part of the workers.

This industrial revolution can be possible by improved rationalised methods. "The challenge for rationalisation," the Team says, "must be met as part of a forward-looking industrial programme that will encourage and accelerate revolutionary growth. Without rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology. Unless and until these workers are helped to produce more goods and more wealth, neither wages nor living standards can be raised. To prevent rationalisation, to stop the process of modernisation is not only illogical, it will force stagnation and retrogression of Indian small industry." The Team further adds that rationalising industry is a relatively slow evolutionary process which takes years and which India should accelerate. Without modernisation Indian industries which cling to obsolete equipment are condemned to mediocrity and eventual elimination. Only by adopting efficient methods of production, as soon as widely as possible, can small and village industry advantage of the good opportunity it now has to basis for promising long-term development. The of active responsible independent small industries gradual rise of many among the more gifted artisans the status of self-reliant small industrialists will important contribution to the social and economic ture of India.

The most frequent complaint the Team heard its tour, was lack of finance. It was the first made by almost all small industries and artisans. Team, after a study of the problem, comes conclusion that the major reason for the scarcity capital for small industry is low productivity and population in many branches. It makes the that the commercial banks should make a more effort at increasing credit to small industries. proper financing there can be no efficient planning small industry, nor purchase of material, nor nor marketing, nor any fair profit. Credit and problems must be tackled as part of the programme for industrial growth. At the present the Team finds, real finance does not seem to exist and there is a severe lack of capital as well as Small industries have no working capital for orders for buying raw materials or improved The commerial banks are apparently not able to credit to small industries.

The present economic difficulties of small are so great that a very strong effort is needed if cial results are to be achieved. In this effort, the general principle should be that credit is to be to gain certain results, such as securing modern ment and better utilization of manpower. To make sion for capital, the Team recommends the measures: (1) That commercial banks should more authority to branches to make loans to small ness, and work generally toward decentralizing their loan business; (2) that commercial banks establish local Boards of Directors, or, if that feasible, at least set up local Advisory Boards. of disagreement between the local management and Advisory Boards, decisions on loan applications be referred to a higher authority; (3) that banks should expand into the industrial field; a system of loans against the security of mortgages be considered and developed; (5) encourage venture capital, the general atmosphere conducting business be favourable and fair reasonable profits be considered essential; (6) adequate amount of Government funds, now for small industries under the Five Year Plan, aside to provide loans for venture capital. A allocation of these funds should be made to the Finance Corporation; (7) that State Finance like those that have already been set up in some be established in all States, with a portion of funds also set aside exclusively for the use of small industry, but for ordinary loans; (8) that a competent Field Organization be set up immediately to process loan applications from small industries within the framework of the State Directorates of Industries. This Organization will act as agent of the State Finance Corporations; (9) that a sound system of instalment credit primarily to spur purchase of modernizing machinery and equipment (not excluding consumer goods) be considered.

The Team has divided the village and small industries into two groups: traditional village craftsmen (carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.,) working mainly for the needs of the village where they live, and small industries, such as makers of light consumer goods, artcrafts and small tools, aiming at larger markets. The Team's judgement on small industries is that "they are today facing a crisis, their number of employed workers and their output of production gradually declining and in some cases slowly grinding to a halt." The major single reason for this state of affairs is stated to be the lack of systematic approach to the overall problem; better marketing, better financing, better raw materials, better finish, better equipment, better power facilities and better designing are often thought of as separate remedies. A systematic approach, the Team emphasises, must start with market research. What articles will sell, and at what price? Then comes the question of design. How should the article be designed, made and finished? The other problems are: raw materials equipment and organization, production, research and technical help, distribution, promotion, and finance.

The Team has recommended the establishment of four institutes of technology, located geographically so as to serve better the whole of India. In general, the institutes would act as service agencies to impart simply and quickly to the small industrialist for his immediate use modern advances in science and technology, in business management, finance and marketing. To achieve this purpose, the institutes should: (1) initiate and carry on investigations and surveys of existing methods as well as conduct experimental and applied research for promoting development of small industry, *e.g.*, concerning the broad technical field, improved tools, machinery, methods, raw materials, products of quality, marketing, credit, finance, etc.; and (2) disseminate the methods and results thus obtained to the industrialists, their deputies, or skilled workers. Dissemination and promotion of these improvements should be done through educational short refresher courses and information and consultation service given at the institutes and at the Branch Units, and through mobile demonstration units and travelling industrial extension workers. Overall control and direction should be vested in an Administrator at the Centre.

The Team observes that Indian handicrafts and small industries could produce and sell more both in India and abroad, and tap the growing quality market as soon as modern requirements of production and supply are met. To increase distribution and sale of these products, however, the most urgent general needs are: (1) good designing and technical quality; (2) reliable organization of supply; and (3) co-ordinated promotion in India and abroad.

Although some constructive work to meet these needs are now being made, the study Team is convinced that more substantial and faster progress is needed and possible, and would be assisted by setting up the following there types of organizations, as part of a long-term development programme. These organizations should work in close co-operation with the existing institutions in the field; they are:

(1) A National School of Design—to serve as a centre for creative studies in design and fashion. The basic functions of the School would be to design and, in its workshops, prepare improved models suitable for commercial production and arrange to get these models in production; to train potentially good designers, conduct research; to organise exhibitions, information services and promotional activities and establish a network of communication between craftsmen, designers and the public. The School should be established and supported by the Central Government and have a field organization in contact with producers. It should be headed by an international authority of highest competence, with an independent advisory board chosen on merit alone.

(2) A Customers' Service Corporation—to provide satisfactory channels of supply and a reliable procurement service for Indian and foreign buyers.

(3) Export Development Offices—one in North America, one in Europe to promote and stimulate foreign trade in handicrafts and artcrafts, serve as contact with foreign buyers and their demands, and engage in promotional activities.

Cottage Industries in Uttar Pradesh

The important part played by cottage industry in the economy of Uttar Pradesh could be measured from the fact that about 50 lakh workers of the State were engaged in cottage industries compared with 2½ lakhs in organised industries.

In an article in the *People,* Sri Bhagwat Jha, M.P., describes the measures adopted by the State Government for the development of cottage and small-scale industries.

A Small-scale and Cottage Industries Board was constituted in 1952 with the Chief Minister as its Chairman, replacing the Small-scale and Cottage Industries Committee of 1939. The function of the Board was to advise the Government on the organisation, development and marketing of goods produced by those industries.

A separate Handloom Board was constituted in 1953 for helping the handloom industry, which was by far the biggest cottage industry employing 8 lakh workers in 2½ lakh handlooms and producing 30 crores yards of cloth annually. There were at the moment 969 handloom co-operative societies, 32 marketing co-operative societies and 74 miscellaneous industrial co-operative societies with a total membership of about 108,050.

Under a scheme for the development of khadi, a Khadi Development Committee was found in October, 1947. The scheme provided for training, research and experiment as well as for the supply of cotton and *charkhas* to spinners. The Government encouraged the production of khadi through purchases of khadi goods for different Government departments.

A tutorial class scheme imparted training in more than 28 trades in the latest process of manufacture, production of popular design goods and organisation of industrial co-operative societies. More than 4364 persons had so far been trained under the scheme. Training was also given to local artisans in the manufacture of agricultural implements and articles of daily use. The 74 industrial co-operatives marketed their goods chiefly through the U.P. Government Handicrafts Emporium.

At present about 20 village factories were being benefitted by the Pottery Development Scheme under which a pottery centre supplied processed raw materials to the potters, who shaped and baked them in the furnace.

The Government had started a Quality Marking Scheme with a view to prescribing standard specification for the products of cottage industries, to making arrangements for bulk production of quality marked goods and to encouraging the export of those goods. The scheme had resulted in the increased demand of U.P. locks all over India and the introduction of Agra footwear in the Middle-Eastern markets.

A Loan and Grants Scheme was initiated in the year 1947-48 under which the maximum amounts of loan and grant that an individual could get were Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively.

Two village workshops were working with modern equipments under the Pilot Workshop Scheme under which loans and grants were given for the purchase of tools, equipments and appliances for the establishment of new enterprises as well as for the expansion of existing industries. Loans were also provided for utilisation as working capital.

New 55-Mile Railway Line in U.P.

On July 12, 1953, Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, opened the 55-mile long railway line in Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh linking Churk, where the cement factory established by the Pradesh Government was soon to go to production, with Chunar on the Northern Railway—thus esta a vital connection between the cement factory the projected multipurpose Rihand Dam. columnist "Observer" writing in the *People* on 17, characterises it as the "greatest event of week, nay of this age, for U.P."

The construction of the line began in J 1952, and it was completed within two and years, at an estimated cost of two hundred and lakhs of rupees, reports the *People*. The com of the work required among other things 5½ c of earthwork, 60 lakh cft. of rock blasting, con tion of 146 (including nine major) bridges, mo of 24,200 tons of permanent-way materials and girders, etc., and 7,500 tons of cement and tons of stone and moorum ballast.

The construction of the line required grea because it passed through lands with sharply altitudes. Chunar in the Gangetic Valley was 268 ft. above sea-level while Robertsganj was feet above the sea-level. "The most difficult of the new construction," according to the "was between miles 15 and 17, as it entailed crossing of two 60 ft. deep gorges, 750 ft. and 6 wide respectively; and the blasting of 1,500 ft. and 50 ft. deep cutting through rocks."

The new line would be of immense bene Mirzapur and the other adjacent districts by tating the development of their resources which so far largely remained unexplored for want of able communication facilities.

Mirzapore, 5,238 square miles in area, was the largest districts of Uttar Pradesh possessing forests and abundant mineral wealth. It was lime stone, building stone, coal, marble and ores, but because of the relative inaccessibility good portion of the district, only building and stones were tapped so far. The forests were bamboo, simal, sal, tenda and mahua, etc. Chunar-Robertsganj-Churk railway line," the says, "will greatly help in the development of resources."

More importantly, it would serve the factory and would greatly help in the building Rihand Dam.

On the Rihand Dam scheme lies the hopes area with rich agricultural possibilities, that neglected through the ages. This area further home of artisans in clay stone and metals, with hereditary skill and craftsmanship have been facing extinction due to lack of Their regeneration will be substantially exp the new Railway link. The city of Mirzapur beautiful township of Chunar will get new of life.

PAKISTAN HITS THE HEADLINES AGAIN

Near Revolt in East Bengal

By C. L. R. SASTRI

> "It would be a great mistake for either the Government in Karachi or Pakistan's many sympathisers abroad to regard what has happened in East Bengal as primarily Communist-inspired. To take refuge in a parrot-cry of that kind is to evade the problem and to allow the situation to deteriorate to a point where Communism might, in fact, become the worst danger."—*The Economist*, June 5, 1954: "One Pakistan or Two?"

PAKISTAN was formed in haste and it will be only poetic justice if circumstances so shape themselves that it will have no other alternative but to repent at leisure. Hopes have now been transformed into dupes, thereby undergoing a sea-change into something *poor* and strange. In the present context of Pakistan bidding fair to split into two at no distant date it may not, I believe, be wholly out of place to review the events that led up to its formation: not, let it be noted, with a view to recalling

"... old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago,"

but purely with a view to refreshing public memory in regard to some salient features of an essentially unsavoury state of affairs.

THE LADY PROTESTETH TOO MUCH

We are all acquainted with the memorable saying, "the lady protesteth too much," and it springs to the mind irresistibly when we try to remind ourselves of the origin and development of this ugly tumour on our body politic. Cutting the cackle and coming to the 'osses, what happened was that, never losing an opportunity of assuring the people in the strongest terms possible that it would, *on no account*, be willing to present the late lamented Quaid-e-Azam with a "Stan" of his fervent desires and dreams, the Congress party was impelled, for reasons best known to itself, to abandon what the American ex-Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, has called, on a memorable occasion, its "positions of strength" one by one until, in the end, it was constrained to abandon *everything* and cravenly to agree to the partition of the country at the sweet behest of the one and only intransigent minority in our midst. Did not the poet complain: "What a tangled web we weave when first we attempt to deceive"?

MR. ATTLEE'S HISTORIC DECLARATION

The Congress, incredible as it may seem, had not either the courage or the wisdom to take advantage of Mr. Clement Attlee's historic declaration of March 15, 1946, on the floor of the House of Commons that he would not permit any party in India to jettison independence. Nor was it necessary for one to be clairvoyant to make a shrewd guess as to which particular party the then British Prime Minister had in mind. The historic declaration was made on the eve of his sending his Cabinet Mission to our shores to formulate concrete proposals for hastening the dawn of that independence. In the course of the intricate negotiations that followed the Congress leaders surprisingly contrived to forget Mr. Attlee's welcome assurance and, instead of (as anyone would have expected) taking their rock-like stand upon that assurance, allowed themselves to be driven ever nearer and nearer to the final dismemberment of our thrice-hallowed land. The last straw on the proverbial camel's back was, of course, the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India. And during one hectic week-end at Simla Pandit Nehru readily succumbed to the blandishments of the noble lord and, as he unctuously assured the hastily-concerned All-India Congress Committee meeting in New Delhi, accepted the infamous "June 3 Plan" (that led to the division of the country as well as to the never-to-be-forgotten bloodbaths) "on his sole responsibility."

AN EYE-OPENER

What has, of late, been happening in Pakistan is an eye-opener to those who can use their eyes. Pakistan was formed not only in haste: it was formed on a solid basis of hatred and it is now, as is only befitting, reaping the sad harvest of that haste and of that hatred. Mr. Jinnah's death robbed Pakistan of its mightiest cementing force. The army "rebellion" of 1951 was a sufficient pointer to the shape of things to come; and the assasination of the Nawabzada fairly put the lid on them. On top of all these have come the recent elections in East Pakistan. The results of these elections cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called flattering either to the rulers of Pakistan or to the reigning party there. The Muslim League is in utter disgrace at least in the eastern half of Pakistan: and it may well be in utter disgrace in the western half also if elections are held there soon. But Mr. Mohammed Ali, having seen the red light in East Bengal, has been sufficiently astute to postpone elections in the west until such time as the storm blows over. All the same, such a devastating rout as the Muslim League has providentially sustained in East Pakistan cannot but have its natural repurcussions in the west. At the most the evil day may be considered to have been postponed: it cannot be said to have been completely averted.

U. S.—PAK PACT

Though Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. Hassan Suhrawardy have not specifically stated their views on the proposed American military aid to Pakistan, it cannot be denied that that aid has had its due share in the sensational defeat of the League in East Pakistan. In spite of these two leaders' diplomatic silence their followers have not been equally tongue-tied in their condemnation of it. That shows which way the political wind is blowing in Dacca and its environs. But the fissiparous tendencies do not by any means stop here. Even in West Pakistan dissension has been raising its ugly head and it is a moot point how long these ever-widening cracks in Pakistan's facade can be suitably covered up by the subtlety and cunning of the League's stalwarts. The Frontier Gandhi, for instance, has been clamouring for the formation of a Pakhtoonistan and for an impartial inquiry into his incarceration. Side by side with these rumblings storm-signals have been flown at many other key-points of West Pakistan. The Ahmadiya community continues to come in for unmitigated slander at the hands of the more orthodox Muslims and the head of Sir Zafarullah is being demanded on a charger.

Though I could have multiplied instances of growing disunity in the once-famed solid front of the Pakistani ruling party I am certain that those I have mentioned are sufficient to point a moral and to adorn a tale. That moral and that tale are self-evident: Pakistan is (deservedly) heading for a fall.

PANDIT NEHRU'S LINE

With the passing of each day it is becoming increasingly clear that the line that Pandit Nerru has taken over America's military aid to Pakistan is absolutely correct. It has changed the whole character of Indo-Pakistani relations, and the Kashmir issue, it is needless to say, has taken on a brand-new complexion. I had never been in any doubt that that military aid would usher in a new era in the aforementioned relations. Recent events have amply borne out my apprehensions. The promise of American help has visibly gone to the heads of Pakistan's leaders and even Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, has not been quite unaffected by it. He is no longer the suave, pacific, kid-gloved politician that he gave the impression of being at the time he took over from Khwaja Nazimuddin. Then he was wont to bleat like a lamb: now he has persuaded himself, or has been persuaded by others, to roar like a lion. Apparently, different times, different methods. If I am not gravely mistaken his elevation to the Prime-Ministership of P was heralded in our country as a welcome rev the former belligerent policy and as the ha of a glorious Indo-Pakistani accord in all matters.

KASHMIR

That first, fine, careless rapture, however given place to a more sober evaluation. It is e that, once again, we had gravely miscalculated know now that behind that velvet glove hid a hand. While he was confabulating with Pandit in the most peaceable manner possible he was ducting negotiations with the Americans for aid to Pakistan which, he admitted in an ung moment, would vastly strengthen Pakistan's p *vis-a-vis* India with respect to the Kashmir d

Pakistan is out to grab Kashmir— American arms if possible, *with* them if n The important point is its intention of grabbing picturesque land at any cost. It had tried to g "on its own" once: and in so trying had under-estimated India's strength. Feeling, no tnat discretion was the better part of valour i low for a time but, meanwhile, was subterr carrying on negotiations with its "big b America, for substantial reinforcements to b its position so as to march on to Kashmir agai greater prospects of success than ever before outcome of that policy is, of course, yet to be I am a realist and have no wish to minimise th threat to Kashmir and India.

AMERICA'S HAND

America, it is well to remember, has a strategy: it is out to dominate the whole world since our Government had been so ill-advised take the Kashmir issue to the U.N.O., Ameri been, both actively and passively, sponsoring stan's cause in every available forum. In additi Pak-American alliance is going to be of as mu to America as to Pakistan in the context of A world-wide ambitions.

My point (and it is a point that has n stressed by anyone else so far) is that, apart Pakistan's (understandable) wishing to "cash American military aid at the earliest opport the territory on which it has been casting eyes since 1947, it is conceivable that (vociferous assurances to the contrary P Eisenhower may deem fit to give periodi Pandit Nehru) America also may be equally to start the global war from Kashmir. In th Pakistan's leaders may well be visited by s second thoughts on that all-absorbing subject am not concerned with that interesting co The contingency with which I am concerned deplorable as the Kashmir position is alr relation to India, it will, I am certain, be a times more deplorable when and if Kashmir becomes a vital strategic point in what I have chosen to call America's global strategy. The point is well worth serious consideration by our rulers. America has not proffered this huge military aid to Pakistan merely for the pleasure and profit it will give to that sorely tried country: we may rest assured that it has proffered that aid with a view to deriving no little pleasure and profit itself.

SPEECHES IN PAKISTAN

It may be noted that everyone who spoke in the Pakistan Parliament recently spoke in belligerent terms with respect to India. It was as though they had been vying with one another as to who should speak most truculently. Mr. Mohammed Ali himself set the pattern of speech-making, taking care, as he did, not to pull any punches. We know that wherever Mary went her little lamb was bound to follow. Mr. Mohammed Ali's little lambs followed him with equal obedience. Sir Zaffarullah cast sundry unworthy aspersions on Pandit Nehru's sincerity and, as for Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, he, as usual, lost all sense of proportion. It is pertinent to wonder where all this wild talk of invading Kashmir again (and with American guns) will lead to. We know what Pakistanis are. They are so many "howling maniacs," in the words of Justice Munir, who presided over the Special Court which enquired into the Ahmadiya riots in the Punjab. They have been, according to him, turned into "howling maniacs" by the Muslim League's persistent cry for an Islamic State. In his report Mr. Munir condemned the efforts of leaders "to press Islam into service to solve situations it was never intended to solve."

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

This ought to give our Muslim friends much food for thought. At the same time the proceedings of the Pakistan Parliament ought to give our Government also much food for thought. Kashmir is in the limelight once more. The speeches of the Pakistani leaders should not be regarded as mere sound and fury signifying nothing: nor, I submit, should they be regarded as a sort of cloak to hide the Muslim League's sensational rout at the hands of the United Front in East Bengal. It would be unwise to minimize the threat that these speeches imply. In this case, at any rate, the bite may well be worse than the bark. The danger is in continuing to be complacent over this inflammable issue: the sparks may begin to fly at any moment. More than ever is it true now that to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

THOSE "D-DAY" RIOTS

Events in Pakistan have, of late, been moving with supersonic speed: panting pen toils after them in vain. It has been said that those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword. Pakistan came to birth on the crest of a wave of violence. "At my nativity the earth shaked like a coward," boasted Glendower: Pakistan, if it so desired, could rant in a similar vein. At its nativity our beloved Motherland shook as though it had been rocked by a terrible earthquake. The bloodbaths that followed the creation of Pakistan have become a part of history. They were like nothing that had ever happened before. Not that there had not been sufficient warnings of the shape of things to come. As a matter of fact, there had been quite a sufficient number of them, beginning with the never-to-be-forgotten August 16, 1946, "D-day" massacres in the streets of Calcutta under the direct inspiration of the present Awami League leader, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. He who, in contradistinction to Mr. Mohammed Ali, then roared like a lion and as the immortal Bertie Wooster says of his Aunt Agatha, "chewed broken bottles and killed rats with his teeth," has latterly been bleating like a veritable lamb. The whirligig of time brings in strange revenges indeed. Mr. Suhrawardy is a sober man now. He has a grouse against Providence for selecting persons other than himself to steer the ship of the largest Muslim State in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth. The first, fine, careless rapture has evaporated and the ex-Chief Minister of a once-united Bengal, finding himself in the wilderness, has been induced, by the sheer compelling force of events, to sing a different tune. It is not only, as has been said, conscience that makes cowards of us all: disappointments in life, coming thick and fast upon one who has never ceased to deem himself as having been born in the political purple, also make cowards of us all. I am far from suggesting that Mr. Suhrawardy is a spent force, an extinct volcano. He is back in the headlines and, truth being (not seldom) stranger than fiction, may still live to have his second official innings.

PAKISTAN CHICKENS COMING HOME TO ROOST

The point, however, is that, at the moment of going to press, he is vastly different from the man of wrath that he undoubtedly was in 1946. Still, public memory, though notoriously short, cannot, I am certain, be as short as to forget the sanguinary happenings in Calcutta in that eventful year. That "D-Day" of August 16, 1946, started a chain-reaction of 'red run' that culminated in the frightful post-partition riots. No inconsiderable toil and blood and sweat and tears contributed to the making of Pakistan. That being so, it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that the chickens are coming home to roost and that the end of Pakistan seems to follow a similar sanguinary pattern. I am not so foolish as to anticipate history. Pakistan may well survive the present troubled period—if only because it has influential friends "at court" who, in their own interest, cannot be expected to see their latest stooge and "fellow-traveller" sliding down the slippery slope to perdition like the Gadarene swine mentioned in the scriptures. Pakistan has the United States of America to support it now. Left to itself, without any outside assistance, it may confidently be expected, in the light of recent occurrences in its eastern bastion, to blow up at no distant date. Even with such outside assistance the same evil fate may overtake it sooner or later—sooner rather than later. The future, both in the case of individuals and in the case of nations, has a direct relationship to the past, and countries, no less than persons, reap but what they sow. The sequence of cause and effect cannot, with the best will in the world, be broken.

THAT SENSATIONAL DISASTER

The history of Pakistan took a new (and grave) turn when the United Front inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslim League in the elections that took place in East Bengal two or three months ago. The Muslim League sustained as crushing a defeat as any political party anywhere had ever sustained before. That, we had all hoped, would sober it noticeably and the frothing and fuming at the mouth give way to a more suave philosophy of life. But that, alas, was not to be. Like the Bourbons it appeared to learn nothing and to forget nothing. It affected to make light of the forces that led to the sensational disaster. It was said of Lord Curzon that, at the most crucial juncture in his political career, he made the colossal mistake of ignoring Lord Goschem. That mistake, as everyone knows, cost him the Premiership of England. The same kind of mistake is being made by West Pakistan in relation to East Pakistan. Time was when Western Pakistanis could afford to ride roughshod over the sensibilities of their eastern brethren. The latter, however, have long ceased to acknowledge this superiority of West Pakistanis and, slowly but surely, have been learning the art of putting them in their place. The resulting resentment in West Pakistan can better be imagined than described. It is doubtful whether, at this moment, the Western Pakistanis hate the Hindus more or their own eastern confreres.

SOMETHING ROTTEN IN THE STATE OF DENMARK

The celebrated Islamic solidarity has broken down for once and the rulers of Pakistan are desperately clutching at any straw that comes their way to keep their heads above water. The straw that they are desperately striving to clutch at now is the recent outspoken utterances of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister of East Bengal for one crowded hour of glorious life. Mr. Huq delivered some soul-stirring speeches in Calcutta soon after his elevation to the Chief Ministership; and in Karachi, he would appear to have un himself to a remarkable extent before the pondent of the *New York Times*. In his sp and statements in Calcutta he waxed extraor eloquent over the suicidal act of partition. Co as it did, from an avowed Muslim it was boisterously on this side of the border; and tionately condemned on the other. Apparently muffled by that condemnation he went one at Karachi and, throwing the helve after the as the saying is, demanded independence for Bengal. This was after the Adamji Paper Mills at Narayanganj. These riots had sufficiently the ground from under the feet of the Great in Karachi. Something, indeed, did seem rotten in the State of Denmark. "Out of nothing comes," declared Lucretius: equally, nothing these recurring disturbances in East could not have staged themselves. East Beng beyond doubt, in a ferment: it is—or was other day—in open revolt. This is becoming ingly clear with the passage of time. The that be are facing the biggest crisis in the Pakistan.

As usual, however, they have gone the way about in the matter of quenching the their eastern bastion. Dismissal of Mr. Huq assuredly not ease the tension there: it will make "the gruel thick and slab." Pakistan is cross-roads: even its aforementioned friends "at cost" may not be able to save it. not been said that those who take up the sword perish by the sword?

THE "NEW LOOK" IN EAST BENGAL

Mr. Huq and his Cabinet have ceased to and Major-General Iskandar Mirza is ruling stead. To assert that what has been imposed Bengal is Governor's rule is to miss the parasong. It is Governor's rule only in the technical sense. But the Governor is a milita Moreover, there is considerable significance particular military man chosen. General Mi seasoned "brass hat" and those who recomm name certainly knew their business. East at present enjoying military dictatorship, nor's rule. It is martial law—nothing less been imposed on that unhappy land. It is law with a stamping iron heel. It is martial "no d—d nonsense" about it. The General has already created a desert in the over whose destinies he is now presiding. peace—or the simulacrum of it—has been there since his arrival in Dacca. Military ship and rigorous censorship of news go it is possible that all is not as quiet on that a gullible public has been led to believe.

A province that had inflicted as recently as a couple of months ago the most crushing defeat to date on the Muslim League cannot be expected to have taken cheerfully the shattering news that the duly elected Chief Minister and his colleagues had been, in the official sense, liquidated and the defeated party had replaced them with a sleight of hand rarely witnessed even at the present day. It was political legerdemain at the meridian of its splendour. It was the apex, apogee, and apotheosis of *force majeure*.

SHORT-LIVED GLORY

I am not suggesting that Mr. Fazlul Huq woke up one fine morning and found his newly-won Chief Ministership slipping through his fingers in a miraculous fashion. Even a tiro in politics could have foreseen weeks ago what was going to happen to him. The ground had been sedulously prepared for that despicable consummation. Mr. Huq had been given ample time to face the dismal prospect as philosophically as he could. Still it cannot be gainsaid that he is, perhaps, the most disappointed politician in Pakistan today. It was only the other day that, fighting against the heaviest of odds, he succeeded in assuming the leadership of the eastern bastion of the largest Muslim State even. In a phrase immortalised by our own Congress politicians he did nothing less than "wrench power from unwilling hands—and by the sheer force of non-violence, too!" With, no doubt, a modicum of assistance from the Zeitgeist he contrived to perform a miracle. The Muslim League was routed as never any political party anywhere had been routed before; and he seized the reins of office with pardonable pride. But his glory has been short-lived; and he is back in the wilderness from which he had emerged but a few months ago.

"U.S.A's MILITARY OUTPOST IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA"

What Karachi has done in East Bengal—and, let us remember, *after* the signing of the much-discussed U.S.-Pak military alliance—ought to be more than of passing interest to us in India. If we are not politically astigmatic we shall not fail to see the full significance of it. The full significance of it is that *already* Pakistan has managed to cash in on America's military aid to behave as America's latest political stooge—as, in fact, "U.S.A's military outpost in South-East Asia," to quote the sapient words of a distinguished correspondent. It would not, indeed, be surprising in the least if Karachi has acted in the manner it has done in East Bengal at the dictation of Washington. What has happened in East Bengal ought to be a grim reminder to us of the ominous shape of things to come. The *New York Times*, for instance, has written an editorial in which it has sought to justify Karachi's virtual imposition of martial law in its eastern bastion: it has accorded to it its fullest moral support. In American eyes Communism is an all-time scapegoat, a sort of multi-purpose alibi for doing just what one wishes to do and it cannot, therefore, surprise us that the paper has assured itself that Mr. Fazlul Huq and his colleague, Mr. Hassan Suhrawardy, "were willing to play with the fire of collaboration with the Communists" and that Mr. Huq thoroughly deserves his present humiliation.

After tracing the history of events in East Pakistan since the last elections it proceeds to state that when Mr. Huq committed himself to the independence of East Pakistan from West Pakistan he left the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, "with no alternative but to force him out of office if Pakistan is to continue united and strong." It concludes significantly :

> "We are interested in that union and in that strength. We want our Pakistani friends to enjoy the security of a prosperous and viable State, economic and political." (June 1).

AMERICA AVENGES ITSELF ON EAST BENGAL

This shows which way the wind is blowing and it supports my thesis that America has avenged itself on East Bengal for its opposition to its military aid to Pakistan voiced from a plethora of pulpits and platforms during the elections. The Americans have been consistently acting on the Biblical principle that those who are not with us are against us. America, as all know, is out to give Communism no quarter; and is prepared even to throw away the baby with the bath-water in the process. The comments of the American press on the crisis in East Bengal are extremely revealing. Even without American military aid Pakistan had been a stinging thorn on our sides: *with* that aid it can afford to be much more of a nuisance. Happenings in East Bengal ought to waken us out of our traditional torpor. Pakistan is playing for very high stakes, indeed.

The most important thing in these happenings is that the Muslim League—the party that had been worsted in the elections in East Bengal—has usurped the reins of authority from the party that had won those elections in the most decided manner possible. The tables have been turned with a vengeance: it has fallen to the lot of the victors to eat humble pie, the vanquished having, so to speak, risen on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things.

LAND REFORM IN BURMA

By BANDHUDAS SEN,

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INTRODUCTORY

BURMA has got approximately an area of 8,754,000 hectares under cultivation, with which to support a population of 18.5 million. The population has maintained a steady rate of increase. From 10.5 millions in 1901, it grew to 16.8 millions in 1941, and the total population was estimated at 18,489,000 in 1950.[1] But in comparison with other countries in the South-East Asia, Burma has got a low density of population. Whereas in China, Indo-China, Korea, Japan and Java, the density of population is 48, 37, 125, 204 and 382 per sq. km. respectively, it is only 28 in Burma. Besides, she has got vast stretches of virgin land which are yet to be brought under the plough. Only 60 per cent of the cultivable land is actually cropped every year. Like other South-East Asian countries, the economy of Burma is predominantly agricultural, and approximately 70 per cent of the working population are engaged in agriculture.

There are two main types of agrarian economy existing side by side in Burma, and there is very little in common between them. In Upper Burma, land is not fertile, rainfall is uncertain and the farming is traditional native farming. In Lower Burma, on the other hand, land is fertile, rainfall fairly dependable and farming is modern and individualistic.

WESTERN ECONOMIC PENETRATION

As in the case of most other countries in this region, contact with the Western economy which began with the opening of Suez Canal, influenced the social organization profoundly, and disintegrated the traditional, social and economic life of Burma. The old economic life of Burma was based on the tradition of village economics and handicrafts. When the British took over the lower part of Burma, more than a century ago in two stages, partly in 1824 and partly in 1852, they observed a policy of *laissez faire* which resulted ultimately in excessive concentration of land. In contrast with the conditions in Upper Burma, which retained the traditional way of life, the new set-up in the Delta region, as a result of the contact with the Western mode of life and culture, became individualistic.

Before the incursion of the British into Lower Burma, there were two types of land tenure in the whole country, namely, the State Land Tenure and the Private Land Tenure. When the British came, they did not recognize the private lands; they declared all lands as State lands. Only the landholders' right was granted on lands which were cultivated and for which revenue was paid continuously for twelve years. The landholders' confers on one a title to hold the land and to vate it. This right is transferable and heritable. The primary object in conferring such rights bring more land under cultivation and to class of peasant proprietors.[2] In spite of the tion of the British Colonial Administration to peasent proprietorship, the trend towards elimination of native ownership was already rent at the beginning of the century. The of the situation was recognized in some legislative acts, as the Land Improvement 1883, the Agricultural Loans Act of 1884, the Conciliation Act of 1905, etc. But these Acts little relief. After the rebellions of 1930, the ment declared in a press communique, their tion to re-examine the very difficult question agrarian legislation, but that it will take some before they can come to any conclusions controversial matter.[3] The laws when they 1941, shortly before the Japanese invasion, late, since the process of land concentration hands of non-agriculturists was so far advanced mere legal measures were of little consequence.

The process of colonization of Burma the village community with its fixed moral and replaced it by a migrating tenant class tenant in Lower Burma has lost contact native community. Being isolated from the order, he has also lost the normal restraints mark life in a decent community. At the of the war in the Pacific 'the typical rural Bur a landless labourer, often drifting from vil village contributing to crime record that gave proportionately the highest rate of murders country."[4]

PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

Some writers have maintained that the of agricultural credit in Burma, is 'the natural of Western economic penetration, of the eli or crippling of native handicrafts and the diversification."[5] There is hardly any peasant free from debts. The Banking Enquiry estimated the amount of debt at between 50 crores of rupees. The bulk of agricultural supplied by the Chettyars and to a certain by the Chinese moneylenders. Chettyars are representative Indian moneylenders. The British laws guaranteed them that the loans secured by mortgage would be protected by the British Courts. The Chettyars are professional moneylenders and are not agriculturists. Their rates of interest usually ranged between 15 and 36 per cent per annum averaging 25 per cent. The rates of interest charged by the Chinese moneylenders, on the other hand, were often as high as 45 to 60 per cent. The main reason for the high concentration of land into the hands of the non-agriculturists is to be found in the credit system in the rural areas, where landlords are often the moneylenders. They supply not only land, but also loan to the tenant-cultivator. The land held by the Chettyars is estimated at nearly three million acres.

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[1] United Nations: *Land Reform.*

[2] Hon'ble Mr. Thakin Nu's speech in support of the Nationalisation Bill at the sixth session of the Parliament Union of Burma, on October 11, 1948.

[3] Quoted by Erich Jacoby: *Agrarian Unrest in the* *Asia.*

[4] J. Russel Andrews: *Burma, An Experiment* *Government.*

[5] Erich H. Jacoby: *Op. cit.*

In 1926, the area held by the non-agriculturists was 3.5 million acres out of 18 million acres of cultivated land, and by 1947, it increased to 6.5 million acres out of 19.5 million acres. The following table will show the steady increase in land area held by the non-agriculturists:

TABLE I

Year	Total cultivated area (in acres)	Area held by non-agriculturists (in acres)
1926	18,271,000	3,471,000
1930	18,747,000	4,028,000
1935	18,922,000	6,138,000
1940	19,460,000	6,540,000
1947	19,430,000	6,452,000

In Lower Burma, the concentration of agricultural land in the hands of non-agriculturists is greater than in Upper Burma. Out of the total area of 11,120,343 acres of land in Lower Burma, 5.3 million acres were held by non-agriculturists in 1947. On the other hand, in Upper Burma, only a little over one million acres out of 8.2 million acres were held by non-agriculturists. Thus the non-agriculturists held nearly half of the cultivated land in Lower Burma as against one-eighth in Upper Burma.

TABLE II

Land holders	Lower Burma Area (in acres)	Upper Burma Area (in acres)
Agriculturists	5,745,263	7,125,710
Resident non-agriculturists	962,327	454,473
Non-resident non-agriculturists	4,412,753	623,315
Total	11,120,343	8,203,498

It is not difficult to explain how such an amount of land came to be owned by non-agriculturists especially the moneylenders. The report of the Land and Agriculture Committee of 1938 said:

> "The moneylender . . . often carries on his business in an anti-social way . . . He has reduced many agriculturists to a state of economic servitude. He exploits the weakness of character and will of the improvident and obtains a hold, which is frequently never relaxed, over the unfortunate who are compelled to borrow from him in times of stress, such as, failure of crops and illness. It is no concern of his to educate the borrower in thrift and self-help or to encourage him to free himself from debt and rely on his own resources. His interest is to keep him indebted."

Apart from this foreclosure of land for settlement of debts, two other reasons have been advanced for the alienation of land from agriculturists to non-agriculturists. Firstly, grants for large tracts of land were given to non-agriculturists by the British Government. Secondly, some land was also obtained by dishonest transactions by the moneylenders.

TENANCY PROBCEM

The system inevitably tended to reduce the number of owner-farmers and to increase the number of tenants and landless agricultural labourers. Within the period of 1921 to 1931, the number of tenant cultivators increased from 512,000 to 578,000 an increase of 13 per cent and the number of agricultural labourers swelled from 622,000 to over one million—an increase of 60 per cent.

There is no security of tenancy, which is usually held only for one year. The following table shows the number of years for which tenants generally hold their tenancies:

TABLE III

Year	*District*	Percentage of tenants holding land for 1 year	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.	5 yrs.
1914-16	Kyaukpyu	50	15	..	..	17
1919-20	Tavoy	43	20	12	6	9
1910-17	Toungoo	55	18	9	5	13
1932-34	Pegu	50	17	8	25	..
1933-35	Insein	47	21	10	22	..
1925-27	Yamethin	46	18	12	24	..

The reason why a tenant has to shift from one tenancy to another almost every year is that land is given to the highest rent-payer by auction by the landholders. The normal rent before the war was 16 baskets of paddy for one acre of land producing 40 baskets. Even now, a tenant whose rent is only one-third of the gross produce is considered fortunate.

ALL-BURMA PEASANTS ORGANIZATION

The All-Burma Peasants' Organization was founded in 1938 under the leadership of the late Mr. Thakin Mya with a view to solving the agrarian problems. But in the early years of its existence, not many peasants could be brought together into the fold of the organization. What with the ignorance of the peasants, the risk of unemployment, the weakness of the organization itself, and above all, the foreign domination, it was difficult to organize the peasants. Things, however, have changed since the assumption of power by the Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League. A number of laws designed to improve the conditions of the peasants have been passed; movements for the socio-economic betterment and welfare of the peasants are afoot. As a result, peasants have become conscious of their own interests.

AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION

The Tenancy Act which was passed in 1939, with a view to solving the rent problem proved unworkable mainly because it was left to the individual judgement of the local officers to decide what constituted a fair rent. It was subsequently replaced by a government communique which transferred outstanding cases for judicial settlement. The Land Alienation Act of 1941, was based on the report of the Land and Agricultural Committee. The law was designed to prevent land from coming into the hands of non-agriculturists. The creditor could retain land for 15 years, after which it had to be returned to the original owner without further payment. The Land Purchase Act of 1941 empowered the government to purchase land held by the Chettyars and from other non-agriculturists, who had an alternative to sell it on long-term contracts with provision for very low rates of interest or to lease to tenants. The Land Disputes (Summary Jurisdiction) Act of 1945 set up special commission to settle disputes over possession of agricultural lands. The Tenancy Act, 1946, empowered the government to fix standard rents for different localities, crops and classes of lands. Burma Agriculturists Debt Relief Act, 1947, was important from many points of view. In accordance with the Sections 13 and 14 of this Act, all debts contracted prior to October 1941, and all debts contracted after October 1941, were scaled down by the Board which was formed for the purpose, on receipt of application from the debtor concerned. As regards debts incurred prior to the 1st of October, 1941, the Act provided that all debts outstanding on the 1st October, 1946, would be deemed to be wholly discharged; for debts incurred after that date, only the principal need be repaid on instalment system; and all debts would be deemed to be wholly discharged where the agriculturist has paid twice the amount of the principal. The Tenancy Disposal Act of 1948, transferred the power of tenancy from the landowners to the hands of the tenants in the form of Tenancy Committees. Finally, the Land Nationalization Act was passed by the Burmese Parliament in 1948.

NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

Appropriation : The Land Nationalization Act seems to be the natural outcome of the desire of the Burmese people as reflected in the Constitution of the Union of Burma. Paragraph 30 of the Constitution lays down that the State is the ultimate owner of all lands, that "the State shall have right to regulate, alter or abolish land tenures or resume possession of any land and distribute the same for collective or co-operative farming or to agricultural tenants" and that "there can be no large land-holding on any basis whatsoever" and that "the maximum size of landholding shall be determined by law." Th pervades the Land Nationalization Act.

By virtue of the main provision (Article the Land Nationalization Act, 1948, the Gov has been authorized to resume all lands held non-agriculturists. As regards lands held by turists, it has been provided that they will be to retain up to 50 acres in case of paddy and cane lands, up to 25 acres of *va* lands and up acres of *kaing* lands and provided they have lands from 4th January, 1948. *Dhani* lands, lands, rubber estates and lands belonging to institutions will not be resumed. January 4, 19 fixed with a view to eliminating dishonest of land so often made by the landlords to cir the provisions of the Disposal of Tenancies Ac came into force on 3rd January, 1948, and la that a landholder would be permitted to ha 50 acres. Thus out of the total cultivated 21,479,857 acres, about 9,990,000 acres will be by the Government, of which between 55 lakhs will be in Lower Burma and between 18 lakhs will be in Upper Burma.

Compensation : The Act lays down p for compensation both for the appropriation right of the landlords to cultivate and for tional improvements. Compensations will be to the land revenue assessable in the year In determining compensation, the following are taken into consideration :

i. The nature of the tenure
ii. The length of time for which a pers been in possession of the agricultural
iii. The benefits enjoyed by virtue of po of the land, and
iv. The costs incurred and any loss suffe respect of the land.

The President was empowered to appoint mission of ten members to determine the basis pensation, and the manner of payment in with the principles laid down in the Act. Th mission has been given the same powers as ar in a Civil Court and the findings of the Co are to be regarded as final. The Commission posed of members of Parliament, experts, la and agriculturists.

Method of Distribution : Section 9 of th lays down that the agricultural lands re the State, except such lands as may be req grazing grounds and village common lands, distributed to all agriculturist families with exceptions and such areas of land as can be by one yoke of cattle (approximately ten acres be allotted to each agriculturist family at l of whose members is an able-bodied adult. B is a condition that the recipient of land mu co-operative organization. "No agricultu shall be allotted any agricultural land u provision of Section 9(3) unless one or more members thereof join or undertake to join a co-operative organization approved by the State."[6]

The right to cultivate land is further subject to certain other conditions. These conditions are :

i. "That one or more members of such family shall personally cultivate such land;
ii. "that it shall pay all impositions of the State;
iii. "that it shall not cease to be an agriculturist family;
iv. "that such land shall not be left fallow without sufficient cause;
v. "that such land shall not be mortgaged, sold or otherwise transferred to any other person or be fragmented or sub-divided; and
vi. "that such land shall not be rented or leased to any other person with or without consideration."[7]

In case of failure to observe any of these conditions, all the rights to such land will be forfeited by the State.[8]

Execution of the Act : For carrying out the purposes of the Act, Land Committees are to be formally appointed by the President.[9] These Land Committees have been given wide powers under the Act. They are required to resume possession of agricultural land on behalf of the State, to distribute land among peasants, to establish co-operative organizations, etc. The Act further lays down that the Land Committees will be elected and there will be one Land Committee for each village tract. But it was not possible for the Government to undertake such a heavy responsibility of conducting elections on such a vast scale at once. The Government has, therefore, drawn a ten-year plan, according to which 300 Land Committees consisting of 2,100 members will be elected and about 200,000 acres of land will be distributed in 1953.

Long-term Plans : *Mutual Aid Teams*: One yoke acreage of land, that is roughly ten acres of land, may be sufficient to assure a comfortable standard of living for the peasants. The average yield from this land will be 350 to 400 baskets of paddy, out of which 160 baskets will be required for meeting the cost of cultivation, 100 baskets for food and 85 baskets will be left for other personal expenses. "Calculating at the present market value each household will get Rs. 225 net cash income (per annum). It cannot be said that this sum is not sufficient."[10] But as the aim is to raise the economic status of the peasants to such an extent that each peasant can own a house, a motor car and earn not less than 00 kyats per month, as the Prime Minister Thakin Nu declared on another occasion,[11] peasants will have to be organized in Mutual Aid Teams and Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives.

Mutual Aid Teams will be formed on the basis of one team for 5 agriculturist families receiving land under the Act. In forming Mutual Aid Teams, peasants not only can choose to group with any one whom they like and whose outlook and temperament are similar to theirs, but they would also receive separate shares of produce for their land, cattle and implements. The Government's intention is to form 200,000 Mutual Aid Teams by 1955.

Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives will be formed by grouping four Mutual Aid Teams. Such co-operatives will, therefore, consist of 20 families and 200 acres of land. The Government intends to form 50,000 Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives by the end of 1962.

A peasant who gets land from the Government under the Nationalization Act, will have to join the co-operative, for two reasons. In the first place, the agricultural loans, etc., will be given only to the co-operatives; and secondly, it is the intention of the Government to make the co-operatives the chief marketing organization of the peasants. If, therefore, the peasant wants to take advantage of the loans and wants to sell his produce, he will have to join the co-operative.

Collective Farms: The next and the final stage in the land reform programme is the foundation of collective farms. A beginning is intended to be made in 1954-55 in this direction when only one model collective farm will be established, with 800 to 1,000 acres of land. Between 1956 and 1962, the Government intends to open at least 66 collective farms, which will be formed mostly by grouping together the Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives.

To begin with, the landless agricultural labourers, who might not be able to get land when land is distributed under the Land Nationalization Act owing to local scarcity, will be settled in the State Collective Farms and on the State colonies established on cultivable waste land.[12]

Next those small holders whose lands do not yield enough to maintain average standard of living due to adverse local agricultural and economic conditions, will be absorbed in the Collective Farms.

There are about 4,928,000 acres of cultivable waste land in the whole of Burma. On this land and also in other suitable areas, Collective Farms will be established connecting them with the State Mechanized Farms. The type of Collective Farms to be established will be determined by such factors as time, locality and agriculturists concerned.

Although the Act was passed in 1948, the actual work could not be started before 1952, as much attention had to be given to quell the disturbances that followed. As the situation improved and conditions became normal, a new ministry, the ministry of Land Nationalization was formed to implement the Act. In May, 1950, a beginning was made with the transfer of 60,000 acres of land in Syrian and the Government gave financial assistance amounting to Rs. 400,000.

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[6] Section 10.
[7] Section 12(1).
[8] Section 12(2).
[9] Section 14.
[10] Thakin Tin's speech at the 6th session of the Parliament.
[11] Thakin Tin's speech at the 7th Annual Conference of the All-Burma Peasants' Organization.
[12] See Mr. Thakin Tin's speech at the Pyidawtha Conference, August 4-17, 1952.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the land reform in Burma has got many commendable points, which might be worth emulating by some countries in this region. It is a pity that this Land Reform in Burma has not received as much attention as the land reform in China. In fact, in certain respects it is superior to the land reform in China. There are many points of similarity and difference between them. Like China, Burma has re-distributed land on a wide basis; but unlike her, Burma carried the land reform peacefully and without any violence. No distinction has been made among the peasants on the basis of their class status. There is also provision for compensation to the landholders.

Burma seems to have decided the pattern of her agrarian economy once for all. The Burmese C tution as has been mentioned earlier, does no nize private ownership of land. Section 30(2) o Constitution authorizes the State to acqui distribute land for co-operative or collective fa Mr. Thakin Tin, the Minister for Agricul Forestry, said in the Parliament, "The lo aims are collective farming and mechanization the agriculturist will attain the full stature of But there are many who believe that co farming and mechanization of agriculture are harmful for the social, cultural and economic ment of the peasants. Experiences show that the to collectivization is hardly peaceful and w large-scale violence; which hamper the agri and the economic development of a country, from which it may take years to recover.

That is the lesson of the collectivi Russia. One can only hope that Burma wil profitted by the lesson of collectivization in R and that the Socialist Government will not cop method hastily in their anxiety to bring ab quick realization of their ideal.

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ECONOMICS OF SMALL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

THE Report of the International Planning Team on Small Industry in India has once again focussed the attention of the Government and the industrialists on the urgent need for developing small-scale and cottage industries in this country for solving the problem of unemployment and, what is more, under-employment. The Report rightly points out that "the Indian market is one of the largest potential domestic markets in the world." The foreign experts have frankly stated that "the rate of development of small industries is slow, far slower than is possible." The Study Team's major impression is that the basic causes of present deficiencies in small industry are "methods of management and production which fall far short of meeting modern demands for efficiency plus reluctance or failure to adopt improved rationalised methods." The International Planning Team has recommended the establishment of multi-purpose Institutes of Technology for small industries, and the Government has already decided to implement this recommendation and have announced that four Regional Institutes for the training of small-scale industries will be established in different parts of India. These institutes would act as Service Agencies and would assist small industries in improving their technique and production and management, in obtaining credit and finance, in securing raw materials, in marketing their goods to the best possible advantage and in promoting patterns of development calculated to make sm industries ancillary to large-scale industries by ing about co-ordination of production prog The Government have also accepted the mendation of the Ford Foundation Team establishment of a Marketing Service Cor which would integrate its activities with those Regional Institutes. It has also been deci establish a Small Industries Corporation to production for meeting Government orders. recommendations made by the team reg National School of Designs, Export Dev Offices and the establishment of Industri operatives are under the consideration of the ment of India. In the meantime, the Gov have decided to constitute a Small-scale I Board which would consist of representatives Ministries concerned in the Government and of State Governments. The functions Board would be to control and co-ordinate vities of the organisations mentioned above to frame and implement programmes gene the development of small-scale industries in

We would, however, like to examine c recommendations of the foreign experts on blem of "rationalisation" in the sphere of s industries in this country. The Report p that

"Without rationalisation. the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology."

Unless and until these workers are helped to produce more goods and more wealth, neither wages nor living standards can be raised. You cannot divide what you do not produce. The Experts further expressed the view that

"To prevent rationalisation, to stop the processes of modernisation, is not only illogical but it will force stagnation and retrogression of Indian small industry."

They also hold the view that modernisation instead of creating technological unemployment, would create more employment.

"Improvements mean more and better products at lower and lower cost price and result in greatly expanded demands and markets and thus expanded job opportunities."

These observations of the Ford Foundation Team require careful consideration and examination. We do not know whether these Experts ever cared to go to the Centre of the All-India Village Industries Association in Wardha and whether they tried to understand the point of view advocated by Gandhiji. So far as we know, no such attempt was made by the International Planning Team. This is, surely, unfortunate. We are prepared to learn from foreign experts in improving our techniques of production. But if these experts come to India with the impression that Gandhiji, his co-workers and the Indian national leaders devoted no attention to this problem all these decades, they are sadly mistaken.

Gandhiji himself was not against machinery as such. He was very desirous of improving the spinning wheel and announced attractive prizes to those who would prepare improved *charkhas*. In Wardha, he conducted continuous experiments for improvements in the techniques of village industries in India. Gandhiji was, therefore, not against modernisation and technological progress; he was against the "craze" for mechanisation and labour-saving devices, specially in a country like India where labour is abundant and capital is scarce.

"Mechanisation is good," observed Gandhiji. "when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished." "It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India."

He, therefore. welcomed those machines "that lightened the burden of crores of men living in cottages." Gandhiji was not against the use of electricity either.

"If we could have electricity in every village home," remarked Gandhiji. "I would not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity."

The over-riding consideration in all these matters must be the human factor which essentially means the provision for full employment to the people. It is true that the techniques of production must improve if the total amount of wealth in the country has to be increased. But a mere increase in the total wealth without increasing the purchasing power of the people by providing them adequate means of livelihood, will not solve our basic problems. Our objective, therefore, should be *"full employment plus maximum production."* It should also be borne in mind that we cannot afford to depend very much on foreign markets for absorbing the products of our industries. Our attempt should be to create an increasing market within the country. This can be possible only if we employ labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive techniques of production.

We are, therefore, not against modernisation or rationalisation. But in our anxiety for improving the techniques of production in small-scale and cottage industries, we should not exceed the proper limits and create fresh problems. The content and form of rationalisation will naturally differ from country to country and from region to region even within a country in accordance with local circumstances. A particular type of technological improvement in America or Russia where labour is comparatively scarce may be completely out of place in India where the main problem is to provide employment to the people. Even within India, a particular technique which may be good in Rajasthan, may not be suitable in Travancore-Cochin where the density of population is much higher. The application of modern techniques, therefore, requires constant vigilance, study and research in order to balance the advantages of scientific improvements and the employment potential.

We do earnestly hope that the Regional Institutes, which the Government of India would be setting up in different parts of the country, would keep all these considerations in view so that the fundamental problems of our national economy may be solved satisfactorily. We understand that the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has also decided to establish a Research Centre in Calcutta. Recently, a training school for Khadi workers has been opened at Nasik on behalf of the Board. The Government should try to co-ordinate the activities and experiments of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board with those of the new Small-scale Industries Board in order to avoid duplication of work and conflict of ideas. We should approach this task with an open mind without reducing a particular notion to a "fetish" or a dogma. Our approach must be scientific and rational and must not lose touch with the realities of the situation. Any kind of orthodoxy, either for modernisation or for old techniques, would be suicidal.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA SINCE 1945

By ANADI BHUSAN MAITY, M.A.

I

INDONESIA, or the Netherlands India, is not a solid landmass but an archipelago, containing several large and many small islands separated by often stormy tropical seas. Measured in terms of area, population and economic resources, she occupies an important place in South-East Asia. For centuries, Indonesia became "the forgotten zone of the Asiatic continent." From the moment of the capitulation of Japan during World War II, she has come into the limelight. Since the war, she was turned into a hot-bed of intense conflict between the resurgent nationalism and the decadent colonialism. At present, Indonesia is confronted with grave problems and her stability and economic developments are urgently called for not only in the interest of Asia, but also for the colony-holding nations of Europe.

II

Indonesia is made up of nearly 2,000 islands—large and small—covering an area of 375,000 sq. miles. She has a population of about 75 millions of which nearly 50 millions live in Java which is rich in resources, culture and civilization. The density of population in Java is nearly 1,000 to the sq. mile, which is also the greatest in the world. Indonesia is called "the cultural melting-pot of Asia." There the Brahmin, Buddhist and Naturalist traditions survive basically unchanged. The basic strain is Malaya, but it has mixed up considerably with Indian and Chinese strains. In spite of their absorption in the indigenous stock, they retain some local differences and show considerable variations in civilization. The majojrity of the Indonesian population are Moslems, although there are about 2,500,000 Christians, including 200,000 Europeans and nearly 2,000,000 Chinese. In Indonesia, no less than two hundred different languages are spoken.

Indonesia is the reservoir of valuable raw materials. Being one of the world's renowned areas of tropical agriculture, she produces abundant valuable products—tea, cinchona, copra, sisal, pepper, maize, sugar, coffee, etc. A vast crop of rice is also grown, but this is insufficient to feed the population. There are also valuable timber forests, particularly teak. From the point of view of the sinews of war, she possesses a large reserve of petroleum and rubber. In fact, this reserve of petroleum—the liquid gold—is the greatest asset to the oil-poor East and has drawn Indonesia into the vortex of power-politics. She is also rich in mineral resources like tin, coal and manganese and has large deposits of medium-grade iron ore. There is no gainsaying the fact that "not only were the Indies the cork by which Holland floated economically; they were also her window on the outside world and provided rich oppor for the exercise of creative energy."

As the islands lie between Asia and A fringing the sea-route between the Indian and Oceans, they form a discontinuous land-bridge two continents and command great strategic tance. Indonesia is "the hub of South-East A the words of the Secretary of State, Hull:

> "Any change in the status of the Neth Indies would directly affect the interests of countries. The Netherlands Indies are very tant in the international relationships of the Pacific Ocean . . . . Intervention in the affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any tion in their *status quo* by other than processes would be prejudicial to the stability, peace and security, not only region of the Netherlands Indies but in the Pacific area."[1]

The Big Powers of today are engaged in a matic showdown to have their sway over th in order to maintain land, naval and air bases

Dutch sovereignty over Indonesia dates the establishment of trading posts in Java, S and Madura at the beginning of the 17th Early Dutch policy was openly colonialistic ploitative, and as Indonesia consisted of a of petty kingdoms with mutual jealousies, th Governors lost no time to exploit the weak the situation. As Dr. Van Mook says:

> "They practised of necessity a p *divide et impera*; of balancing between ing interests; of attracting one group to the other."[2]

For a long time trade remained the business. But with the growing power of th and the increasing demand of raw materials the new industries, they progressively inte country with their home economy. On J 1800, the Dutch Government took over the and administrative control of the country Chartered Companies. Eventually, they upon a policy of territorial expansion and domination for the purpose of bringing gre cial returns to Holland. In 1830, they 'Culture System' in Java for the develo resources in a more systematic way.

Dutch policy was modified towards th the 19th century in response to the new productive efficiency and the exploitation of resources. Private capital began to flow in impetus was given to large-scale plantati view to make this country a prop of their structure, they improved it by building "an astounding edifice of order, wealth and sanitation." By 1910, all the islands of the archipelago came under the Dutch rule.

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[1] Dorothy Woodman : *An A. B. C. of the Pa* Special, 1942), pp. 61.

[2] H. J. Van Mock : *The Stakes of Democracy* *Asia*, 1950, pp. 74-75.

The Indonesian independence movement is the product of the present century. Like the Indian, it is essentially a movement of the middle-class intelligentsia. The effect of the Russo-Japanese war produced a new psychology which gave stimulus to Indonesian nationalism. Moreover, a series of international events like the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the upsurge of nationalism in India and the Near and Middle East, and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1918 imparted an added impetus to it. Shortly after World War I, it developed into an organised form and drew its inspiration from Western culture, modern democratic nationalism and Marxism.[3] In the late thirties, the nationalist sentiment grew stronger and there were mass agitations for political autonomy. The Dutch took recourse to repressive measures and were temporarily successful. When the World War II broke out in 1939, Indonesian nationalism again flared up. But with the invasion of Japan the course of events took a different turn. The Japanese drew much support from the Indonesians by granting them a barest semblance of self-government. With a view to counteract the effect of Japanese occupation, Holland adopted a more liberal attitude. On December 7, 1942, Queen Wilhelmina announced that at the end of the War a Round Table Conference would be convened for the participation of Indoensia within the Commonwealth "with complete freedom of conduct for each part regarding internal affairs, but with readiness to render mutual assistance." Unfortunately, this plan proved to be illusory and the Indonesian leaders turned to the Japanese in the hope of securing better terms for them. Japan conceded a fair measure of autonomy to them by setting up a Provisional Government. This provided a golden opportunity for the Indonesian nationalists. They quickly trained Indonesian technicians and a army of more than 60,000 on Japanese lines who were useful in subsequent years for fighting out Dutch Imperialism.

III

The surrender of Japan on August 11, 1945, decisively altered the situation in Indonesia; for, at the time of their surrender Japan provided every opportunity to the Indonesians to proclaim their independence. The Indonesian leaders immediately created a Preparatory Committee and on August 17, proclaimed their independence. They adopted a Constitution of which Article 1(1) reads.:

> "The Indonesian State shall be *unitarian* with a Republican form of Government."

They also issued a political manifesto stating Indonesia's right to freedom under the terms of the U. N. Charter and her desire to serve the cause of peace and humanity.

Meanwhile, the task of maintaining law and order was assigned to the British under Admiral Mountbatten. But being unprepared to take up the job, they delayed nearly six weeks within which the Indonesians were able to consolidate their position. On September 29, 1945, the British and Indian troops reached Indonesia in order to disarm and concentrate the Japanese forces, to rescue and bring home their prisoners of war, and obviously to pave the way for the military and political re-entry of the Dutch. The return of the Dutch forces provoked Indonesian resistance. Britain was put in a very embarassing position when the Dutch refused to negotiate with the Republicans. For, as Dr. Evatt says:

> "The Dutch, on their part, do not seem to have taken a sufficiently realistic view of the situation and were unduly flexible. The pre-war conditions had disappeared for ever, but the Dutch seemed slow to appreciate this."[4]

But when the British forces were preparing for evacuation, the Netherlands Government accepted the idea of negotiation with the Indonesian Republicans at the Chequers Conference on December 27, 1945.

At the beginning of 1946, a proposal for an investigation by the U. N. Security Council was submitted by the Ukrainian delegate alleging that the military action directed by the British with the help of the Japanese forces against the Indonesians was in direct contradiction to Article 1(2) and Article 73 of the U.N. Charter, and constituted a threat to international peace and security. He asked the Security Council to take necessary measures by the creation of a Special Commission for an on-the-spot investigation. The Dutch Government objected to this on the ground of "domestic jurisdiction." Subsequently, the proposal was voted down and the matter was dropped.[5]

The atmosphere improved quickly with the arrival of Dr. Van Mook as Lieutenant Governor-General and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr as a Special British Envoy to Indonesia. Simultaneously, in February 1946 the Netherlands Government advanced a plan stressing the desire of a "Federal Indonesian Commonwealth" fully self-governing but united with Holland in allegiance to the Dutch Crown. Discussions on this basis took place but they did not materialise. While the negotiations were in abeyance, the Dutch hastily established some puppet States in and outside the Republican territory. Their objectives were two-fold: first, to enhance Dutch control in areas to which the

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[3] L. K. Rosinger & Associates : *The State of Asia : A Contemporary Survey* 1951, p. 408.

[4] H. V. Evatt : *The Task of Nations*, 1949, p. 177.

[5] *Year Book of the United Nations*, 1946-47, p. 338.

Republicans had originally laid claim; and secondly, to build counterweights to the Republic in the event that a federation of Indonesia was later created.[6]

In July, 1946, the Malino Conference at Macassar was convened by Dr. Van Mook in which it was decided that the Indonesian Republic would be a constituent part of a larger *federal* Commonwealth and linked with Holland by a personal tie. It should be pointed out that Indonesia insisted on establishing a strong centralised government but "the rise of federalism in Indonesia," says Prof. Kroef, "was primarily the consequence of the strategy employed by the Dutch in their attempt to discredit the young and, at that time, as yet unrecognised Republic." For, he again says, by promoting *federalism* they hoped to achieve two objectives: first, they believed they would convince the Security Council that the Indonesian dispute was a local or internal matter over which the Council could claim no jurisdiction; and, secondly, the Dutch hoped that by establishing a number of federal States an internal conflict between them could be created.[7] However, opinions divided on the question of the nature of Indoensia's participation with Holland and the conference fell through.

With the arrival of Lord Killearn, the British Special Commissioner in South-East Asia, as a mediator between the two parties, negotiations were resumed in October, 1946. On November 15, 1946, the deadlock was temporarily broken off when the two parties initialled a "political accord" which was known as the Linggadjati Agreement. Under this agreement the Dutch recognised the *de facto* authority of the Republican Government over Java, Sumatra and Madura. At once recognition was accorded by the U.S.A., U.K., India, Australia, and the members of the Arab League. It was agreed that "the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic shall co-operate in the rapid formation of a sovereign, democratic State on a federal basis to be called the United States of Indonesia (U.S.I.)." It was also decided that the areas occupied by the Allied or Netherlands troops would be included gradually in the Republican territory and the process was to be completed by January 1, 1949. The two parties agreed to settle by arbitration any dispute which might arise from the Agreement. After a fortnight the British forces left Indonesia leaving the country under the Netherlands Government.

The Linggadjati Agreement was one of the milestones in Indonesian political history. It raised great hopes despite its gaps, vagueness and reservation clauses. But these hopes were ultimately belied. Even before the Agreement was signed, the Dutch military strength in the Indies was increased by 30,0 the permitted figure, and the Netherlands G ment pressed for unilateral acceptance of th pretation of the Agreement to which the Re refused to yield. Fighting continued in J Sumatra after the Agreement was initialled side accused the other of violating the truce. The Dutch blockaded all the Republican ports caused great economic hardship and proceed their policy of setting up "States" in the Out tories. In this depressing background the A was finally signed in Batavia on March 25,

On July 20, large-scale fighting broke out and Sumatra. It became quite clear that the signed the agreement "only to gain time complete their preparation for war."[8] They d their repressive measures as police actions of a limited character. But in reality it was " action against rebels but a veritable full-dress to crush nationalists."[9]

Dutch actions produced great international cussions. On July 30, India and Australia bro hostilities to the attention of the Security C under Article 34(1) and Article 39 of the Charter, and urged it to take immediate a restore international peace and security. I Netrerland's plea of "domestic jurisdiction" Security Council passed a resolution on A 1947. calling upon both parties to cease h forthwith, to settle their disputes by arbitr by other peaceful means, and to keep the S Council informed about the progerss of the ment.

In spite of the cease-fire orders, the was still in flux. With the insistence of the A representative the Council, on August 25, es a Committee of Good Offices consisting members—Belgium, Australia and the U.S.A the auspices of the Committee of Good Of Renville Agreement was eventually between the two parties on January 7, 19 Agreement consisted of a Truce Agreement annexe of 18 principles which re-affirmed th sions of the Linggadjati Agreement. Amo the most important provisions of the Renv ment were: (1) the independence for the I people: (2) a Sovereign United States of I on a Federal basis under a constitution fr "democratic processes": (3) co-operation bet peoples of the Netherlands and Indone formation of a Netherlands-Indonesian Un sovereignty throughout Indonesia should r the Netherlands until transfer to the U.S.I a stated period: (5) the armed forces of b were to be reduced gradually, but the

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6. L. K. Rosinger & Associates: *Op. cit.*, p. 414.

7. Prof. Justus M. Vander Kroef : "Indonesia : Federalism and Centralism," *Current History*, August 1950, pp. 88-89.

8. K. P. Karunakaran : *India in World Affairs*, 19

9. *India Quarterly*, 1949, p. 376.

requirement that troops be withdrawn to positions they had held before the police action.

The Renville Agreement had a short life. Although it afforded a breathing space and improved the atmosphere, the Dutch refused to change the present status of the Republic. Disputes on the basic question of sovereignty persisted. While the Dutch claimed sovereignty in strict terms of the Renville Principles, the Republicans claimed certain *de facto* attributes of sovereignty and denied Dutch sovereignty in certain respects. In fact, "the wrangle over *de jure* and *de facto* sovereignty was repeated *ad nauseam* only to play for time."[10]

After the conclusion of the Renville Agreement, the internal situation in Indonesia became worsened both politically and economically. Both the parties viewed each other with reserve and suspicion. On December 17, 1948, the Dutch sent an ultimatum for complete acceptance of their terms demanding reply within twenty-four hours which was impossible of fulfilment. Before the expiry of the time-limit military operations began in full swing in contravention of the Renville Agreement and the U. N. Charter. Some Indonesian leaders were thrown behind the prison bar. Immediately, the Committee of Good Offices reported to the Security Council urging it to restore peace and sanity. When the Council resumed the discussion on December 22, the Dutch again attempted to justify their actions on the ground of domestic jurisdiction." After discussions for two days the Council adopted a resolution on December 24, calling up both parties to release the leaders and to cease hostilities forthwith. It also instructed the Committee of Good Offices to report on the sincerity of the parties to comply with the resolution.

In January, 1919, the Committee reported that the cease-fire order was not carried out and the Republican leaders remained under detention. The Security Council again resumed its discussions wherein the scorched-earth policy of the Dutch was severely condemned by the members. Moreover, the Dutch action influenced world opinion, particularly the Asian nations. At the insistence of Burma, the Asiatic Conference on Indonesia was convened in New Delhi on January 20, 1949. Almost all the Asian countries represented in it. Pandit Nehru severely condemned the Dutch imperialism and voiced the indignation of Asian people over "the most naked and unabashed aggression." In accordance with the decision of the Conference, the Security Council, on January 28, 1949, adopted a resolution calling upon both parties to stop military operations and to release immediately and unconditionally the leaders held under detention. It also asked the Netherlands Government to resume negotiations between the two parties to establish the United States of Indonesia on the basis of Linggadjati and Renville Agreements. Moreover, the Committee of Good Offices was replaced by a U. N. Commission which was given greater powers and advised to assist in all possible ways the parties in the peaceful settlement of disputes at the earliest possible time.

Yet the Dutch became obdurate. On March 1, 1949, the Commission reported that "the Netherlands Government had not complied with the basic prerequisites of further action under the resolution." At last, during the meeting of the Security Council in March 1949, the Netherlands representative consented to act in spirit of the resolution and proposed to convene a Round Table Conference to evolve a lasting settlement of the dispute. On this basis, the Security Council passed a resolution on March 23, 1949, directing the U. N. Commission to assist the parties to create an atmosphere for holding the proposed Conference at the Hague. The Republicans also gave assurance to participate in the Conference in order to implement the Council's resolution.

On August 23, 1949, the Round Table Conference met at the Hague. The representatives of the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia and U. N. Commission took part in it. After haggling for three months, a final agreement was hammered out which was embodied in a Charter of the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia: a statute for the Netherlands-Indonesian Union; agreements making operative the transfer of sovereignty and dealing with many problems arising from such radical change in relationships. It was also decided that the Netherlands would transfer complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI) by December 30, 1949, and would thereby recognise it as a fully independent and sovereign State. Western New Guinea or West Irian, over which no agreement had been reached, would continue to be under the Netherlands for the first year and after that the question of its status was to be determined through negotiations between the RUSI and the Netherlands.

The Hague Agreement was the triumph of Dutch diplomacy. For it sought for the perpetuation of Dutcn influence both politically and economically. The provision for the Dutch-Indonesian Union was patterned after the British Commonwealth of Nations. But it should be noted that, as Prof. Kroef observes, "the possible safety-valve of a complete break with the Netherlands is not afforded by the present agreement."[11] Furthermore, by this Agreement the transfer of sovereignty became *incomplete* and *conditional.* For, says Prof. Kroef, "federalism permitted the Dutch to keep a toe in the door."[12] Not only did the Agreement deny to Indonesians the right of controlling their foreign relations but that also decreed the continuation of foreign vested interests. It provided an opportunity for the free play of Dutch "imperialism" through dominating key sectors of Indonesian economy, Dutch-created puppet States which were dominated by feudal elements, pro-Dutch mercenaries, Surabaya naval base and the custody of undeveloped oil-rich Western New Guinea. It was evident that in accepting this Agreement, the Republicans acted on the well-known dictum that 'half a loaf is better than none.'

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[10] *Ibid*

[11] Prof. Kroef : "The Indonesian Settlement." *Current History*, April, 1950, p. 195.

[12] Prof. Kroef : "Indonesia : Federalism and Centralism," *Current History*, August, 1950, p. 23.

After a few days of debate the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia ratified the Hague Award on December 14, 1949. The bulk of opposition came from the extremists, but nothing serious happened. The formal transfer of sovereignty by the Netherlands to the USI took place on December 27, 1949, at a ceremony in the Royal Palace of Amsterdam. And immediately after the transfer of sovereignty, formal recognition was accorded to the United States of Indonesia by the USA, UK, France, China (Nationalist), India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia, Burma, South Africa, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, Eire, Portugal, Siam, etc. Soviet recognition was accorded towards the end of January, 1950.

With the achievement of independence, Indonesia opened her diplomatic relations with various countries of the world—the USA, UK, India, Pakistan, etc. She appointed a High Commissioner in Holland because of her membership within the Netherlands Commonwealth. She has recognised the People's Republic of China and concluded trade agreement with her regarding the exchange of specific goods. Towards the end of 1935, she exchanged diplomatic representatives with the USSR, Indonesia was admitted as a member of the UNO and took active parts in the works of that organisation and its subsidiary bodies.

Indonesia's relationship with India is both unique and interesting. On March 3, 1951, a treaty of "perpetual peace and unalterable friendship" was concluded between the two countries.[13] In international relations, she pursues the foreign policy very much akin to that of India, *i.e.*, a policy of "positive neutrality" or "non-involvement" in either of the power blocks. During the Colombo Conference which held in May 1954, the Indonesian Prime Minister said :

> "In case of conflict or controversy, we do not align ourselves with either of the opposing parties but, rather, we actively promote the policy of conciliation. We believe this policy is one of the most effective means of building international solidarity and securing peace in the world."[14]

Moreover, she had taken a greater par direction of Asian affairs. It was reported tha considering ways and means to exert her to settle the Kashmir dispute between I Pakistan.[15] She was also exploring the pos a non-aggression pact between Indonesia, Burma and China in order to counteract the sponsored "Asian NATO."[16] Despite this the policy of "active neutrality," she has an attitude of cautious friendship towards the ern Powers, because she counts heavily on aid for her economic reconstruction and deve She accepted full membership of the "Colom for receiving "technical and economic assis back up her Development Programme.

IV

Since the change-over from the Col national status, Indonesia, like other South-East Asia, has confronted with diverse plexities of problems. Political independence yet brought about any substantial change economics and politics of Indonesia. This aris the fact that economically she is not a country. It has been said that "this is largely of foreign rule which has always followed a economic policy."[17] The pressing problems faces today are largely economic and the question remains the most urgent and con one to be solved.

Economically, Indonesia is dependent vital raw materials like rubber, copra, tin, etc. them, rubber is the "life-blood" of In economy. She produces nearly 750,000 tons which costs her approximately $150,000,000 But it is the rubber tragedy which has hit very hard. About ten million people directly affected by the ups and downs of this product. The fluctuation of prices has not drastically into her external earnings, but re internal revenues. Besides, the enactment embargo against the People's Republic of North Korea has aggravated the problem Thus, there is neither the internal capital foreign currency to buy some of the essential ments of the investment programme. On the hand, the amount of "foreign aid and forthcoming is very neglible. Conseq general standard of living has become low. caused discontent, and thus produced a effect on her national freedom and security.

In reality, the key to stabilise Indones economic situation lies in the "community

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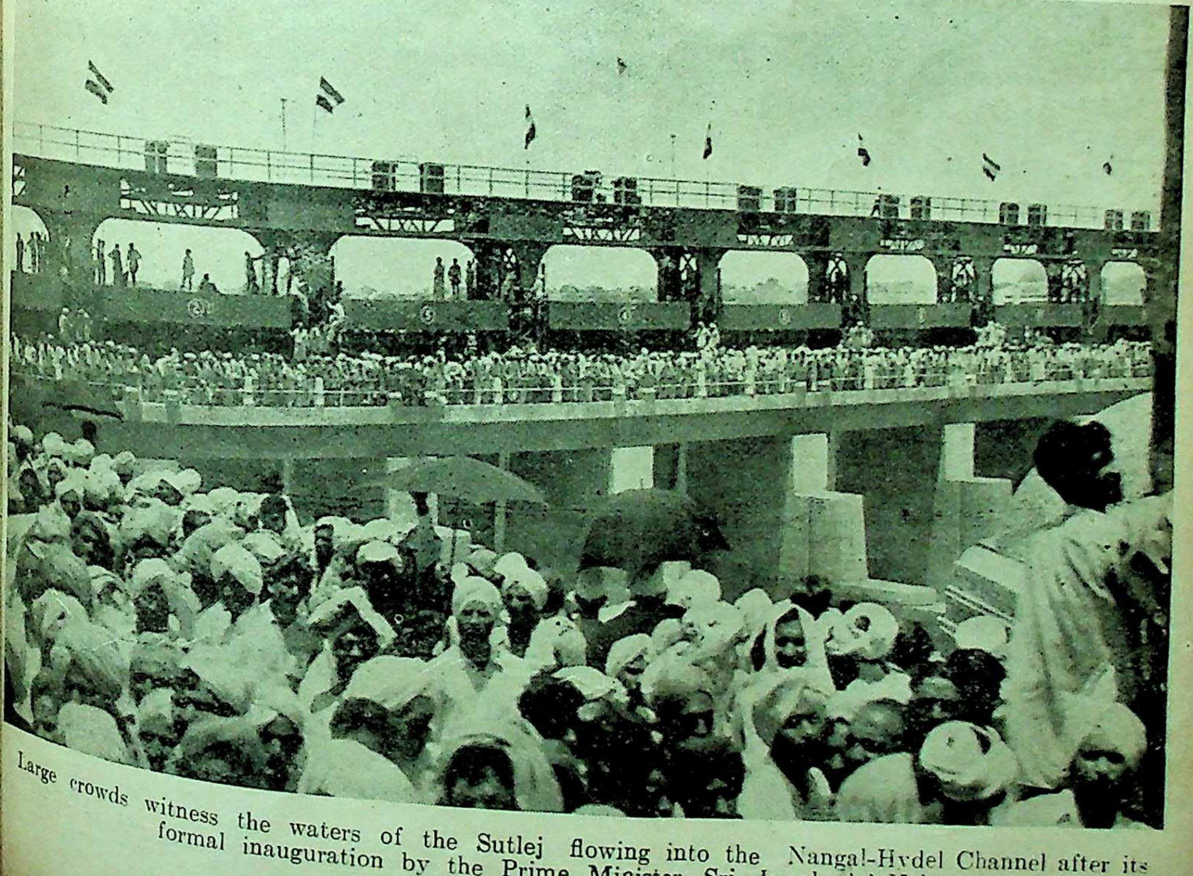
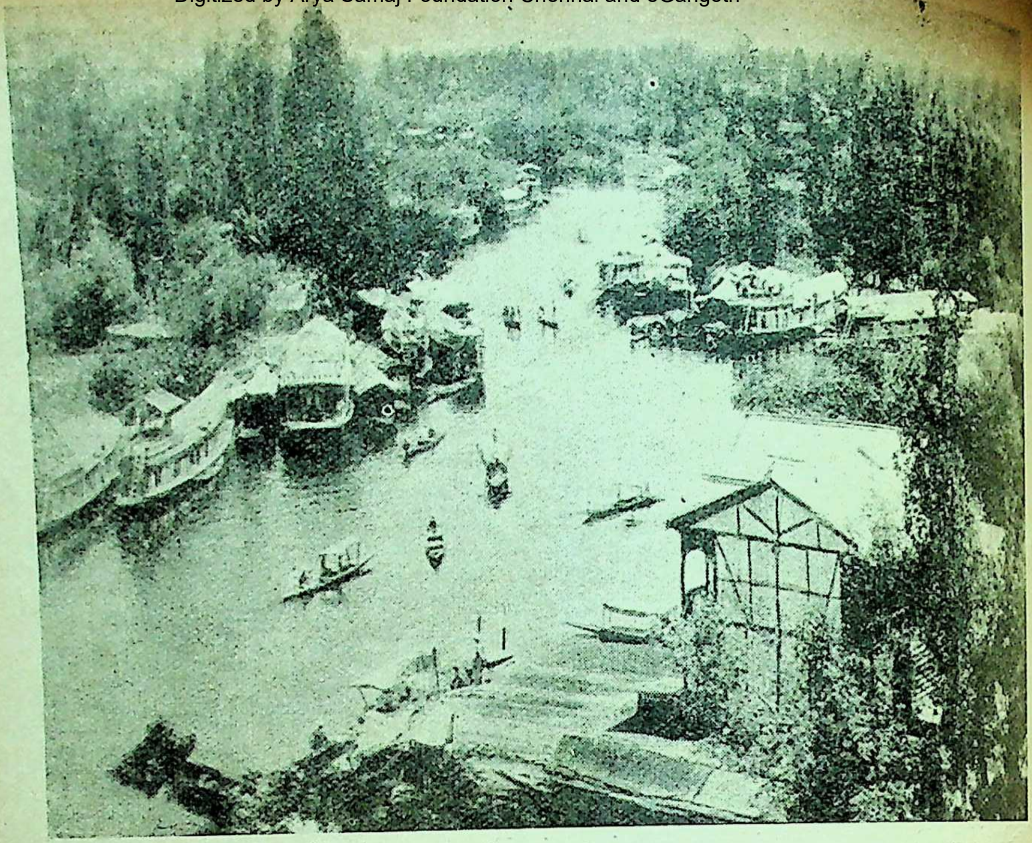
13. *Keesings Contemporary Archieves*, 1950-52, p. 11332-B.
14. *The Statesman, May*, 6, 1954, (For Indonesia's Foreign Policy, see *Asian Nationalism and the West*, Edited by W. L. Holland, pp. 169-178).
15. *The Statesman*, March 17, 1954.
16. *The Statesman*, May 18, 1954.
17. *India and South-East Asia* : Published by the Information and Broadcasting, Delhi, p. 58.

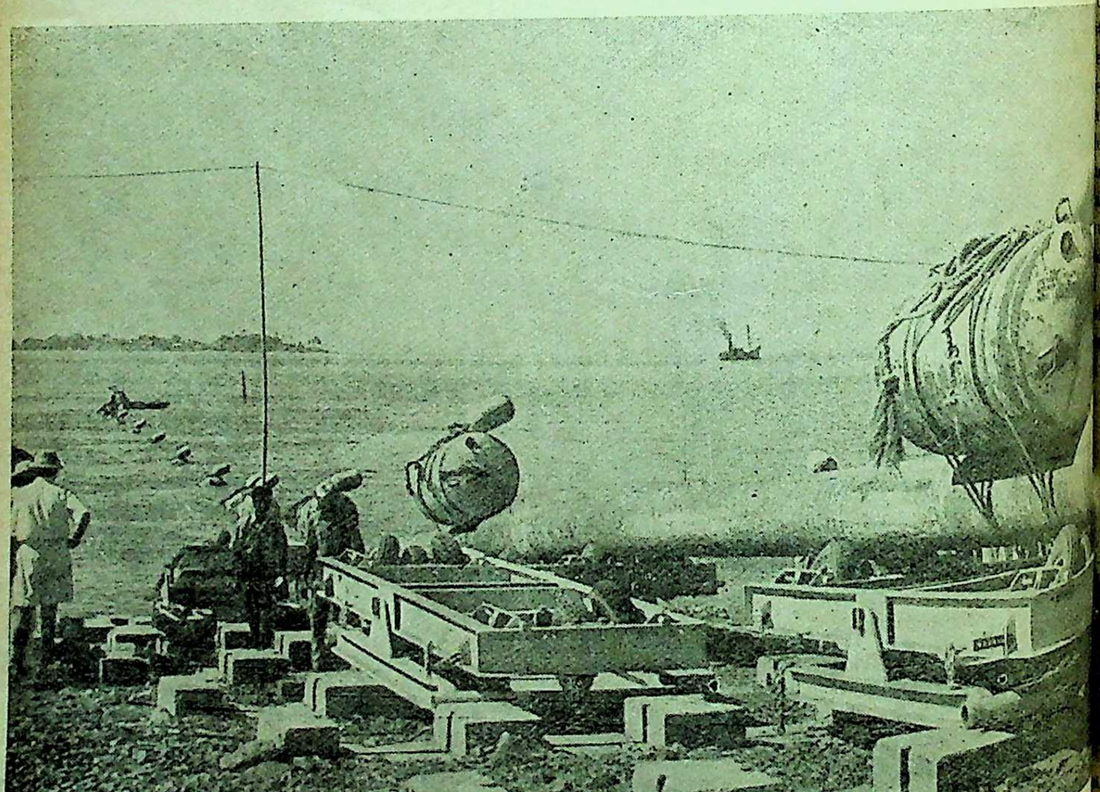
Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan greeting His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, in New Delhi on June 25



Large crowds witness the waters of the Sutlej flowing into the Nangal-Hydel Channel after its formal inauguration by the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru



Panoramic view of the famous **Dal Lake at** Srinagar, Kashmir



Gigantic operation of launching submarine pipelines, connecting the Butcher Island **Marine Terminal and Trombay** to rural development."[18] It boils down to giving highest priority to stimulating and organising productive activities in the agricultural as well as the industrial field. It has been widely accepted that increasing production both in the agricultural and industrial sectors is the key to Indonesia's solvency and progress. With this end in view, she has adopted planned economy which aims primarily at increasing production so as to reduce the adverse balance of trade as well as dependence on imports of food and consumer goods.[19] But this has not yet been effective because of threatening clouds in the horizon. With a view to launch upon a Five-Year Plan from January 1955, she was reviewing the progress made by India under her Five-Year Plan.[20] What she needs now—and needs very badly—is "foreign aid and assistance" r the development of her latent resources. A small egree of aid has already been received from the CAFE, FAO, WHO, and also from the Colombo lan. But they have proved to be insufficient in lation to the vast problems that she has confronted. ore "foreign aid and assistance" are called for in der to switch on her development programme. This s been greatly emphasised at the ECAFE Conence which was held in February 1954 at Kandy in eylon.[21]

The economic instability has also caused great oubles in the body politic of Indonesia. Since the tablishment of the Republican Government she has en torn by internecine squabbles leading to monstrations and unrest. A number of political rties have sprung up without any clear-cut eologies. At present, there are two major parties in donesia—the Masjumi Party and the Nationalist ty (PNI). The powerful Masjumi Party is in our of the establishment of an "Islamic State" in onesia and opposed to the present Cabinet's policy keeping aloof from power-political alliances. Partyical rivalries have also led to Cabinet crisis and uraged discontent and lawlessness in many areas he country. The reason of this political trouble ot far to seek. According to London *Times*:

> "But this endemic political instability has eeper causes. There have been no elections, and he composition of the nominated Chamber remains unchanged, almost like a colonial legislature in its initial stages, oblivious to dissatisfaction and lawlessness in Java and the distant lands. The need for elections was recognised fter the demonstrations last October, but nothing s been done to compile an electoral register."[22]

There is also another reason which should be ned with. As the London *Times* says:

> "Geography is the greatest barrier to national unity, to the identification of the majority with the common cause. The physical separation of more than 2,000 islands scattered about the oceanic area larger than the USA presents problems which the most efficient administration would find hard to solve."[23]

However, for a newly-independent Asian country like Indonesia, political stability is indispensable not only for her own future progress, but for the entire region of South-East Asia. And if stability of administration and steady advancement of the country are to be ensured, the leadership of the country should take courage in both hands to rid the body politic of the fundamental malady with which she had evidently been infected. With this end in view she should hold a general election without delay and frame a constitution according to the wishes of the people. Further, the political parties should cooperate with the Government in all matters of national importance at this juncture. Otherwise, it would lay open to intensified fissiparous tendencies that would mean the standing invitation to foreign intervention in her "domestic affairs."

Another flash-point of conflict is the West New Guinea or West Irian. Pressing problems of Indonesia are ignored or swallowed up in the persistent demands of this territory. It was decided at the Hague Conference that the question of West Irian would be shelved for another one year and after that its fate was to be decided through negotiations between the two parties. After the expiry of the scheduled time, Indonesia pressed for deciding the fate of the Dutch New Guinea on various occasions. Negotiations went on, but of no avail owing to the obdurate policy of the Dutch. On April 14, 1954, the Netherlands Government has officially reported to the Indonesian Government their unwillingness to resume discussions on changing the status of the territory, which is ruled by Holland but claimed by Indonesia as part of her territory.[24] In fact, the reasons for this refusal lie in the importance of the territory. To Holland its importance is three-fold: first, it would serve as a "national home" for the Eurasians; secondly, it would afford facilities for her capitalistic adventure; and thirdly, it would provide an important strategic base in the maintenance of anti-Red defence organisation in the Pacific region. However, the solution of this burning problem lies in the statement of Pandit Nehru, who, during his official visit to Indonesia in June 1950, emphasized the fact that "it should be incorporated into Indonesia, both because it formed part of the Indonesian grouping and because 'Western Colonialism' should not be allowed to remain in any part of Asia."[25]

Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusums : "Economic Problems in sia and Our Way Out," *India Quarterly*, Oct.-Dec., 1952,

9. David Ingber : "Indonesia's First Eight Years:" *The Fort*y, August, 1953, p. 90.

0. *The Statesman*, June 14. 1954.

1. *The Statesman*, February 6, 1954.

2. *The Statesman*, July 18, 1953.

23. *The Statesman*, January 26, 1954.

24. *The Statesman*, April 16, 1954.

25. *Keesings Archives*, 1950-52, p. 10892 A.

BENGALI IN MANBHUM, DHALBHUM AND ADJOINING AREAS

By CHUNI LAL RAY

THERE is not the least doubt that the Bengali language has been spoken, and that the Bengali script has been in use in Manbhum, Dhalbhum, etc., for a very long time, from very long before the advent of the British and of Bengali followers of the Britishers. The inscriptions on the gates of the Panchkote fort in Manbhum, bearing date Samvat 1657 or 1659, *i.e.*, about 1600 A.D., which are in the Bengali character, (vide page 279 of the *Manbhum District Gazetteer*) are direct evidence of the use of the Bengali script in this area at the close of the 16th century A.D. And there are other circumstances which raise the very strong presumption that Bengali was the language of the country from the 14th century at least.

In the 14th century A.D., copper ore was being extracted in Dhalbhum (vide page 23, *District Gazetteer*, Singbhum), and beautiful stone and brick temples were being erected, and fine images of Jaina Tirthankaras and of Hindu gods and goddesses were being executed in stone in several places in Manbhum district by a remarkable people who called themselves Sravakas. Their descendants of the present day, scattered in Manbhum, Dhalbhum and in the extreme south-eastern corner of Tamar and Khunti thanas of Ranchi district, also in parts of the Bankura and Birbhum districts of West Bengal bordering on Bihar, speak Bengali of considerable purity; and Dr. Grierson observed, on page 86, Vol. B, Part I of his *Linguistic Survey* that

> "The difference between Saraki and Western Bengali is so slight that it is not worthy of the title of a separate dialect."

It is remarkable that Bengali is practically unknown, except for these Saraks, in thana Khunti, where the predominant language is Mundari. There is not the least evidence of the exercise of any special influence from the east on these Bengali-speaking Saraks in Khunti, or on their progenitors in the 14th century; and the most natural inference, in the circumstances, is that the ancient Sravakas of Manbhum and Dhalbhum and south-east Khunti had Bengali as their mother-tongue, and that they stuck to this mother-tongue even after migration to the preponderatingly Mundari-speaking area of Khunti, in parts whereof no Aryan language at all, either Bihari or Bengali, is spoken, or even understood. There is tradition, no doubt, of the Sravakas having migrated, from the west, (some speaking of Ghazipur, others of Saurashtra); and there have been speculations about their connection with Saraogis or with Agarwalas of Rajasthan; but such traditions and speculations can not as any more suggestive of an earlier mother- Sravakas different from Bengali (on which was later imposed under pressure) than the of migration from Kanyakubja would be blishing, in respect of undoubtedly Bengali Banerjis, Mukherjis, Chatterjis, Gangulies, Ghoshes, Boses, Mitras of Bengal, a very mother-tongue in earlier ages. In any case, be no doubt that, with Sravakas who had down either in Dhalbhum, under the Man in Manbhum, under the Rajas of Panchkote, was already the mother-tongue in the 14th A.D. The Mahishamardini images in D Chandil, and in Boram, near Jaipur, are of a unknown in Bihar, but very familiar in Beng indeed it is a copy of the Dulmi sculpture worshipped as Durga in the Lakepalli S Durga Puja in Calcutta.

The Sravakas extracted their copper ore in bhum, but it was possibly within the Man trict that they smelted the copper. Copper some similarity to Puri-Kushan coins are in fair numbers, strewn on the ground, after heavy showers of rain which disturb surface, in Beldi in Pargana Barabhum of the of Manbhum (vide *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* of the first quarter of 1328 Bengal era).

In the 16th century, a flood of culture with people from Central Bengal passed over bhum and Manbhum, also adjoining sub-pl of Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts, when Deva, the great Bengali saint, passed, party, through these areas in course of his from Nilachal (the hill-clad Nilgiri State in Balasore district of Orissa) to Banaras. undoubtedly traversed the entire length of the rekha valley in Dhalbhum, and crossed somewhere near Jamshedpur, in the gap 3,000 feet high Dalma hill to the east and hills striking the river near the Ranchi reference in *Chaitanya-Charitamrita* to Shri Deva's ablutions in a hot spring before he road to Banaras leaves no doubt that this was either Indra-Jorba on the Ramgarh- road or Kanki on the Ramgarh-Badam being no other hot spring in that region there are several of them within a mile or north and south of the Grand Trunk Road Jamshedpur and Ramgarh, the route might either, west of the Baghmundi plateau of Manbhum, through the Panch Parganas of Ranchi district, or east of the Baghmundi plateau, not very far from the railway alignment *via* Purulia and Jhalda and then north-westwards through Gola. Along either route, particularly the eastern one, Radhakrishna songs and also *Navaratri kirtans* are very common, exactly as in Bankura, west Burdwan or Birbhum, very different from the *bhajans* of Sitaram cult characteristic of Hindi-speaking countries. Radha-Krishna songs in pure Bengali, composed by one Dina Tanti, a member of the untouchable Pan Tanti caste from an obscure village in Pargana Baghmundi not far from the Ranchi border, were very popular in Purulia in the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the twentieth century. During a subsequent visit to Purulia in the twenties, finding that these beautiful songs were losing popularity in competition with songs imported from the Calcutta theatres or through gramophone records, I made a collection of the few songs of Dina Tanti not yet forgotten and tried to send them in manuscript to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat through a very esteemed friend of mine; but recent enquiries disclose that my manuscript collection failed to reach the Parishat.

On the possible western route, through the Panch Parganas of Ranchi, very curious songs were composed by some Munda poets, in mixed Mundari and Bengali, like

Ogo, ogo duti, okote Brojopati,
Mage, mage bachar murijan,
Oro gating mae hiju'a,
Nalita Brinda duti, okote Brojopati,

quoted on page 175 of Sarat Chandra Roy's *Mundas and Their Country*. It was probably from Shri Chaitanya's time that the Barabhum Bhumijes on the possible eastern route (about whom page 79 of the *Manbhum District Gazetteer* may be seen) changed from their tribal language to Bengali, and so that the dialect of Hindi spoken in the Gola-Kasmar-Ramgarh area of Hazaribagh took over the distinctive Bengali demonstrative pronoun 'se' and the Bengali words for 'is', 'came', 'went', etc., referred to in pages 59, 60 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Hazaribagh*, for which the Het-Gola tongue has very often been mistaken to be a dialect of Bengali (vide para 726 of the *Census Report* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for 1911). It may be noted that in proceeding from Bengal to Gola, one must traverse the entire breadth of Manbhum district from east to west, and the same is the case for the home of the Munda poet, who composed the song quoted above.

Persian was the only language allowed for use in Courts during the period of Mughal administration. The British soon realised the inconvenience for the general public arising from this; and, in their Regulations IV, V and VI of 1793, they issued directions that Bengali also was to be recognised as a language for courts in the districts of Subah Bengal and Hindi for courts in Subah Behar. As a sequel to this, Bengali came to be prescribed for areas comprising (*i*) Dhalbhum and Barabhum Parganas, which were then parts of Midnapur district, (*ii*) Pachet, with Patcoom, Jhalda, Jharia, Nowagarh, etc., forming constituents of Pachet district, (*iii*) Pandra, now in the Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum, but then a part of Burdwan district, (*iv*) Deoghar, Jamtara and Dumka which were portions at that time of Birbhum district, (*v*) Pakur and Maheshpur which were then parts of Raujeshay district, and (*vi*) Rajemal or Rajmahal, then controlled direct from Murshidabad. Similarly, Hindi became the popular court language in the next line of districts which had come from Subah Behar, *viz.*, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Hazaribagh (then known as Ramgarh) and Ranchi. What constitutes now the Sadar and Saraikela subdivisions of Singbhum district did not come into the picture at all, because the British had no jurisdiction over this area at the time, neither Mughal nor Mahratta having ever conquered this wild area; it was not till after a British military expedition in 1818 that the Raja of Singbhum admitted allegiance. (All talk of entire Chota Nagpur Division having gone over to the British in 1765 as an integral part of Behar is unalloyed fiction).

Buchanan-Hamilton, travelling in 1810 through what is now the Santal Parganas district of Bihar, made frequent notes in his diary about the language spoken in the localities through which he passed. There is no mention of Hindi being spoken anywhere east or south-east of Kadnya and Gunjuria in Godda; and, from Nuni (Nunihat) onwards he came across Bengalis and Malos only. "At Dumka, most of the people speak Bengali," he writes (page 358, *B. and O. Research Society's Journal* for 1929); and Raj Bhuiyas or Rai Bhuiyas of places nearabout "have a different or bad dialect of the Bengali, like the Mal, which has a strong affinity to the dialect of the Bengali" (p. 357).

In 1833, there was a revolt of Bhumijes in Barabhum (now within Manbhum district, then in Midnapur); and one Mr. Dent who was sent out from Calcutta to quell the rising was surprised to find that Bhumijes spoke Bengali, and not any tribal language (p. 79, *Manbhum District Gazetteer*). They might have been speaking Bengali from a very long time back, possibly from the days of Shri Chaitanya's visit in the 16th century; but Mr. Dent's report of 1633 is the earliest written record available of Bengali being the mother-tongue of Bhumijes of Barabhum. In a few villages in the extreme western portions of Parganas Baghmundo, Patcoom and Dhalbhum, the tribal language is still spoken by Bhumijes, the total number of such Bhumijes being only 1,818. Bhumijes who have discarded the tribal language, number about 120,000 in Manbhum and about 60,000 in Dhalbhum.

Kharias and Paharias living near the foot of the Dalma hills in Manbhum (pages 82, 83 of *Manbhum District Gazetteer*), numbering about 10,000, and Mal Paharias of Santal Parganas (referred to by Buchanan Hamilton as Mal) numbering about 55,000 are other Adibasi groups that have given up the tribal language and taken to Bengali; the same is the case with most sections of Koras, numbering about 20,000 in Manbhum (pages 81, 82 of *District Gazetteer*) and the Desaoli Majhi section of Santals in Manbhum and Dhalbhum. The numbers of Desaoli Santals can be roughly estimated by deducting from figures of the castes, the numbers shown as speaking the tribal dialect:

Manbhum: 282 315—242,091=40,224
Dhalbhum: 103,093—97,119=5,974

In the first decade of the present century Dr. Grierson compiled his monumental treatise on the *Linguistic Survey of India* of which page 152 of the Introductory Volume, and pages 69 to 119 of Part I. of Vol. V deal with Bengali in its western form as the predominant Aryan language in Dhalbhum, Manbhum (including Dhanbad subdivision) and the eastern two-thirds of Santal Paraganas district. Pages 139, 140 and 145-6 of Part 2 of the same Volume V, which deal with mixed Bihari-Bengali dialects in use on the western fringes of the above areas and continuation thereof in the Panch Parganas of Ranchi district and the Gola-Kasmar-Ramgarh area of Hazaribagh district, are also worth perusal. Dr. Grierson's conclusions may be summarised as follows:

The western form of Bengali (known in some areas as Rarhi) is the predominant language in Dhalbhum and Manbhum, and is, next to Santali, the predominant language also in the southern and eastern portions of the Santal Parganas however. some overlapping with Oriya, in immediately to the west of Dhalbhum and the southern fringe of Dhalbhum itself, and similar overlapping with Maithili Hindi in the land between Deoghar subdivision and the portions of Dumka and Pakur, and also J garh, Katras and Jharia Parganas of Ma there are also some mixed Magahi-Bengal spoken by "immigrants from the highlands Nagpur into Bengali-speaking areas," us cribed as Kurmali or Khotta in the western of Manbnum and Dhalbhum or as Panch or Tamaria in sub-plateau area of Ran Bangla in the Gola-Kasmar-Ramgarh area local names were, in Dr. Grierson's opinion priate, as "none of them applied sufficien the speakers," *e.g.*, "Kurmis do not all speak many of them speak Bengali; and, in bhum, the Kurmali dialect is not confined to caste, but is spoken by other tribes also"; advised their replacement by the more comp expression eastern Magahi Grierson's estimate total number of persons speaking pure Ma the mixed dialects Kurmali, Khotta, etc., was he could not get separate figures for the two. Officer Mr. Coupland's estimate a few years Kurmali, Khotta, etc., somewhat over 40, other dialects of Magahi Hindi and Magahi 120,000. As Kurmis in Manbhum numbered 2 Grierson's time and 241,000 in Coupland's may be safe to assume that not more than 20 of Manbhum Kurmis speak Kurmali (al many men of other castes), and that the 80 per cent have Bengali as their mother-

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POEM *

By F. R. STANLEY

When in the world of light, silence falls,
And the flight of song is broken, and spirit calls
To spirit in the lonely hour, will they remain,
The last notes of music we have made
From love and sadness, laughter and pain ?

Wherever they go the sons of men will sing,
Some of the spirit's wonder, some of the Summer
and Spring ;
And because they sang in the heart's faithfulness,
The music of their love and sadness, laughter and
pain, will remain.

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* Rabindranath Tagore, died Aug. 7, 1941.

JURY SYSTEM IN INDIA

By P. C. RAICHOUDHURI, M.A., LL.B.

Introduction

The jury system is one of England's numerous gifts to India. Rightly does Professor Munro say that "the art of self-government is the greatest contribution of the Anglo-Norman race to the progress of the world." The jury is based upon the conception of a person being tried by his peers. Self-governing institutions comparable to it are found among human groups of various times and places. But the origin of the institution, as it exists amongst the English-speaking nations, has been traced to Greece, Rome, the Slavs, the Norwegians, the Welsh, the Canon law and even to Asia. Whatever remote sources might have contributed to it, the germ of the jury was in Anglo-Saxon law, and other elements were introduced by the Normans. In short, the jury, which was shaped in the Anglo-Norman England, has been carried to its highest development by the English-speaking peoples since the Norman conquest. Its essential characteristics are found most clearly in criminal trials. Citizens who hold no permanent judicial office and who reside in the district in which the crime is committed, determine, under oath, the guilt or innocence of a person accused of the crime. Their power goes no further; the punishment is inflicted by the Judge. He also presides throughout the trial, decides what evidence the jury should consider and tells the jury what the laws governing their duties are. In England and the United States of America a jury consists of twelve citizens and there is no conviction unless the jurors are unanimous.

Three Kinds of Jury

A trial jury, called the petit jury in English-speaking countries, must be distinguished from the grand jury which consists of twelve to twenty-three members, tries no cases but functions in authorising trials and in various other ways. A coroner's jury, again, assists that officer in determining the nature of deaths suspected of being not from natural causes. In India, there is now nothing called grand jury and our concern in this article is not with the coroner's jury either. It may be mentioned here that assessors, like jurors, are a set of advisers to the judge; under the Code of Criminal Procedure all trials held in a Court of Sessions must be with the aid of assessors where, because of the absence of a Government notification, a jury may not be summoned. The difference between a trial by jury and that with the aid of assessors is in the fact that in the former the jury is the real tribunal but is aided, and only in certain matters directed, by the Judge, whereas in the latter the Judge is the sole tribunal aided by the assessors. The assessors are not responsible for the decision; they give opinions, and not decisions, on facts. In assessor trials the Judge is the sole judge of law and fact. The assessors do not form a body as the jury does; each acts and gives his opinion individually.

Criminal Justice in Hindu and Muslim India

In India, "in the early Vedic age there is no trace of any organised criminal justice vested either in the king or in the people. There seems to have prevailed the system of wiregild (Vaira) which indicated that criminal justice remained in the hands of those who were wronged" (Macdonell). In short, self-help seems to have been the prevailing rule. In the Sutras, however, the King's peace is recognised as infringed, a penalty being paid to him or to the Brahmins. In the Epics we find kings anxious to ensure justice to all. Throughout the history of the administration of justice in Hindu India we find no differentiation of civil and criminal actions. In the capitals the administration of justice was in the hands of the kings who were assisted by Brahmins and other peoples versed in law. But under them there was a hierarchy of judges, the better known amongst whom were the Pradvivaka, Dharmika, Dharmastha, Amatya, Adhyaksha, Purohita, Uparaja and Gramabhojaka. The Senapati, too, sometimes acted as a judge. Unlike the king they required no expounders of law to assist them. They used to sit generally in towns; but in those days, as even now, the towns were few and the villages more numerous; and in the villages the administration of justice was carried on by the *gramavridhas* (village elders) meeting in a *sabha*. The Muslim conquest superseded the Hindu judicial system in the capitals, principal cities and towns but the Panchayat system of administering justice in the villages was permitted to stay. In Muslim India, where also there was no formal distinction between the civil and the criminal law, the principal judicial officers were the emperors and Nababs themselves, their deputies, the Fouzdars, the Mohtesibs, the Kazis, the Muftis, the Darogas and the Kotwals; and they would very often seek the assistance of Maulvis for a correct view of law. Thus the assistance of outsiders, in some shape or other, was not unknown to the judicial administration of India throughout the ages; but nothing akin to the jury was there.

First Introduction of Jury in India

The jury was first witnessed in India in 1669. A Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1601 to the East India Company conferred on that body power to make laws for good government of the Company and for better advancement and continuance of trade and traffic. This power was renewed by the Charters of 1609, 1651 and 1669 issued by James I and Charles II, and in exercise of this power some laws were made in those times. But there was then no regular court to administer those laws and the responsibility was undertaken by the Governors of the several establishments of the Company. Bombay was the first of the Company's settlements to take advantage of the power conferred by the Charters. Bombay was not a factory such as the Company had at Surat or on the Hooghly or in any other parts of India. It was not held by the Company from the Mughal or any other native power. The full sovereignty of the island was acquired by Charles II from the King of Portugal (1661) and after seven years that sovereignty along with the island was acquired by the Company. In 1669-70, Governor Aungier created two Courts, one superior and another inferior, for the island of Bombay. The superior Court consisted of the Governor or Deputy Governor and Council and would try all civil and criminal cases. We are told that this Court held the first jury trial in India in 1669; but regular juries were empanelled in Bombay not earlier than 1672 (*Frayer's Travels*).

Madras was the next to adopt the jury. There the Governor Streynsham Master constituted the Governor and Council a Court of Judicature in 1678. This Court used to sit twice a week for trial of all cases, civil and criminal (except petty ones), with the aid of juries in accordance with the laws of England. Nothing like that was however seen in Bengal for many years to come. It is interesting to note that it was only in 1699 that Bengal was constituted a Presidency and in this youngest English settlement no regular Court for administration of the British law could be established because of the continued opposition on the Nababs and their Dewans. Fort William had to remain satisfied with its haphazard judicial system till the year 1726. In that year all the judicial bodies constituted by the previous Charters were superseded, and in their places were established, by Letters Patent, Mayors, Courts at Bombay, Madras and Fort William for trial of civil suits. The Governors and Councils were constituted Courts of Appeal from the decisions of these Courts and these Government Courts further became Courts of Oyer and Terminer for trial of criminal cases. These Courts, rather Commissioners, used to try, with the grand and the petty jury, all offences (except treason) committed within the towns of Madras, Bombay and Fort William or factories subordinate thereto and within ten miles thereof. In this way the jury became a regular feature of the criminal trials in all the settlements of the Company by 1726. But the benefit of the system accrued in those days to Englishmen alone, the Indians being still governed by their own laws administered by the Indian Courts in capitals and towns and the Zamindars and Panchayats in villages. This state of things continued through the Charter of 1753 almost uninterrup 1774 when in Fort William there came to be blished a Supreme Court which, on the criminal was a Court of Oyer and Terminer. The L Patent by which it was created abolished the of the Governor-General and Council as such C How the jury acquitted themselves in the G ment Courts it is difficult at this distance of ti say; but there is reason to think that the E Jury, unfamiliar with the conditions obtaining India, did not in the beginning do very well in Supreme Court at Fort William. It appears, example, that the collapse of the defence set up Nanda Kumar had such a tremendous effect the jury that this almost turned the scale in f of the prosecution. In spite of this and similar infirmities the jury was not disfavoured and a Supreme Court was established in Madras in and another in Bombay in 1823, they continued try criminal cases with the aid of juries for years to come.

COURTS OF SESSIONS AND CRIMINAL PROCEDU CODES

Side by side with these Courts there were established by the East India Company for tri criminal cases in the mofussils. These Courts of Sessions Judges and the Nizamat Adalats were of fact as well as of law. By several Regul it was ordered that trial by jury would introduced in these Provincial Courts. No however was done before 1831 when a pe signed by a large and influential section of the was sent out from this country requesting the of Commons to take steps for introduction of trial in mofussil Courts. Already in 1825, Sir T Munro, Governor of Madras, wrote a Min which he expressed the following view:

> "As far as the success of the proposed may depend upon the qualifications of the N we have the strongest reason to expect it having been in former times and still being present accustomed to sit on the Panchayets are, in general, sufficiently expert in examining weighing evidence."

The petition had its desired effect and tri Jury was first introduced in the Provincial Co Bengal by the Regulation VI of 1832. The system extended in 1843 to Madras by Act VII of that The privilege was not however extended to the Presidency; and everywhere there was general ex tion of the European British subjects from the diction of the Provincial Courts. They were am to the authority of the Supreme Courts alone (w the trial of criminal cases was by jury). But it soon felt that it was extremely inconvenient to up before the Supreme Courts European B subjects accused of offences committed in the and in 1849 two Bills were drafted for extens the jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts of Sessions and abolition of the exemption. As they were circulated for general information there was strong opposition from the European community who claimed their rights "to be tried by their own peers" and the Bills had to be dropped. The criminal procedure, as almost all other laws, remained divergent and extremely uncertain and the uncertainty gave rise to a sense of insecurity. The administrators began seriously to think of measures for remedying the defects. The abolition of the East India Company and the direct assumption of Government by the British Crown afforded a great opportunity. In a few years after the Queen's Proclamation the civil and criminal laws of the land were placed on a stable basis. Amongst those laws was the Criminal Procedure Code (1861) which applied to the whole of British India and all Courts, save only the Supreme Courts, were to be guided by it. The Supreme Courts were, however, abolished by 1862 and High Courts, governed by the Code in matters of criminal procedure were established in their places.

NATURE OF THE JURY IN INDIA

The Code of 1861 introduced a regular system of trial by jury all over India. Later legislation introduced changes from time to time, but none of them was fundamental. Under the Code the jury is in "the nature of an examining body" selected from the loyal subjects of the Crown and guided in their office, in so far as the legal questions are concerned, by the presiding judge. They try only the specific offences. Every year a list of jurors is prepared by the Collector of each district in consultation with the Sessions Judge; and at the time of the trial of a case a panel is formed of persons chosen by lot. All these were done in imitation of the English law prevailing at that time; but the Indian Jury is very much different from its English counterpart and the differences have been summed up by Monnier as follows:

> "In England, the trial by jury is an inalienable right of the accused under the common law but in India, it depends upon a revocable order of the government applying it to particular areas and offences. The jurors in India are not jurata and determined cases under the Code of 1861 by a prescribed majority and since then they do it by a bare majority. The unanimous decision of a jury of 12 in England is different from that of the majority or even from the unanimous verdict of 5, 7 or 9 in India. There is here no finality in the verdict as in England."

In this matter the Indian system is a compromise, the essential characteristic, finality, being withheld. Its sacred character does not obtain here. The Code of 1861 approached the English law the nearest in finality but the amended Code of 1872 created an important departure from it in order to provide against miscarriage of justice. Interference by the High Court was allowed on the facts and the revised Codes of 1882 to 1923 have provided for appeals on facts, in certain cases.

SPREAD OF JURY TRIALS IN INDIA

Immediately after the passing of the Act of 1861 the jury system was introduced in seven districts of Bengal—24-Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna; but in other districts (save, of course, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Chittagong Hill Tracts) it came only in 1919. In the Assam Valley districts it was introduced as early as 1862, but Sylhet got it only in 1919. Poona was the first of the districts of Bombay to have the system (1867) and Ahmadabad, Karachi, Surat, Balgaum and Thana got it by 1886. Like Bengal, Madras adopted the system very early, first in the districts of Tanjore, Cuddalore, Arcot, Chittor, Cuddapa, Rajamahendry, Vizagapattam, Tranquebar and a few others. By 1883, it was extended to all the districts of the Presidency except in the Agency Tracts of Ganjam, Godavary and Vizagapattam in respect of certain classes of cases. At Lucknow, Allahabad and Banaras it was introduced in 1884. Gradually many of the districts in the Punjab and the Central Provinces became jury districts and Burma too did not fail to catch the contagion. Later, owing to corruption or inefficiency, trial by jury was withdrawn in many districts.

ITS DOUBTFUL EFFICACY

Sincere regard of Englishmen for the capacity of lay judges to properly appreciate facts, an effort to associate Indians with the administration of justice in greater numbers and thereby raise their character, and political expediency to a certain extent were, in varying degrees, responsible for the introduction of this system into India. The result has not been an unmixed blessing to the administration of our criminal justice.. Indeed, today the jury system stands at the bar of Indian public opinion. It is doubtful whether the expectation of Governor Munro (whose opinion has been quoted in a foregoing paragraph) has been fulfilled. It is well-known that this system has been subjected to severe criticism not only in this country but also in England, its homeland. There it had a historical growth. One of the judicial customs of the ancient Saxons was that a man might be cleared of an accusation of certain crimes if an appointed number of persons came forward and swear to a verdictum that they believed him to be innocent. The usual number of such jurators in any accusation of any consequence was 12. This custom was brought over to England and stuck to its soil. Then again the liberty-loving Englishmen had in the middle ages to fight hard with their kings for maintaining the freedom of their thoughts and actions. The judges who were generally dependent on the crown could not render them much of assistance; a Hale or a Gascoigne was a rare phenomenon in the judicial history of England of those days. It is generally held that the independence of the judiciary in England dates from the passing of the Act of Settlement (1701) by which the tenure of the judges became fixed and secure. Before that it was impossible to place absolute reliance upon the judges (whose tenure was at the king's pleasure) and that was one of the reasons why, in spite of all the attendent difficulties, trial of offenders with the assistance of the jury became a cherished institution of Englishmen. Conditions have since changed fundamentally in England and, to quote the pregnant words of Best, "In modern times it is the packed jury and not the corrupt judge which upright citizens have to dread."

In America, too, there is the same apathy for jury today. American tradition included distrustful memories of even masterful English judges. To these were added abiding faith in the average man's capacities and an inexplicable scepticism for the claims of specialised skill or knowledge. Thus jury came to have a place in the very Constitution of the country and out of this background the Americans assigned in the State constitutions and statutes a very limited role for the trial judge. He was to be a little more than an umpire; the attorneys, with tactical freedom before the jury, had the real management of the case. Later however, when the temper of the Courts and the people favoured control over the jury there grew up a complex body of rules and the technical intricacy of appellate procedure was used to upset judgments based on jury verdicts. In this country many of the States increased the trial judges' field of operations by permitting the accused to waive jury trial in favour of trial before the judge alone. In the opinion of competent observers the tendency in recent times seems to be towards more waivers. In some States, *e.g.*, Maryland, Wisconsin and Connecticut, trial by the judge has become the general rule. In 1930, the Supreme Court held that a defendant might waive jury trial in a Federal Court although there was no Statutory provision therefor.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST JURY

If that is the general attitude of Englishmen and Americans who associate the institution with their idea of liberty, indeed consider it to be a palladium of freedom and justice, the Indians who have no such tradition are likely to be more critical. The basic elements in favour of the jury are, in short, as follows: The jurors are selected generally from intelligent citizens and are capable of taking a commonsense view of facts; ordinarily they are of similar rank as the accused and having the same general interest understand their viewpoints better; the presence of laymen in the tribunal discourages too much of legal casuistry; and lastly, their presence in political cases is of immense value. In such cases a great temptation is held out to the executive to secure the conviction of political enemies by placing on the seat of justice, Judges "of complying morals or timorous dispositions." Where the fate of the prisoner is decided by a body the individual members of which are unknown until the moment of trial such a tion is far removed. The arguments against th may be summed up as follows: The facts are often too complicated to be fully grasped by lay judges between the skilful argument of counsel of both sides the jurors often get puzzled and nothing the exhortations of the presiding judge (wh improper) can pull them out of the difficulty; perience shows that the more learned the m of the jury, the greater is their tendency of co ing on insufficient evidence and mainly on conceived notions; it is almost impossible for m ordinary commonsense and education to p appreciate the difference between the finer sha similar crimes, *e.g.*, murder and culpable ho attempt at rape and outraging modesty, etc.; principle that a tribunal shall be composed prisoner's equals is *prima facie* unreasonable law's policy cannot be to make provisions simply escape of the offender; and lastly, the jurors likely to be more emotional and even actuated baser motives in giving their verdicts.

CONCLUSION

It is not that our rulers had not all these p in their minds when they introduced the jury sy into our criminal procedure. The English system not transplanted in toto; adequate provisions made for an appeal against the perverse verdi the jury, although unanimous. That the jury has been a conspicuous success in this country wi evident from the fact that its progress has been slow. From the very beginning opinions have sharply divided as to its utility. Majority of have considered it to be an utter failure, b press declared in its favour; and in the Poona and Calcutta (1896) sessions of the Indian Na Congress resolutions were passed affirming the that the time had arrived when the jury trial be "safely extended to many parts of the co where it was then not in force." It is d whether the Indian public opinion has set a value on the system. The gentlemen of the j at least, not generally held in that esteem wh judges, they do certainly deserve.

Time has now arrived for a reconsideration the matter in the light of changed circum The judges are now almost all Indians and, the European judges who were not always acq with the local conditions, they do not requ assistance of outsiders for evaluation of e Without gainsaying the advantage of putting minds than one into any affair, judicial or o it must be inquired whether the system has its purpose. For an intelligent grasp of fa amount of special training as to sifting of e is necessary. The very imperfect often ste address that is muttered by the judge at the every trial is more often than not of little p value. Law is not always commonsense and for understanding its principles a little more than average intelligence is essential. The point, therefore, is whether the more intelligent section of our people having such training and intelligence is willing to serve in the jury. The next point is whether our character has been so formed as to place our casual judges above temptations, when there is no other check than the so-called fear of God and the remote possibility of detection. And lastly, there is the question of adequate funds for the purpose. As was nicely put in the *Westminster Review* for April, 1872:

> "Are we justified in imposing for the general good so heavy a burden on the individual citizen as his compulsory absence, for an indefinite period, from the employment by which he gains his livelihood? We are accustomed on other subjects to demand very clear proof of necessity before requiring so serious a sacrifice. We do not expect our ministers of State, our judges and our generals, even though their service is voluntary, to act without a just remuneration . . . We recognise our duty to pay them sufficiently well to make it worth their while to serve us voluntarily. The payment of jurors in the same way from the State funds would be a grievous charge on the tax-payer."

The writer, therefore, advocated abolition of the system. It is well-known that the compensation paid to the jurors in our country is extremely inadequate and no one save a very patriotic citizen or a dishonest person is willing to sit in the jury. Perhaps, we have not got enough of the former sort of people and their patriotism, even if we have, will undoubtedly evaporate when there is a prospect of the trial being indefinitely prolonged. It is true that to be on the jury list "ought to be regarded as an honour and distinction" (Stephen); but even then, unless proper arrangements are made for the comfort of the jurors and payment of their expenses on duty, no man of standing and intelligence would be willing to fill the position. Is there any need today of the jury in India save in political cases,? Is it necessary simply for giving the much too mechanical criminal trials "the character of human concerns?" We are told that the Union and the State Governments are thinking of reforms in the matter of criminal procedure in general and we expect that they will give these questions their proper consideration.

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE RAJBANSHIS

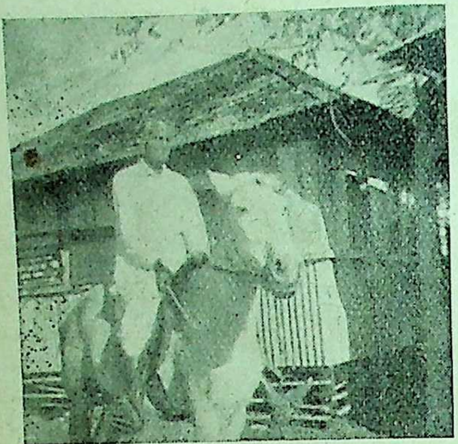
By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,

Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

THE Rajbanshis are a Mongolian type of people inhabiting the northern districts of West Bengal. These snub-nosed, small-eyed and beardless people claim their descent from the Kshatriyas of old and deem themselves superior by birth to those outside their clan. They use a peculiar dialect which though apparently Bengali sounds Greek to the unaccustomed ear and all their social customs and intercourse are strictly limited to themselves. Dining with foreigners whom they term as *Bhatiyas* is forbidden and anybody contacting any relation with them either by marriage or otherwise is declared an outcast.

More than ninety-nine per cent of the Rajbanshis are agriculturists and here as elsewhere the share-croppers predominate. Though a Rajbanshi Zotedar is no less exacting than anybody else of his class, the share-cropper belonging to this community prefers to work under one of his tribe and very rarely he is found in the employment of Musalman Zotedars in spite of their holding a substantial portion of the available land. The rest are either a trader in timber or non-agricultural labour.

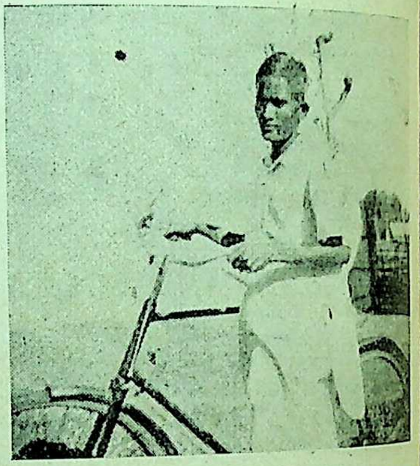
The peculiar agricultural system prevailing in these districts is responsible for curbing the initiative and enthusiasm both of the landlords and of the share-croppers. The landlords own vast tracts of land and even in these days of acute food crisis, you may find acres of unploughed soil anywhere in this part of the State. Most primitive techniques are used in the process of agriculture and as a general rule any particular piece of land is sown alternately from year to year under the notion that the fertility is thereby increased. Double cropping is practically absent and instances are by no means rare when the mature crop is not harvested for some reason or other. Fortunately enough, these practices are gradually dying out with the colonisation of the refugees from East Bengal who in spite of their various faults are generally good cultivators. The ownership of vast areas makes the landlord unmindful of land-improvement as the simple necessaries of life and a few luxuries can be obtained from the output of the soil with much ease. An example will make the point more explicit. A man owning 100 acres of land (which is very common) can easily obtain 800 maunds of paddy (8 maunds per acre) every year without expending a single farthing for land-improvement and without taking resort to improved techniques of agriculture as well as avoiding the use of the superior variety of seeds. Now, even at the rate of Rs. 10 per maund (market rate is invariably higher), this fetches him Rs. 8,000 a year. And who will dispute that this sum is more than sufficient for maintaining the standard of an Indian cultivator even if a liberal amount is set aside as the cost of agricultural operations? Naturally, therefore, he is lethargic and his ambition being very moderate he hardly exerts himself to utilise the lands to the best of his advantages. Characteristically too, he loathes the idea of any improvement.



An influential Zotedar on horseback. The office of the Indian Central Jute Committee is in the background

From the share-cropper's point of view the picture is not much brighter. It is a tradition over here that a Zotedar must feed the share-cropper and his family throughout the year besides providing him with a dwelling hut and necessary agricultural implements. Good or bad harvest, the share-cropper is sure to receive the advance of foodgrains from the Zotedar who is locally called a *grihi*. These advances are, of course, adjusted at the end of the year from the share-cropper's share of the output but as it is, the latter seldom knows nor does he care to know how much is left after paying off the debt incurred during the previous months. This assurance of obtaining the bare necessaries under any circumstances whatsoever, takes away the incentive of the share-cropper and he continues his exertions most reluctantly. Again, this blind faith imposed on the Zotedar is not at all to his benefit because we are not living in Ram-rajya to expect the Zotedar not to take advantage of the situation. The accounts are manipulated and at times the share-cropper is thrown away most arbitrarily. Luckily, he can get into the employment of any other landlord without much loss of time, there being a chronic dearth of able-bodied agricultural labourers amongst the Rajbanshis.

Their standard of living—both rich and poor—is fantastically low. The two principal meals consist of rice and a sole vegetable curry (a variety known as *lapha* being the most palatable) while the richer section relishes an occasional dish of fish which is generally burnt in an open oven and taken with a grain of salt. Dried fish is preferred to the fresh. Without exception the Rajbanshis take tea in the morning and in the evening and those wh afford the luxury of sugar and milk, take it for clothes, the average man somehow ma cover his sex organ with a piece of cloth remaining body is left totally bare. Man wi higher income stretches his *dhuti* up to the k wears a *genji* (under-garment for the upper on festive occasions. The richer section no wears *dhuti* and *punjabi* (*kurta*) while the mo ones are not slow in adopting themselves to of pants and shirts. The womenfolk ties a cloth which is known as *phuta* just above th and it hangs up to the knees. A *sari*-clad R woman is not a rare sight. The townspeopl shudder to note that at least up to the age Rajbanshi child—both male and female— his birthday costume.



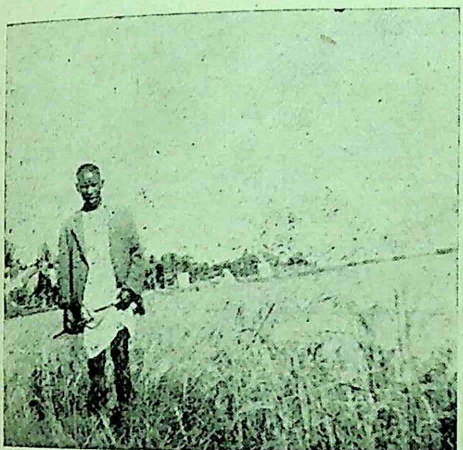
A Rajbanshi Zotedar with his bicycle

Both the sexes are fond of smoking quality of the smoke differs with the income peasant is content with *bidis* while his relishes cheap-variety cigarettes and it may case that the master's modernised and edu son touches nothing but Goldflake or State E

The writer of this article had the oppor collecting the monthly budget of some R families from every walk of life continuously last three years and an analysis of thos budgets reveals the following tendency:

Items of expenditure	*Percentag expen*
Food—(1) Cereals	66.0
(2) Others	22.7
Clothings	1.5
Tea, tobacco, etc.	7.6
Education	0.5
Medical expenses	0.7
Miscellaneous	1.0

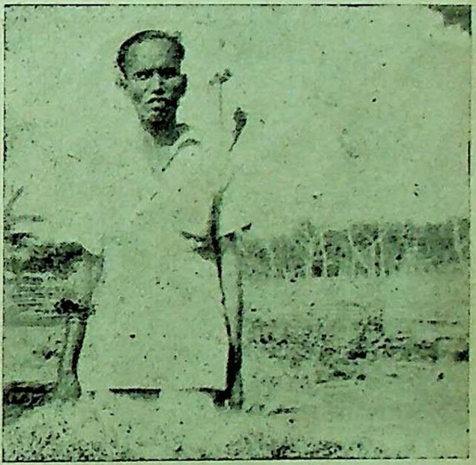
Social customs again take a heavy resources. Girls are to be purchased in so when the richer section goes on addi strength of their wives, the poor are co wait till late in life to accumulate the necessary sum. This has its evil effects too. The moral character of a Rajbanshi cannot, therefore, stand a hard test and the society also takes the matter lightly. The victims of venereal diseases are daily increasing as well. Widow-remarriage is hardly in vogue though she is allowed to live with another as man and wife and this 'adopted husband' goes by the name of *dangua.* If they beget children, they may obtain a share of their mother's property together with the stepbrother (if any by her previous husband) though the *dangua* himself cannot claim any legal right to the properties left by his predecessor. That the *dangua* is not held in much esteem is evidenced by the peculiar belief amongst the Rajbanshis that an elephant is sure to refuse any food offered by a *dangua* and they claim that the truth of it has amply been tested.



Another Zotedar inspecting his paddy-field

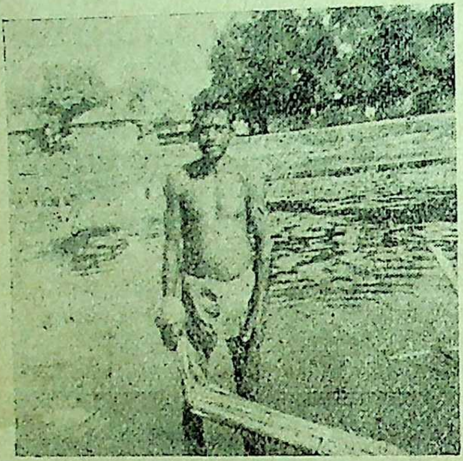
The girl becomes marriageable at the age of ten and the system of taking a *ghar-jamai* (bringing the groom to live with the bride's father) is very common. Again, a poor youngman can earn the requisite dowry by working under the would-be father-in-law. A contract is entered into when the bride's father agrees to give his daughter in marriage to the contracting youth in lieu of the latter's labour of a specified period of time. During the intervening period the youth lives as a member of the family and gets the bare necessities but no cash. Often romances creep in and the father is obliged to expedite the ceremony to avoid the infamy of illegitimate birth in the family. In case, the bride's father backs out and refuses to contract any matrimonial alliance with the youngman concerned after he has worked for sometime, the latter is entitled to receive the full money wage for the entire period of apprenticeship. Though rare, yet there are instances when the youth concerned made good his escape at the detection of the signs of pregnancy in his lady-love and could not be traced. Such girls and offspring are, of course, tolerated in the society though few agree to take her again as wife. Anyway, by virtue of her blooming youth and beauty she can easily attract admirers and spend the rest of her life merrily with this or that man. She is then known as an *andri.* Married women are, however, strictly required to maintain the sanctity of conjugal life.

Romance is by no means rare in a Rajbanshi's life. Often a youngman elopes with a girl of the village and hides her somewhere till the parents of the girl surrender and propose marriage. The wrong doer must, of course, make good the wounded reputation of the bride's father by paying an agreed sum of money before the actual ceremony takes place. Girls too sometimes take a leading part. She may indicate her desire by sprinkling water on the body of her cherished one and if the man agrees marriage follows. This system is known as *pani-sachani* (sprinkling of water). The man is also entitled to indicate his desire in the same way with the only difference that in case the girl objects, he will have a good beating. Another system known as *ghar-sidhani* (entering the house) provides that the girl may of her own accord enter the bed chamber of the youngman of her liking. She will then refuse to come out on any persuasion whatsoever and here again marriage is the only solution.



A cultivator who habitually wears half-pants

Economic calculations take no mean part in the question of "to marry or not to marry," and more so in the case of well-to-do persons. When a man adds a few acres of land, the work of the womenfolk naturally increases as women are responsible for all the post-thrashing activities. The landlord, therefore, calculates within himself whether to engage an extra maid or to bring an additional wife and generally the second wins, because engaging a maid means giving her a salary besides providing for other necessaries while in case of a wife the question of salary does not arise at all. Sometimes, she comes as a maid and is soon converted into a wife. Young widows are now-a-days generally remarried and elderly widows with two or three children bestow favour on a man who must come to stay with her and as has already been stated he is called a *dangua*. Pre-marital flirtation on the part of the girls is tolerated even if that does not bring a wedlock. Feasts are arranged on occasions like marriage even by borrowing. A share-cropper is usually accommodated by his Zotedar while others rush to the Marwari merchants in the nearby sub-towns. Once under their grip, these Marwaris suck the whole blood of the victim who is devoid of the knowledge of three R's and so fails to understand what is written in the bond he must sign before borrowing nor does he care to know. He still believes that the *babu-loks* cannot play false and as a natural corollary to this you may find a large number of Marwari Zotedars owning vast areas in this part of the State. Elsewhere in the State of West Bengal they are merely traders but in the north they are landlords as well.



A labourer extracting jute

The dwelling of a Rajbanshi is a simple thatched hut which serves both the purposes of a dwelling and a kitchen. The well-to-do amongst them have a fancy for constructing two-storeyed corrugated iron sheds where also like the poorman's hut a minimum amount of light and air is allowed to penetrate. Another sign of prosperity of a Rajbanshi is the possession of a licensed gun. It is curious to note that in times of danger, such as raid by dacoits, etc., this gun remains totally ineffective and instances are very rare when the guns have been used for self-defence. The habit of banking is still to grow amongst these people and as such substantial sums are hoarded in the dwelling houses by the upper and the middle income groups which readily invites robbers and burglars. Gold is sparingly used; silver bangles, *hasuli* (necklace) and silver *mals* in both the legs have the sole privilege of adorning the fair sex. The luxury of possessing a horse and a bicycle is often indulged in by a financially solvent Rajbanshi even if he does not know cycling.

Education was a taboo even a generati Now-a-days, the boy from the upper strata g attends school till he is engaged in romance pretty dame and once married he enters life possession of a school boy generally includes a other things a wrist-watch, a bicycle, a pair of sers, a packet of Capstan cigarettes and a c lighter. He must also have a decent pocket al to treat his friends occasionally with sweets cinema-shows in the neighbouring town. And th is proud to announce in public the big sum th educated (?) son squeezes from him! No wonder such a son develops but little intimacy with the dess of learning.

People are very enthusiastic over the wor Mother Durga. Other gods and goddess worshipped also. Like the Adivashis of Bih Madhya Pradesh, these people do not in intoxicants in the name of Pujas a normal times as well drinking as a habit widely prevalent. Holi or Doljatra is another to which the Rajbanshis lend active supp money is expended like anything. Everyone h family deity too—Nityananda, Chaityanna, R Hanuman and many others. Up to this they with the other Hindu population of Bengal and are reasons to believe that of late the above tioned festivals have usurped the place of the tional worship of the Rajbanshis. Some old peo to the author that in their childhood these gods were unknown and only recently th attracted the fancy of the younger generation of the pomp and grandeur associated with th author is of the opinion that this is the c their mixing with the outsiders who were attracted to the northern districts in their s bread and settled themselves in the locality. the historian is more competent to put for correct viewpoint than the writer of the article who is a student of economics.

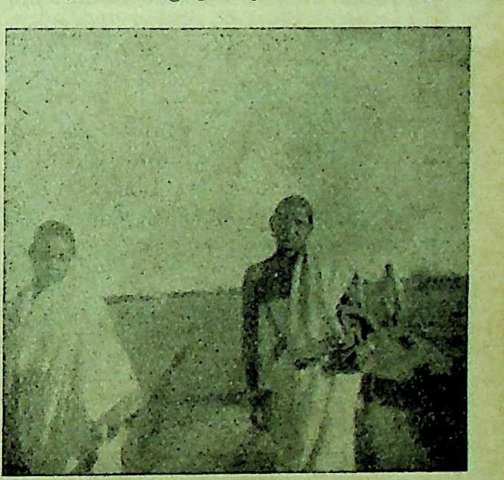
Some Rajbanshi boys notice with curiosity the operation of the jute seed-drill by the st the Indian Central Jute Committee

The indigenous god, the *Gram Thakur*, is still widely worshipped by the Rajbanshis. This is done in the month of Ashar every year in a place far from the house and amidst the blooming crops (*aus* paddy, jute, *etc.*), and a very small hut is erected for the purpose. The *kula-guru* (family priest) who is called a *damda* (obviously from the Bengali word *devata*) conducts the whole affair, at the end of which sumptuous dishes are served. Goats and pigeons are offered as sacrifices and in this function the women have very little to do. They have, however, a separate function of their own known as the worship of *Tista Buri* which name presumably comes from the name of the mighty river Tista. This occurs in the month of Baishakh and every farthing of the expenditure is collected by the womenfolk themselves by collecting alms from door to door. In the forest area, another goddess named *Sateswari* is occasionally invoked as well. The above celebrations require no Brahmin and the *guru* who is also a Kshatriya by caste is competent enough to pilot. But in case of other divinities such as Durga, Kali, etc., a Brahmin is invariably imported who is unavoidably a *bhatiya* (outsider). Does this not lend support to the author's theory that these gods and goddesses entered into the life of the Rajbanshis at a later stage in course of their association with the foreigners?

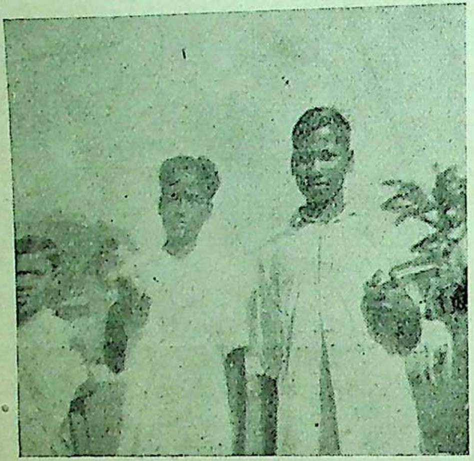
A happy old woman

The Rajbanshis are tremendously afraid of the ghosts as they are sure to come down upon human beings any time nobody can tell. The writer had the opportunity to witenss one such victim of possession by a ghost. A simple village-folk apparently devoid of the knowledge of reading and writing was found to talk English fluently, at least 50% of which was not unmeaning and the writer found and still finds it difficult to explain the phenomenon. To drive out spirits, the Ruja is the best doctor. His first task is to administer a good beating on the person of the victim, chanting *mantras* all the while till the unfortunate fellow becomes unconscious. The evil spirit is then drawn into a conversation with the Ruja through the medium of the unconscious victim. With unutterable rebukes in his lips accompanied by obscene movements of the body, the Ruja drags on the conversation till the spirit agrees to forsake the victim generally under certain conditions. If those conditions are not fulfilled or wilfully delayed, the spirit reserves the right of re-appearance and this time he secures the additional guarantee of non-interference by any Ruja. The ghosts are sex-conscious too—a man generally falls prey to a female spirit and *vice versa*; again the young are more likely to be the target than the old.

Individually, a Rajbanshi is awfully lazy. He does not like to move unless compelled to. Though a voracious eater, he can remain without food for days together as well. The writer has the experience of being refused by a starving person when the latter was asked to walk a distance of four miles to deliver a letter for which the bearer would be paid a full meal plus a sum of one rupee. The women are more active and painstaking than the men and on occasions when the store may be without a morsel of food of any kind, it is the wife and not the husband who exerts to earn the bread or to procure something by loan. Besides collecting fuel, etc., for sale, she also earns by husking paddy and often by working in the fields. She is by no means a drag to her husband and more often than not she contributes substantially to the family budget. This holds good in case of the well-to-do families as well. It is, of course, a fact that here she is not required to earn wages from outside but the physical exertion that she renders for the family is by no means negligible. It is this consideration that generally prompts one to go on adding to the number of wives. She takes practically no rest save and except two or three days after child-birth. Ailments of women-folk are not to be seriously taken and instances are not rare



Rajbanshi mother in her traditional robe and the daughter in *sari* when the wife of a rich Zotedar dies quite uncared for. As a matter of fact, medicine has still today a rare access to a Rajbanshi family and the Ruja predominates. It is only when any talisman or sacred water fails to cure that a physician is ushered in but that is generally too late. Moreover, it is not always possible to avail themselves of the services of a qualified doctor in view of their scarcity specially in rural areas and hence the quacks have some say in the matter. To call a qualified physician from a distant place is with certain exceptions beyond the means of the Rajbanshis.



Rajbanshi boys on the way to school

The dead are generally cremated while the practice of burial is not unknown. The poor who cannot bear the expenses of fuel, etc., take recourse to the latter. Women dying at child-birth are, however, buried by all irrespective of the consideration of wealth. Death invariably puts a financial strain on the surviving relations. Besides the provision of new clothes to the deceased, the *sraddha* ceremony must be performed with due pomp at the end of twelve days, and during the intervening period the near relatives practise austerity. They must not take more than one meal a day which again is to be devoid of salt, *dal* and curry of any kind. A son who cannot feed his co-villagers on the occasion of the *sraddha* ceremony of his deceased father is looked down in the society. The poor fellow is, therefore, obliged to run to a *mahajan* (money-lender) and the poorer he is, the higher will be the rate of interest, as he cannot offer any tangible security for the loan granted. The *kula-guru* and the Ruja also must have their shares.

The society is organised villagewise under a headman who goes by the local name of *deonia*. The headmanship is neither hereditary nor elective. Anybody may occupy this coveted position by virtue of his superior intellect, bravery and cleverness. Whatever might be the case in bygone days, he is, now, generally the President of an Union Board or a member or an influential Zotedar. The *deonia* exerts tremendous influence in the society and everything—be it marriage or
—must have his previous sanction and
gramme should be chalked out with h
He is farther an arbitrator of local di
law-giver in petty cases, besides being the
the entire community in relation to their
with the outside world. It is, therefore, to his
to arrange intrigues amongst the villagers
he may reign supreme as per the maxim—di
rule. It must not be understood that these
by the *deonia* are done gratis. The actual f
from it. He must be paid in full for every
service rendered or advice given and it wil
wrong to say that he sucks the life-blood of
munity. An interesting case may be cited h
a village *deonia* who was also an Unio
clerk came to the writer of this article
document written in English. The pers
was concerned with the text of the docum
made to wait a few furlongs off the author's
On being requested, the author made the
explicitly understood (in Bengali) to the be
then left. It was later on revealed that the
besides charging his own fees for the trouble
in approaching the writer, made the po
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the writer would accept nothing less for the
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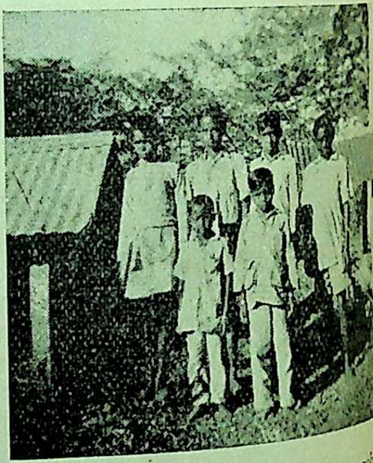
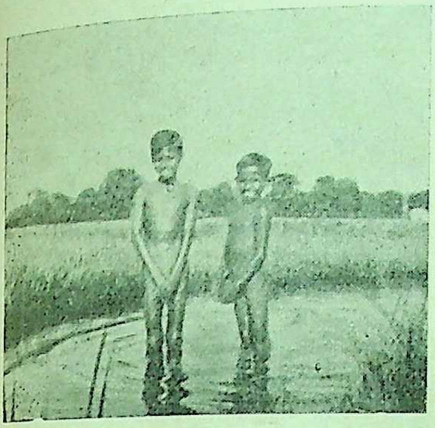


Some boys and girls in their winter ro
Small huts for worshipping Gram Th
are seen in the background

The moral character of a *deonia* is any
satisfactory. Being economically solvent, he
maintains several wives and bestows favours
others. There was a time when no girl was
his evil passion, and to desire was to obtain
ever dared to raise a hand in protest. L
situation is now undoubtedly improved
awakening of consciousness as well as the
communistic ideas amongst the masses. But
be said that for this cunning *deonia*, an

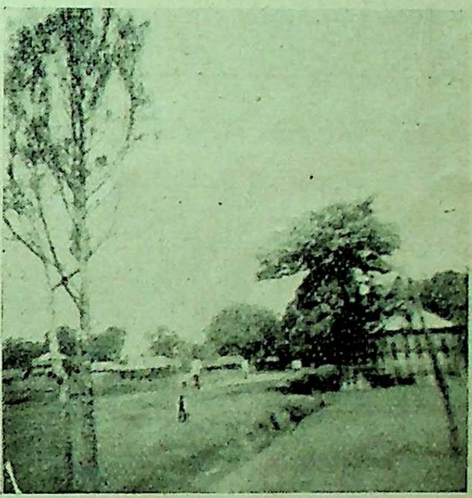
banshi is no match at all. By virtue of his financial condition and shrewd judgement, and with a little knowledge of reading and writing, he is the monarch of all he surveys. The days of elections are his hey-days. You may be sure of a good number of votes if you can handle a *deonia* properly. And he sells himself to the highest bidder.



Two boys in their birth-day costumes. Are they ashamed to face the camera?

The cultural life of the Rajbanshis is not at all gloomy. During the slack season when the work in the fields is not pressing, there are fairs and *melas* on every conceivable occasion wherein the people flock in from far and near. The most important of these *melas* is the congregation at the Jalpaiguri Rajbati on the occasion of Manasa Puja on the last day of the month of Sraban. On that day, the railway carriages are scenes to be seen when even the womenfolk take their seats quite comfortably on the roofs of the compartments not to speak of the foot-boards. Popular songs, dances and merriments are the chief attraction of these congregations and the women are more conspicuous by their presence. They come in the best of their robes and spirit while they provide ample scope for illegitimate mixings in view of the *melas* being mainly held at night. People from miles afar assemble there even if they have got not a single penny to expend but come only to enjoy the fun of it. Another noteworthy social gathering of the Rajbanshis coincides with the last day of the month of Chaitra. This is called *Bisua* or *Harua* and is mainly a manly affair. Every able-bodied Rajbanshi must go a-hunting on the occasion and there is a tradition that a bachelor who cannot net at least a wild boar on that day must go unmarried during the coming year and take a fresh chance at the next *Bisua* and so on till he comes out successful. The tradition is in recent days observed more in the breach than in the observance. Like the Rajputs, the Rajbanshis too assemble in batches and beat the forest, and from every corner drive the wild animals into open contests. Aims must not be directed towards the sleeping, ailing or unaware denizens of the forest.

The true picture of the Rajbanshi's life can best be obtained from *dhamgan* which is organised on the line of modern *jatras*. Tales of the society as well as the episodes from mythology are depicted in the form of dramas and the roles are played in their own dialect while appropriate costumes are used. The writer had the opportunity to witness once the performance of the dramatised version of Bankim Chandra's *Krishnakanter Will* organised by the educated Rajbanshis of the village of Belakoba in the district of Jalpaiguri. He must confess that he could not follow the dialogue all through but the presentation was on the whole praiseworthy. The performances are generally organised in the house of an well-to-do person where different parties from far and near assemble and present the dramas one party after another throughout the whole night and sometimes even up to late hours in the morning. Different parties have different plays and, on occasions, the performances continue for nights together at the end of which the deserving players and their parties are suitably rewarded in order of merit. Here is another occasion for the lavish expenditure of money. Those taking part in the contest are, of course, paid practically nothing. There are instances when they are not even provided with *pan-supari* (betel-nut, etc.) and *bidis*. The organisers generally bear the cost of lighting where in the absence of petromax, etc., gas taps and even hurricane lanterns can do. But those who come to enjoy the performance must enjoy fully and to a Rajbanshi nothing short of repeated cups of tea supplemented with sweets will mean "full enjoyment." Near-about the pandal you may, therefore, come across scores of tea-stalls and you may even find that a few money-lenders are present there to lend money.



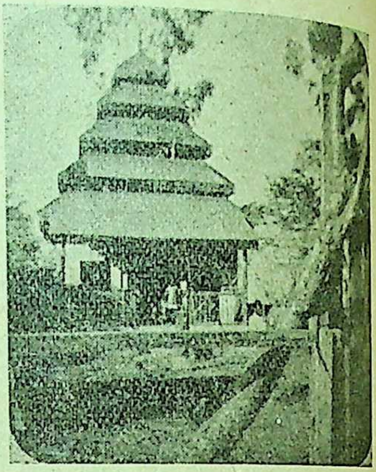
A village path in a sub-town

The *dhamgans* reproduce every aspect of the local life—son's duty towards the old parents, necessity of wife's devotion to the husband and so on—to be accelerated by occasional scenes of romance and heart-felt laughter here and there. The dramas are composed by some member of the community itself who possesses the natural talent of making verses. He may not always know how to write and in such cases the manuscript is prepared while he dictates. There are unwritten plays as well that pass from generation to generation with slight modifications here and there to cope with the march of time.

A Charitable Dispensary at Belakoba

With the advent of Western civilisation and as a consequence of general economic depression this merry aspect of the Rajbanshi life is gradually dying out. The moderns amongst them prefer a cinema-show in the neighbouring town to the sleepless nights of *dhamgan* so coveted by their predecessors. Solely for the dearth of patronage, the creative urge of the village-folk finds no expression. Adding rhymes to the popular incidents of life no longer fetches him bread and it is now overwhelmingly clear to him that to maintain himself and his family he must work and work hard. From the modern point of view his occupation is not socially necessary and he is nothing more than a parasite.

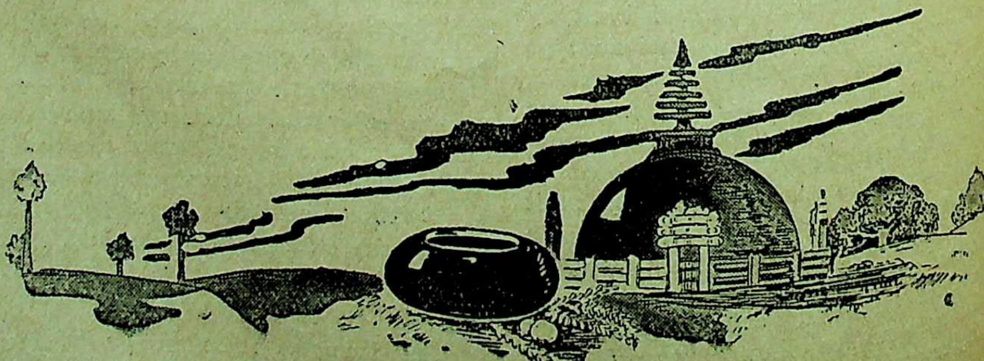
The age-old isolation of the Rajbanshis is now gone. Colonisation by outsiders began long ago; on economic grounds and with the partition of the province, the land of the Rajbanshis is now lost to them. People from all parts of the territories were forced to make it their unfortunately there are disruptionist amongst our uprooted brethren. The population is obliged to come into daily the settlers and as a result their age-old the *babuloks* can't play false is now dwindling an intelligent Rajbanshi is no match for an



Bhawani Pathak's temple. He is wors by the Rajbanshis

East Bengal man. By force of his superi and cunningness, the latter is now grabbing the possessions of the former before the of law. And it is a known fact that banshis in general dread the law-courts no the ghosts. Even the mighty *deonia* is los to the imported *matabbar* (headman). As outcome of all these a tense atmosphere constantly created by interested parti reports of sporadic outbursts occasionally It is now not the question of whether but rivalries will ensue between the outsiders and the indigenous population (bahis) of the their final bid for power.

Photographs by the author



AKBAR THROUGH HIS BUILDINGS

By M. YASIN SIDDIQI, M.A. LL.B.

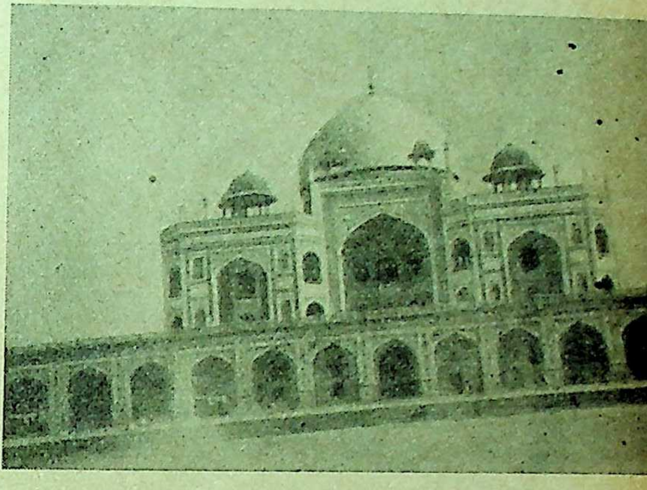
THE architecture of an age is moulded by the spirit of that age and bears the impress of the builders. There can be no great piece of architecture without a mind with imagination behind it; no culture without a psychology, and no civilization without a soul. A flatterer's pen might extol the weaknesses of his benefactor, but the architectural remains of a particular period are the mute witnesses testifying to the general character, psychology and tastes of the people or the individual, who inspired it. A ruler reflects himself in the buildings he erects. With the advancement of civilization, imagination gradually becomes weaker and poorer, and that is why there are buildings beautified ten times more than the Taj but lacking its subtle grace and sublime majesty.

INDO-MUSLIM STYLE

The advent of Islam into India marks a revolution in more than one aspect. It rang out the old and heralded the dawn of a new era. Never before in the history of the world people of two creeds, radically opposed to one another in culture and civilization, ideals and tastes, came into contact as was the case in India when Hinduism and Islam met together. It is one of the interesting facts of history, and most remarkable in the history of architecture, that they were harmonised in a happy synthesis and evolved a distinct style of their own, known as Indo-Muslim or Indo-Islamic. The history of Indo-Muslim architecture begins with the conquest of the kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer and Kanauj, and in fact the whole of Northern India by the Muslims between 1193 and 1206 A.D. On the ruins of old Indraprastha and Lalkot (old Delhi capital of Prithvi Raj) blossomed an imperial city with mosques, minars and palaces built by Hindu masons to suit the taste and requirements of the new race. The style was essentially Hindu with a thin Muslim garb, an indifferent 'physical compound' bearing traces both of the old and the new so far the general plan, surface decoration, roofing and other embellishments were concerned, reflecting the character of the conquerors of an alien faith and of a different civilization.

HAVELL CRITICISED

The archaeological experts have divided themselves into two main groups: one, admitting the Indo-Muslim school of architecture as a distinct style; and the other, whose chief exponent is Havell, holding that there is no such thing as Indo-Muslim style, and what the newcomers brought with themselves was almost "a return wave" of Buddhist-Hindu traditions, which the Indian master-builders readily recognised as their own. The new elements ceased as creative forces, and were submerged into different local phases of Indian architecture. But it is a common fact of history that, by the twelfth century A.D., Muslim architecture had become a fully developed art in Central Asia and Persia before it entered the soil of Hindustan. Muslims had a "natural talent" for building, and possessed a highly developed architecture of their own. They had their mosques in Egypt, Baghdad, Cardova, Constantinople and Damascus, with pointed arches and lofty domes which served as models for Indian builders. The Muslim conquerors were not unacquainted with the elements of architecture, nor were they mere soldiers devoid of culture and refinement, as Havell would suggest.



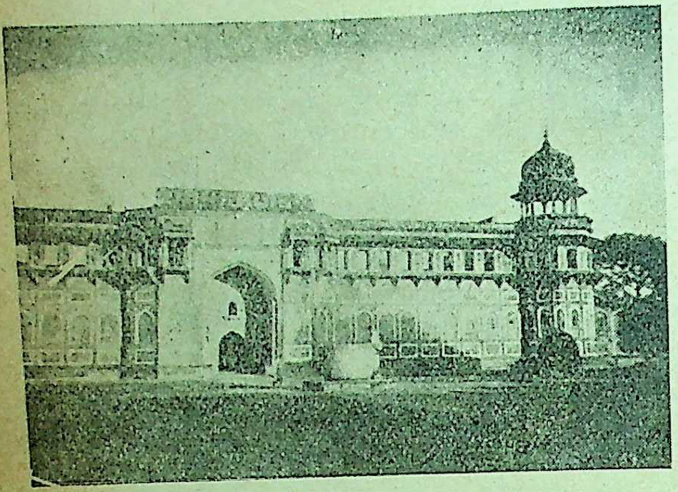
Humayun's Tomb at Delhi

SUR BUILDINGS

Without going into the details of the buildings of the Sultanate period and that of the provincial styles which sprang up after the fall of the Tughlaqs, this much should be noted that they were more Muslim than Hindu in conception and treatment, with a few exceptions here and there. It was Sher Shah who opened a promising avenue and laid the foundations of a style of architecture which has been rightly termed as the Renaissance style. The buildings of the Sur dynasty faithfully reflect the Indian character. As there was a definite advance in the direction of Indianization of the Muslim administration during this period, so in architecture too, the Sur period marks an epoch of nationalization, foreshadowing the rise of a national style of architecture and a national empire in the reign of Akbar. The new spirit is outstanding in Sher Shah's mosque in old Delhi (*Qila-i-Kuhna* mosque). Fergusson justly remarks that the mosque is Muslim outside but Hindu within, without any open defiance of the Islamic law and tradition. This mosque, like the reign of Sher Shah, marks only a period of transition from the period of sultanate to that of empire, from the tastes and institutions that were Islamic to those that were truly Indian.

NEW ERA

It is true as Vincent Smith (author of *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*) holds that the Muslim art and architecture possess a "uniform character" throughout the whole Muslim world because the main inspiration is derived from religion. But in that age of religious dogmatism was born a prophet who delivered the message of Indian nationalism. And he was Akbar.



Jahangiri Mahal at Agra Fort

During the reign of Akbar, Humayun's tomb which was erected by Humayun's widow, Haji Begam, was completed. "It suggested new principles, wider possibilities, greater flexibility and generally infused the building art with fresh life." But Akbar had nothing to do with it. He was a dreamer and an idealist. He had a passion for building ingeniously, and his building project started with great enthusiasm. The most important building schemes after Humayun's tomb were launched in the shape of palace fortresses at Agra and Lahore. Within the Agra Fort enclosure, the *Ain-i-Akbari* states, Akbar built upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone in the fine style of Bengal and Gujarat. In the general character of the fort at Agra, there is a resemblance of the fortress at Gwalior, with its palaces of Man Singh built early in the century. The Elephant Gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh's Gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details, all indicate that the Rajput citadel, which had moved Babur to admiration some forty years before "was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandson." The most characteristic building ascribed to Akbar is *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra Fort. It is almost entirely of red sand-stone, inlaid with white marble on the exterior. The principle of construction is the *beam and bracket,* the arch being sparingly used and then only in its *ornamental capacity.*

Although Lahore was regarded as only the second capital of the empire, the fort that Akbar constructed there almost at the same time as that of Agra, was conceived and carried out on practically the same grand scale. What is left of the palace buildings dated from the time of Akbar, possibly Jahangir, shows that the style of these was similar in most respects to the Ja *Mahal* at Agra, except that the carved decorati if anything, more vigorous and unrestrained. E and lions figure in the brackets. One other fort first rank was built by Akbar some twenty year at Allahabad, which still shows the remai considerable architectural merit. Only one noble is found intact, the *Zanana Palace,* from whi character of the whole may be surmised.

FATHPUR-SIKRI

But the real building project which determin place of Akbar in the architectural history is the and desolate city of Fathpur-Sikri, some seven circumference, situated twenty-three miles south- Agra, built during the years 1569 to 1605.

The motives ascribed to Akbar in building the city are partly personal and partly military. regarded Fathpur-Sikri auspicious as Jahangir wa to him through the blessings of Shaikh Salim who resided there. Secondly, he wanted to buil capital where he could introduce his novel ide policy, unfettered and uninterrupted by the section of Muslims. At Sikri he got a chance with a clean slate. Apart from personal consid Agra was in the plains and Sikri is situated on the commanding the neighbouring countries. Entra Rajputana and Bharatpur could be easily guard Sikri. Akbar was a great general and it was stra sound to shift from Agra to Fathpur-Sikri.

IMPORTANCE OF SIKRI

It has been well said that there are two his the reign of Akbar: Abul Fazl's *Akbarna* Fathpur-Sikri. Truly, Fathpur-Sikri is a very commentary on Akbar as a whole, and bears wi Akbar's splendid capacity as an organiser, as a men, and as a statesman of genius. In Fath we find the ideas of Akbar personified. The of Vincent Smith that "the building of Fath was a freak of an irresponsible autocrat acting the impulse of overpowering superstitious and enjoying the sensation of absolute free financial limitations," and the contention of Brown that Fathpur-Sikri was built in a has necessitated an immense staff of workmen, pre Hindu, which accounted for the Hindu in the buildings of Sikri, do great injustice to soul and his dream of founding a truly In That wondrous city is a monument of Akbar's genius, and justifies the courtly phrase of his pher that "His Majesty plans splendid e dresses the work of his mind and heart in the of stone and clay."

ITS PSYCHOLOGY

Fathpur-Sikri is the culmination of the enlightenment and the revival of Indian cultu sixteenth-century India, whose sponsor was Since the middle of the fifteenth century the ing forces of Islam and Hinduism were [illegible] platform, a path to rapprochement, realm of thought and then in politics. Hence the psychology behind Fathpur-Sikri was an impulse towards amalgamation and unity, a blending of the best in Islamic fine art with the imperishable elements of ancient Indian architecture. Akbar, who inspired the style of Fathpur-Sikri, imparted the same impress on the new style of architecture, as he had done in politics, namely, the foundations of a polity which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but pre-eminently Indian, with a composite Asian culture.

Without indulging in generalities, let us analyse the peculiar characteristics of some of the specimen buildings of Fathpur-Sikri to elucidate the point that the architectural style of Fathpur-Sikri was not exclusively Hindu or Muslim, but typically Indian and national.

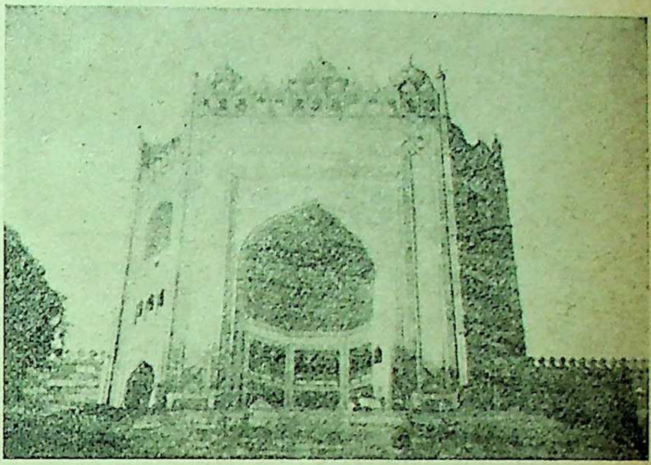
JODH BAI'S MAHAL

The so-called Jodh Bai's Mahal was the second, perhaps in point of the date of construction, though E. W. Smith regards it the oldest of all the domestic buildings. History does not record any Hindu wife of Akbar bearing the name of Jodh Bai. The entrance to the palace is of the usual plan of entrance to a Muslim house. It is like a *Swastika* without the vertical line—a peculiar device for maintaining *Purdah* of the inner courtyard. The ground floor has a colonnaded verandah on three sides. On the west there is an open hall with a small raised platform of several steps which may be identified either as a Hindu altar for idols or the *mimbar* of a mosque. A stair-case leads to the upper storey on all the four sides above the verandah. The atmosphere that pervades the structure is neither Hindu nor Muslim but something of the spirit of the age and of the character of the Emperor. The building, to a greater extent, is similar to the *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra Fort. Here for the first time a novel form of roofing catches our eye. Rooms are found with roofs of sand-stone chiselled in a wavy form like a "corrugated" iron sheet. E. W. Smith is not correct when he says that the idea was borrowed from Italy. The roofs have their archetype in the *kachcha* houses of the rural areas in the country. The versatile Emperor could appreciate beauty in humble things and the importation of the form of tiled roof to cover a princely abode is another proof of his attempt to Indianize Muslim architecture as much as possible and build an empire in which the high and low should be equally represented. The bell and chain, one of the oldest Hindu ornaments, is freely carved upon the piers.

The other striking room in Jodh Bai's palace is the *Hawa Mahal*, with its latticed screens overlooking the courtyard of *Mahal-i-Khas*. A covered stone pathway, higher than a man's height, connects Jodh Bai's palace with the *Mahal-i-Khas*. *The Mahal-i-Khas* with Jodh Bai's palace formed the inner citadel of Akbar's fortified city of Fathpur-Sikri.

JOGI-KA-CHHATRI

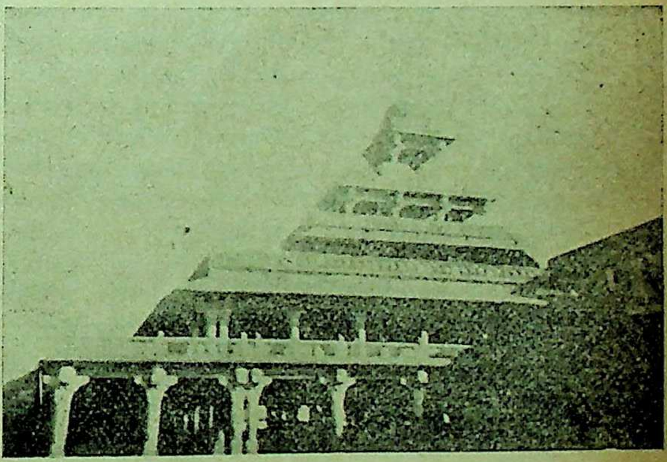
Outside the building, labelled as girl's school, there is a small pleasing pavilion called *Jogi-ka-Chhatri*. Its serpentine brackets of exquisite workmanship and every thing else about it, is so puely Hindu in taste and tradition that the *Jogi-ka-Chhatri* would have been quite becoming in a Jain temple of Gujarat style of architecture.



Buland Darwaja, the southern gate of the Great Mosque at Sikri

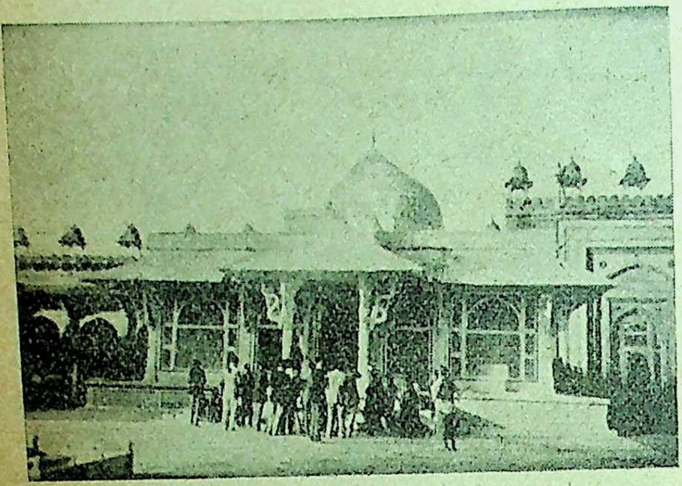
BIBI MARYAM'S KOTHI

Originally this residence was known as the *Sonahra Makan*, or "Golden House" and it was so called on account of the profuse gilding which embellished both the outer and the inner walls. Among other buildings of *Mahal-i-Khas*, it is large in size though not so exquisitely sculptured outside like Turkish Sultana palace. There is hot controversy about the name and the person who occupied this house. The colour painting has now disappeared. E. W. Smith has given photographs of the remnants of this painting which he found there. There is one scene indicating the punishment of sinners cast into hell. There is another painting which seems to be copy of the Madonna. Another gives the picture of a Brahmin in *dhoti* with a sheet thrown cross-wise over his back. These are enough to judge



Panch Mahal at Sikri

the high quality of art that marked the paintings of the age of Akbar, and a clear departure from dogmatic injunctions of Islam forbidding the representation of animate beings in any form.



Shaikh Salim Chisti's Tomb at Sikri

TURKISH SULTANA'S PALACE

A "superb jewelled casket" as the Turkish Sultana Palace is designated, it stands unrivalled in its wealth of relief sculpture among the palaces of Fathpur-Sikri. It is a small but very well-proportioned building worthy of the abode of a queen. A glance at the palace of the Turkish Sultana reminds one of Prof. Rushbrooke William's remark that with Babur began the modern age. In fact modern taste in a medieval building is first exhibited in the palace of Turkish Sultana. It is worthy of imitation in modern times if India wants to combine chaste elegance of the West with the picturesqueness of the Orient. Though the room is small in size it has wide verandahs on all sides with lean-to roofs lower than the ceiling of the main room. The walls are divided into panels and each panel has an inimitable forest scene, trees, flowering creepers, thick under-grove concealing lions beneath and peacocks above.

BIR BAL'S HOUSE

Raja Bir Bal's house is a peer in beauty, grandeur and magnificence with the palace of Turkish Sultana as a residential building and yet no two buildings are more unilke in design and execution. The house is built on a high plinth. In Raja Bir Bal's house we find a reflection of the mind of Akbar as a rebel against conventionalism and as a bold innovator. Throughout the whole range of the residential buildings of the reign of Akbar, Raja Bir Bal's palace is the only one with a domed roof. A dome in Muslim architecture is always associated with a mosque or with a grave. Here the dome was used as a roof beneath which a living being, and that too a Brahmin, was to sleep. Hence Akbar retained the dome as the symbol of new India which was then in the process of creation under the driving power of Muslim civilization. But he discarded the superstition about it as befitting either the house of God or the house of the dead.

PANCH MAHAL

One of the most striking buildings at Fa is that known as the Panch Mahal, or the "Five- Pavilion." For what distinct purpose it was b cannot definitely say, but probably it was used by and his chosen retainers as a pleasure resort, in the aisles of which he could obtain the cool breeze evening, and a fine view of the adjacent country; may have been exclusively used by the la children of the court.

The peuliar feature of the structure is the storey is smaller than that upon which it stands last only a small kiosque, supported on four small square shafts, forms the uppermost floor. Ha that it is planned after the old Indian assembly frequently alluded to in Buddhist literature, an of which exists within the fort of Bijapur. The floor contains fifty-six pillars, of which no two are alike in design. The construction, at any mainly Hindu and the bell and the chain have employed in decoration.

DIWAN-I-KHAS

The most unique piece of classic imagination antique beauty that one finds is Akbar's Diwan- in Fathpur-Sikri. It is smalll like all other b It has no pretensions to elaborate surface carvings relief on its walls. The chief peculiarity of the s is that though it has only one storey it looks double-storeyed building. But on getting inside no obstruction in the middle. It is really a room the usual height. The main attraction of Diwan- is the central pillar. It is octagonal in shape delicately carved to the height of the capital. genuinely ancient Indian in spirit. From the there radiate four stone causeways, divided into with low *jali* (screens). These causeways are in supported on very beautifully carved brackets the capital the appearance of a full-bloomed lotus pillar also resembles the throne of Lord Vishnu.

GREAT MOSQUE

The Great Mosque of Fathpur-Sikri, from the pit of which Akbar promulgated his Divine Faith endeavour to reconcile the conflicting creeds of subjects, is an interesting example of this. Th most glorious edifice which Akbar dedicated to There is an inscription on the mosque to the "this is a duplicate of the Holy Place (Mecca in the structure itself the evidence of the In ter-builder's handiwork and controlling mind overwhelming proof to the contrary. It is Indian building, in spite of the eclecticism of Within the courtyard of the mosque is the Wh shrine covering the remains of Shaikh Sal one of the most beautiful specimens of Mughal ture extant. The lattices are particularly The tomb of the saint may be regarded as tion to the general character of the buil Akbar.

BULAND DARWAZA

The public entrance to the mosque was through the southern gateway known as the *Buland Darwaza* or High Gate, a name justified by the fact that it is the highest of Indian gateways and among the largest in the world. The structure is a magnificent example of the Persian form of gateway, deriving its dignity from the great semi-dome in which the actual doors are inset. The Buland Darwaza was added to the mosque in 1601-1602 as a triumph arch to commemorate Akbar's conquests in the Deccan. The highest authorities regard Buland Darwaza as "one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India." Like most of the other buildings at Fathpur-Sikri, it is built of red sandstone and there is no painted decoration on it except the carving and the discreet inlay of white marble. Though this noble masterpiece is Persian in form, the architectural treatment of it is distinctively Indian.

APPRECIATION OF STYLE

Literary critics say that the style reflects the man. It is no less true in the case of architecture. The general impression of the buildings at Fathpur-Sikri which a visitor gets is very much unlike that of any of the Muslim architecture either in India or outside before the age of Akbar ; nor anybody would say that it is a reproduction of the old Hindu style of architecture, though signs of revivalism are writ large. Akbar was as eclectic in religion and philosophy, so was he in his architectural taste. The Emperor himself was neither a poet nor very much partial to poetry, yet he had a poet's eye for the beautiful. Akbar was neither Hindu nor Muslim but both ; first a Hindustani, a child of the Orient. Akbar's Hindustan was neither a land of Hindus exclusively nor that of Islam. Occasionally, Akbar's anxiety to revive the past bordered on the enthusiasm of a purist. In the style of architecture the same exhuberance of Hindu imagination is noticeable, which seems to have found a greater and more elegant synthesis and sense of proportion generally missed in the wilderness of the political history of his long reign.

In Akbar we find a sense of art and economy, not extravagance which characterises the buildings of his grandson, Shahjahan ; beauty out of simplicity and not subservient to the wealth of material. All his buildings are in red sandstone as against marble and the inlaying of precious stones. The buildings of Akbar truly belong to an epic age—vigorous, virile and full of youthful exhuberance, as opposed to the effeminate grace of the Mughal architecture in general. It is interesting to note that in Akbar no two buildings are alike in shape and no two pillars similar in design. It impresses the sense of homogeneity in diversity and is surely the stamp of individual genius.

A SCHOOL OF ART

The city of Fathpur-Sikri even in its deserted and dilapidated condition, as it stands today, appears to have been designed more as a comprehensive work of art in all its branches—painting, sculpture and architecture combined into one. In the field of art—for example, in the 'frescos' in Khwabagh, Bibi Maryam's Kothi and in the Hammam—we find a connecting link between the ancient Indian art of Ajanta and that of Central Asia carried to perfection by the school of Behzad. It was Akbar's policy to make everything meet halfway, whether in politics or in religion or in art. The art of Ajanta was indigenous to the soil of India whereas that of Behzad was a foreign graft on the stem of the ancient Indian art tradition. Indian subjects are treated under the Perso-Mongol technique of the school of Behzad. But the spirit of Ajanta, to reproduce scenes not Indian, is as conspicuous in Fathpur-Sikri as in the caves of Ajanta. The sculpture of Fathpur-Sikri is also a reflex of the national mind of the Indian Empire of Akbar if Huxley's dictum that sculpture is the index of a nation's genius and philosophy is true.

FATE OF SIKRI

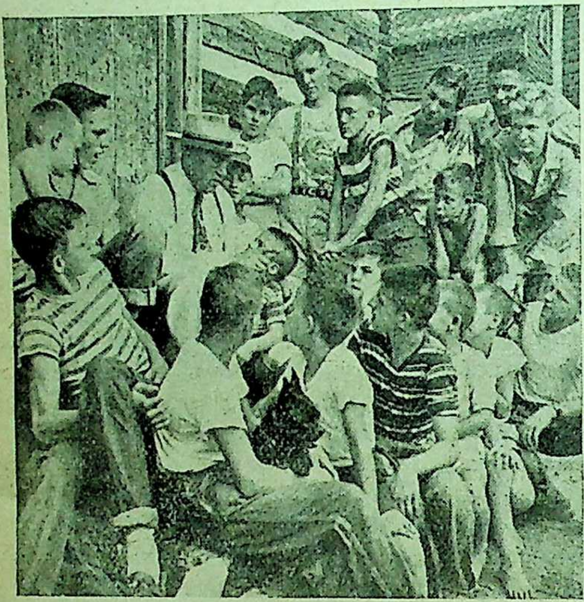
Fathpur-Sikri and Din-i-Ilahi are the twin offspring of Akbar's mind. The fate of Fathpur-Sikri was different from that of Din-i-Ilahi (the Divine Faith of Akbar). The fundamental principle of Din-i-Ilahi was universal, while that of the other national. In the universalism of Din-i-Ilahi there was also an imprint of nationalism, namely, foundation of a school of theosophy and religious practice which could unite the eclect of both the communities. Din-i-Ilahi was offered for acceptance to the best minds of the time. But it is the fate of a prophet and a poet not to be appreciated in the circle of familiarity. Even Bhagwan Das, as Badauni writes, was ready to embrace Islam rather than to become a member of the Divine Faith.

But Fathpur-Sikri had a different tale to tell. The synthetic Hindu-Muslim national style of Akbar was enthusiastically copied by the Hindus in their buildings. The closest copy of the architecture of Fathpur-Sikri is to be found in the palaces of the citadel of Ambar, built by Man Singh and his successors. During the period of Hindu reaction, that brought into existence many a powerful Rajput state, the tradition of Fathpur-Sikri remained undisturbed. Sikri remained the national style of architecture with the Hindus whereas Musalmans discarded it subsequently. The rulers of Alwar, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Malwa kept alive this national tradition of architecture.

After the death of Akbar there came a reaction against red sand-stone, against Hindu lintel and relief decoration as smacking of infidelity. Lions and peacocks were out of tune with the spirit of Islam. Among the successors of Akbar only Shahjahan reached him in the grandeur of conception and a certain amount of human feeling. The period of the youth of the empire passed with Akbar and the maturity set in with the lyric age of Shahjahan. Shahjahan was perhaps more correct in taste and his architecture has more grace than strength. But for the marble and the *pietra dura* decoration, and above all the Taj, the style of Shahjahan would have been considered a decline since the

FOSTER FATHER TO 150 BOYS

For almost half a century Dr. John Whitten, a bachelor living in the town of North Tazewell, Virginia, has been the head of a unique family unit which has included a houseful of boys. Through the years several generations of the Doctor's boys have grown to manhood and established homes of their own, relinquishing their places in the Whitten household to other orphaned or abandoned children. In all, the Doctor has reared some 150 foster sons—boys who have affectionately addressed him as "Pa" and looked to him for the love and security every child needs.

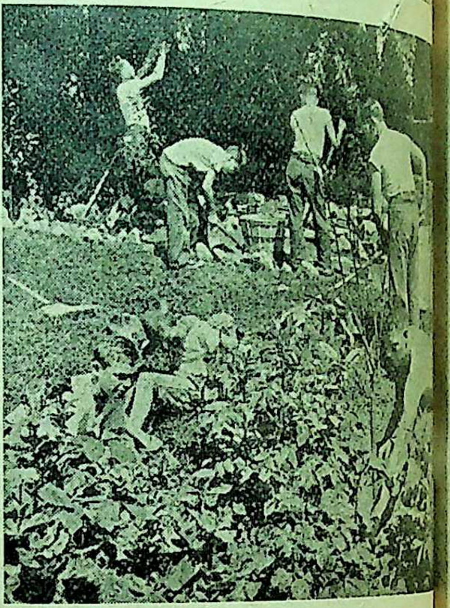


Dr. Whitten spends some part of each busy day with his foster sons in a lounging room built for the boys

Like most families, "Doc" Whitten's also began with just one child—a needy boy whom he took into his home in 1907. That first impulsive gesture of offering shelter and love to one lonely child was to lead to a lifetime of foster parenthood for the Doctor; a second boy, deserted by his family, was soon added to the Whitten household, and then came a third who had run away from a broken home.

As word of the Doctor's kindness spread through the southern State, other orphaned or runway boys came knocking at the Whitten door. The only limit to the Doctor's generosity was the physical one imposed by the size of his house: even with four boys assigned to a bedroom, no more than 20 could be accommodated at one time. So the size of the Doctor's family has been held to 20 boys who fill up the spacious old house and in summer time find outlet for their energy in work and play on the 200-acre farm a few miles away.

The financial responsibility entailed in caring for his boys is borne entirely by Dr. Whitten. While a contribution is never refused—and many do flow in
from people who hear or read about th
foster family—most of the money for foo
and shelter comes from Whitten himself. H
of the community's most popular physicia
fees from his practice are spent largely in
his boys and providing them an educa
Whitten farm is operated by a resident ma
provides much of the food for the househo
ing the milk supply furnished by the her
cows. Chickens and turkeys, cared for by
as part of their daily chores, supply the f

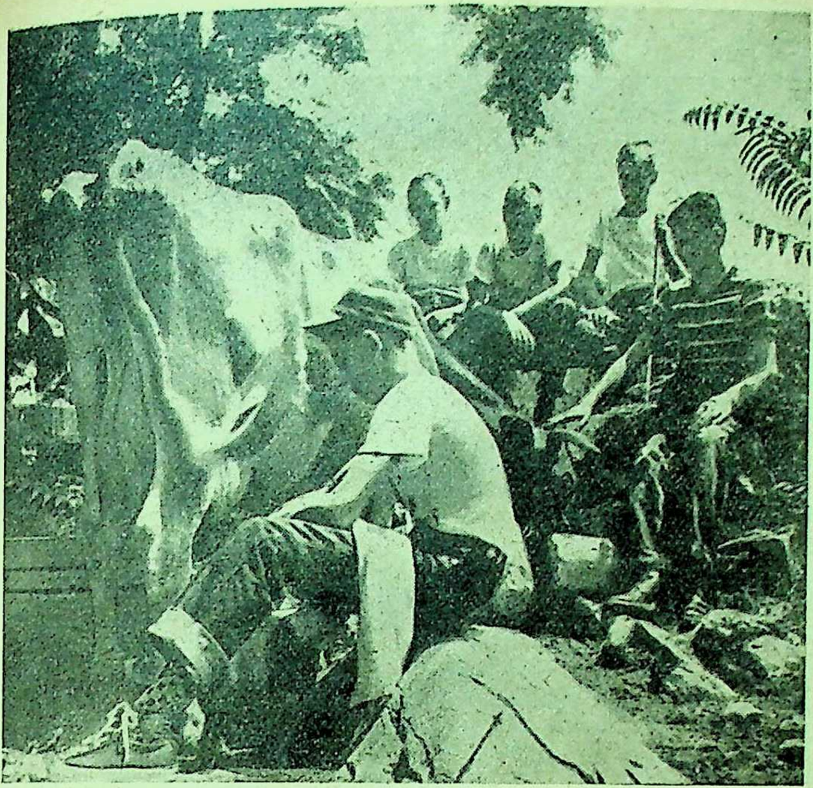


Dr. Whitten's boys are encouraged to d
skills in landscaping and horticulture by
for the famly lawn and flower gar

and poultry needs.

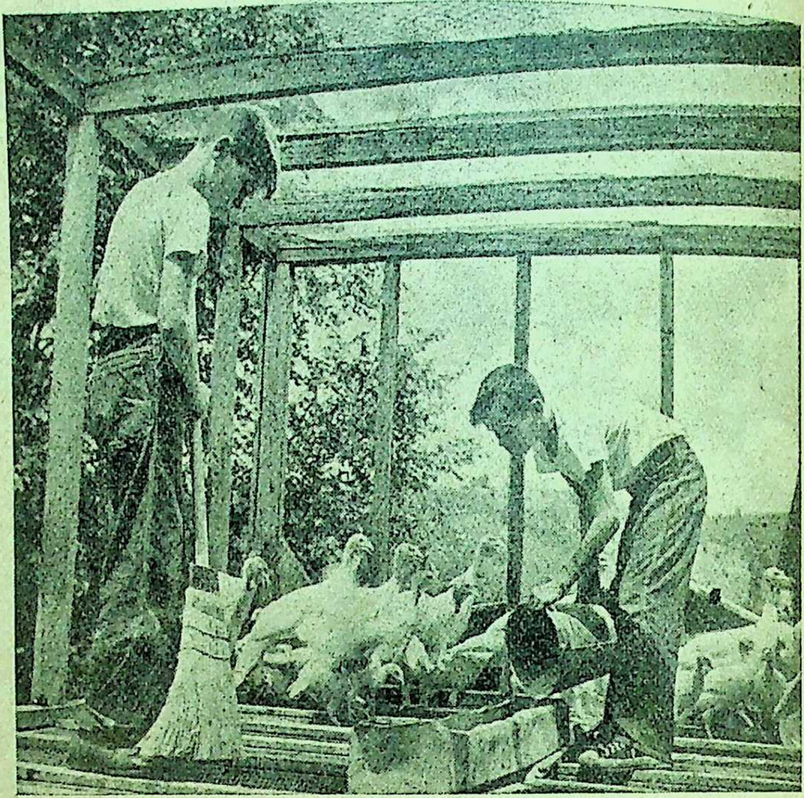
There is no dormitory-like disciplin
Doctor's household. Boys have all the fre
ordinary home although there are certain
which each is taught to obey for the good of
boy has specific chores to do—such as c
room and helping to feed the poultry, b
eggs and care for the lawn and flower g
there is ample time for outdoor games and
creation. In summer, the boys help with
work, taking over care of the cows and
hand with the vegetable garden and c
other crops.

No matter how busy his day, "Do
manages to spend some time with his boys
careful attention to their health need
receives a regular physical examination. Ea
boy is placed in the protective care of
"brother" whose job it is to see that he f
daily health rules, takes care of his school
home chores and creates no behaviour pro
in the family group. The Doctor wisely re



The boys learn to milk and to care for the animals as part of their daily farm chores

Here younger boys, helped by their "big brothers," study their lessons in preparation for the next day at school by letting his boys accept responsibility for others and consider their actions in relation to the welfare of the group, he is training them for the re lities of citizenship in adult life.

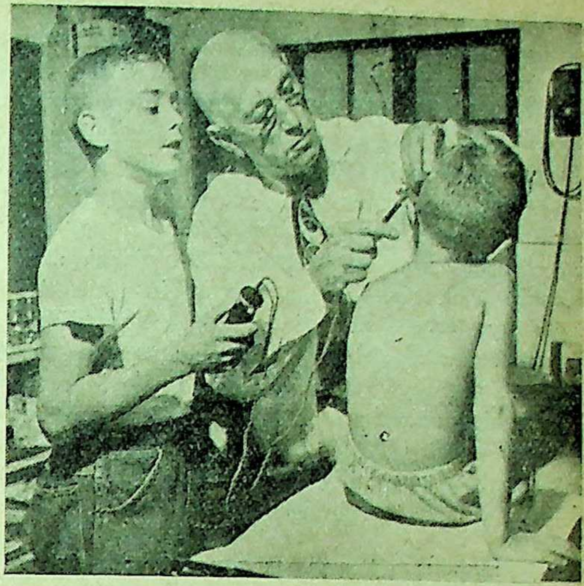


Twelve-year-old twins in the Whitten household feed the turkeys kept in a pen behind the house

Dr. Whitten gets help in treating an office patient from one of his boys who is home on vacation from medical school

Dr. Whitten encourages his boys to study hard and to take advantage of every opportunity to get a good education. Many of them have gone through college, their tuition paid by Whitten himself. Three have chosen to follow in his footsteps as doctors, getting some practical experience in their student days from helping "Pa" in his North Tazewell office during school vacations.

Twenty boys at a time, totalling 150 over the years, constitute quite a family. Yet such is Dr. Whitten's capacity for love that he is never happier than when there is room to add a new "son" to the group. The Doctor doesn't profess to know much about the art of being a father; he just uses common sense, love and understanding in rearing his young charges but the fact that to date not one of the 150 has been a failure attests to the soundness of his methods.—*USIS.*



The children undergo a regular physical examination in the Whitten household

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DR. J. C. SINHA

An Obituary Appreciation

BY S. K. BOSE, M.A., I.A.S.,
Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Orissa

JOGISH CHANDRA SINHA was born in the village of Poradah in an humble Bengali home on 2nd May, 1893. Having received his early education in the village school, he came to Calcutta and joined the Hare School passing the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in 1909 and thereafter was educated at the Presidency College, Calcutta, during the years 1909 to 1915. His high intellectual abilities were in evidence from the very early days, but it was his contact with the late Sir J. C. Coyajee and Professor Gilchrist that helped to bring about a full blossoming of his deep love for true learning and an insatiable hunger for the search for the truth. He truly believed that "the search for the truth was the noblest occupation of mankind," and devoted himself wholeheartedly to the scholastic pursuit of academic studies. Having obtained a brilliant M.A. degree in Economics from the University of Calcutta in the year 1915, he went on to be the Premchand Roychand Scholar of the University during the years 1920 to 1923. After serving the University of Calcutta as a lecturer from 1915-1923, he joined the University of Dacca in 1923 and continued to be its Reader and Head of the Department (obtaining the Ph.D. degree of the University of Calcutta in the year 1927) till 1932, when he joined as Senior Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta, and Economic Adviser to the Government of Bengal. He served in this capacity up to 1950 and also officiated as Principal of the Presidency College for some time. After his retirement in the year 1950, he took up in the same year the onerous duties of Principal, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College but resigned the post in 1952 due to ill-health.

In spite of all the heavy administrative duties that he was called upon to shoulder, Dr. J. C. Sinha, continued to have a deep attachment to his scholarly studies, and, published in 1927 his famous book *Economic Annals of Bengal.* It was a pioneer work in a field, which despite its great importance and interest, had been comparatively neglected. The volume claimed to be "a study of the hitherto neglected aspects of the economic life of our province from 1757 to 1793." It was indeed a specialised study but the book brings out truly the man behind the scholar, and showed that Dr. J. C. Sinha was no hankerer after popular applause nor anxious to earn a fortune but was a devotee of true learning for its own sake. Indeed the author was acutely conscious that "a study of this kind is apt to be dull to the general reader," and, therefore, not bring him money or popularity. But Dr. Sinha was not interested in either, and, undertook the work because he felt that ". . . unless work on such lines is attempted, the economic history of India will never pass beyond the *dilettante* stage."

It is a pity that the current problems of the times gradually shifted him from his first love, and, took his interests more towards the problems of Currency and Banking. Perhaps, the raging "ratio controversy," wherein Dr. Sinha attempted to bring sanity and realism by his searching analytical articles published in the *Sankhya* (Volume III, Parts 2 and 4), or the countrywide interest in problems of Currency and Banking brought about by the Economic Depression of 1930 and the Indian Banking Enquiry of 1931 in which he took an active part as a member of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1929-30), were responsible for this change; or, perhaps merely a change of interest took place, but it is noticed that from 1931 onwards Dr. Sinha's academic pursuits took him more and more into the fields of monetary studies, until in 1938 he published his famous series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Delhi as Sir Kikabhai Premchand Readership Lectures in 1937 as a volume entitled *Indian Currency Problems in the Last Decade, 1926-1936*. Perhaps, no other publication in India has done more towards canalising the study and analysis of Indian Currency Problems on the lines of a painstaking realistic and statistical approach than this book of Dr. Sinha did. The publication is remarkable both for its clarity of exposition and its intensely searching analysis of problems that had brought about more bitter and opposing schools of thought than perhaps any other Indian Economic Problem in living memory.

Dr. J. C. Sinha

But problems of economic life of the villager did not cease to get from Dr. Sinha a due share of his time and energy, in spite of his growing interest in the more academic problems of monetary analysis. As a member of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933, he brought to bear on its report evidence of that same love for the common man's welfare and honest facing of his problems that was characteristic of Dr. Sinha's whole outlook on life. Dr. Sinha had always believed in a proper set-up for agricultural finance and marketing as the basic desid
agricultural prosperity, and, in his article
Mortgage Banking in India," published
Bankers Magazine, London, February 192
given glimpses of some of his ideas. The d
of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 19
him opportunities to further develop these i
the apparent impress of his thought is no
many of the recommendations contained
report and particularly in his learned Min
sent to the main report.

Recognition and public esteem came to
various forms and he was honoured not
membership of various official and expert
tees, but also by public and academic bo
was ex-officio member of the Bengal B
Economic Enquiry, 1935, Trade Union Co
Tribunal, Bengal, 1936, and President of the
Economic Conference held at Hyderabad in
ber, 1948.

Dr. Sinha was not a prolific writer nor a
lisher. He was reluctant to give to the acade
anything but the best that *he* was capable
of his unpublished ideas would have been
creditable than the deluge of *pseudo-intelle*
half-baked publications of our times; but
academic sphere, as in all other aspects of
he showed restraint, and, valued the fun
rather than worship the Goddess of Popul
his publications were by no means unimpres
some amongst these, (leaving aside a host of
and pamphlets published from time to time)
tion to those already mentioned above, are

1. "Indian Guilds" (*Bengal Econom*
September 1918).
2. *Some Currency Reforms of Hasti*
lished by Superintendent, Govt.
India, 1924.
3. "Economic Theorists among the S
John Company (1766-1806)"
Journal, March, 1925).
4. "Industrial Banking in India" (*In*
of Economics, January 1931).
5. "Indian Cottage Industries" (*Curr*
Calcutta, September 1940).
6. "Recent Economic Policy in Indi
Journal of Economics, January 1
7. "The Population Problem in In
Modern Review, Calcutta, Nov

Dr. J. C. Sinha died under tragic c
on 10th May, 1954, at Calcutta. Even tho
from active life, he was taking keen inte
multifarious problems of our country,
were hopes that he could have brought to
of his countrymen those qualities of in
honesty that God had gifted him with. But
it otherwise, and, he died as he had liv
unostentatiously and unselfishly, and per
in the thought that he had done his own
the service of his country and countrym
"thought and study and the buildi
knowledge."

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

By Prof. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.,
Head of the Department of Economics, Victoria College, Cooch Behar

little over two hundred years ago J. J. Rousseau in prize-winning essay denounced fiercely and elouently arts, letters, science and culture as causes of ll sorts of corruption ; and at once he leaped into ame as a censor of civilisation. Anyone who consiers the role of education in States like Nazi Germany nd Fascist Italy might easily condemn modern ducation also. In the name of national glory highly ducated Germans encouraged wholesale attacks upon ligious faiths, expulsion of thinkers, scientific and piritual, from Germany, and outlawry of the whole ce of the Jews. In Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, ducation was practically a system for injecting the achiavellian poison of force and fraud into the ry vitals of the Germans and the Italians. In nsequence, they set up almost a record of barbarity the whole of human history; and uneducated, mmonplace men simply hang their heads at the very ention of the crimes committed by the Nazis and e Fascists.

However, as men are all meant for living in iety, education proper must not make them hate, ceive or murder one another on any grounds atsoever.

Meaning of Education

Education implies an attempt on the part of the ult members of a human society to shape the elopment of the coming generation in accordance h its own ideals. Used in a wide sense, education ans everything which helps to mould the human ng; and with some poetic licence we sometimes ak of the education of a people or even of the ole human race. According to Plato, education s at developing in the body and the soul all the uty and all the perfection of which they are able.[1]

What, then, is the ideal of human life ?. Or what the nature and form of the beauty and perfection a human being, especially in our times? Though essential aims of human life should, perhaps, be same in every place or generation, perfection of an life in the Athens of Plato would be different ertain aspects from what it would obtain in don, Paris, Moscow, New York or New Delhi y.

Education for International Life

In ancient times men could live a more or less actory life in their villages or cities, or in some slightly larger areas. The world as a whole was either unknown or too big for immediate consideration in those days. Educationists, therefore, in those times did not speak much about the development of international understanding. But owing to scientific discoveries all nations are now so near to one another, and their destructive capacities, also, are now so much beyond the wildest imaginations of earlier generations, that it is impossible today not to emphasise the role of education in fostering international understanding.

As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century most nations, with a few exceptions like the English, the French and the Dutch, seemed to live within their national boundaries. But during the last hundred and fifty years sudden and far-reaching changes have been occurring, and they have led to an intensification of international relationships. Only about half a century ago the Wright brothers got the Kittyhawk off the ground to record the first flight by a heavier-than-air machine. Modern aeroplanes which are the descendants of the Wrights' stick, string and canvas contraption can fly at almost the velocity of sound. The earth has already been reduced to a sixty-hour flying trip; and talks of inter-planetary expeditions are also in the air. Such records and expectations are likely to go up still further when atomic energy acquires wings.

However, as rockets now fly three thousand miles per hour.[2] the great cities of the world are at a stone's throw from one another not only in the metaphorical, but also in the literal, sense of the phrase. All vestiges of human life could also be reduced to ashes by modern hydrogen, atomic, bacterial and chemical weapons. Even radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, causing annihilation of any life on earth, seems now to be within the range of technical possibilities

Obviously, modern science has made our communications, trades, interests, relations and organisations, fears and expectations, nay, even our whole outlook on life, more or less international, so that our education also must be preparation for this international life.

What Education Shluld Do?

A system of modern education should utilise the services of schools, colleges and universities; of art,

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1. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), Educa-

2. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 4, 1953.

3. Nehru's Statement to the House of the People, India, on April 2, 1954.

drama, music, cinema, sports and games, radio and press; and of history, geography, law, economics, politics, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, languages and literature for developing a life of international understanding. The basic idea behind all modern education should be to emphasise the necessity of three essential factors for peaceful international life: first, loyalty to the whole human race over and above our national loyalties; secondly, development of world-wide democratic institutions for dealing with problems which have international repercussions; and, thirdly, acceptance of a world police force which, without being itself an organisation for terror and oppression, may curb the excesses of national violence. This idea is derived from the almost universal experience that peaceful life of friendly understanding within a nation is essentially dependent upon three similar factors, *viz.*, national loyalty; national institutions like the legislature, the executive and the judiciary for resolving disputes and tensions among groups and individuals; and a national armed force used economically through its state monopoly.

The law of the United Nations together with other sources of international law gives us the rudiments of the essential factors of international life. Full realisation of these factors in actual life would ensure a satisfactory basis for international understanding. Education can play its proper role in this connexion by drawing largely on the teachings of scriptures and great men and on the analysis of the dynamic forces of the history of the world as a whole.

The most vital need of our times is the cultivation of a vivid sense of citizenship of the world.[4] If we have no world-wide loyalty today, but only national groups, each practising its own private idolatry, then even international football matches and athletic contests may turn out to be causes of international misunderstanding. Intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind has, of course, been the message of seers and prophets from even the days of the Upanishads.[5] But never before was there a greater need, also a grander opportunity, for giving actual shape to this ideal. Actually, true loyalty to the United Nations implies a form of world citizenship. All should now be zealously taught to feel that we belong to the same human race, have the same world as our common territory, profess the same religion of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity, and speak the same human language which can be easily translated into so many dialects. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, even speaks of us all as belonging to the "human family." This tendency towards the growing concept of world citizenship is being accelerated by two additional historical factors: first, worldwide locking of individuals' interests through thei ing association with different nations; and, gradual loss of national self-sufficiency in al same way as the loss of group self-sufficiency nations during the period when the idea of ism itself was struggling to be born.

Besides, we have in the United Nations national institutions for bringing about, pe necessary adjustments among nations. Some a world police force, also, was developed un auspices of the United Nations for meeting ag in Korea.

More than two thousand years ago declared that the City-state was natural, was an outgrowth of the individual through the and the village.[6] A modern Aristotle would say that the world state is natural today;[7] great current of human history, despite falsifications, and even obstructions, here and seems to be moving irresistibly, though slowly painfully, towards world loyalty and world tions of all kinds. As a matter of fact, the S General of the United Nations, Dag Hamm maintains that the present-day situation ma task of setting up a United Nations Organi San Francisco as natural and as inevitable social evolution as any other collective social to a common need.

> "The United Nations," he says. ". . . an appendage added superficially to the peoples and of nations. It was born demanding requirements of the age in w live."[8]

With a proper curriculum of study and type of teachers, education could hasten this of growing international solidarity by limiti idea of national sovereignty and developing of world sovereignty. Historical forces hav rently compelled nations to surrender a part sovereignty. But the ghosts of sovereign na try feverishly to retain in their hands the their empires, occasionally even destroy the law at their frontiers, and thus threaten the race. Obviously, nations which were Levi not easily take to the hook.[9] But unless the most attempts at education for internation standing are likely to fail.

WHAT EDUCATION HAS DONE

In recognition of the great role of ed developing international understanding, the of the League of Nations set up in 1922 a C on intellectual co-operation to co-ordinate the work of such bodies as the international Research Council, the International Academic Union, and the Institute of International Law. In 1924, the League Council took steps for establishing an International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to act as the Secretariat of the Committee. Later on, the Committee and the Institute and a few other bodies were linked together into a comprehensive Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. The educative influence of the Secretariat of the League of Nations through its compilation and publication of information on problems which came before the League for consideration cannot also be ignored. In a sense, indeed, the whole experience with the League of Nations was a kind of new education for the whole human race in international relationship, and this education facilitated the advent of the United Nations.

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[4] Bertrand Russell: *Education and the Social Order*, p. 27.

[5] Rabindranath Tagore : *Nationalism*, pp. 5-6, also Lectures on the Religion of Man (in Bengali), Calc

[6] Aristotle's Politics, 1. 2. 8-9.

[7] Bertrand Russell : *Education and Social Or*

[8] *United Nations Bulletin*, Vol. XVI, No. 3,

[9] Laski, H. J.: *Introduction to Politics*, Ch

Similar educative influence on the growing generation is seen in most of the acts of the United Nations, along with its Non-governmental Organisations and Specialised Agencies. The Department of Public Information in the Secretariat of the United Nations has been doing magnificent work in this connexion by recording, compiling, analysing and publishing significant facts about international life. Since the very inception of the United Nations, it was duly realised that the sociological task of organising the world politically must be accompanied by the psychological task of preparing the minds of men for such an organisation and its ideals. Accordingly, a Specialised Agency, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, was assigned the task of approaching the problem of international understanding from the psychological point of view. The Unesco came into being on Nevember 4, 1946, when its Constitution was formally accepted by twenty of its signatories. It is now an organisation of sixty-eight States. It has a comparatively small budget of about nine million dollars a year. But in its global adventure of increased learning and mutual understanding, it has already mobilised battalions of creative thinkers and doers—painters, actors, musicians, authors, teachers, philosophers, scientists, anthropologists and librarians. Its aim is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, law, rights and freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. For this purpose the Unesco collaborates in the work of advancing mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass communication, gives fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture, and maintains, increases and diffuses knowledge.[10] It has given financial aid to facilitate the meetings and publication programmes of several voluntary bodies. It has formed new organisations like the International Sociological Association, International Political Science Association, International Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, International Music Council, and International Theatre Institute. It has opened Science Co-operation Offices in Montevideo, Istanbul, Cairo, New Delhi, Djakarta, and Manila as a link between highly developed and underdeveloped countries in matters of current scientific information. It has sponsored seminars and meetings of experts on such subjects as the teaching of history and geography, teacher training, rural education, public library services, the philosophy of East and West, and the question of racial differences. It has published bibliographies and abstracts. It has helped governments to set up national or regional centres of scientific and technical documentation for use by researchers and industries. It has given clearing house services by distributing information on such subjects as fundamental education, availability of fellowships and scholarships around the world, and new experiments and techniques in the sphere of radio, film, press and television. It has helped to reduce existing barriers to the flow of materials between countries, such as, foreign country, tariffs, quotas and copyright. It has also focussed its interest on specific projects of various kinds in education, science and culture, and thus sought to "put knowledge to work."

This enumeration of Unesco activities clearly shows what can be done by means of educational work for the development of international understanding.

World War Against the Vices of Individuals

When Plato laid an undue emphasis on organisational reforms of the City-states in Greece for reducing quarrels and tensions among groups and individuals, Aristotle uttered an important warning. "The state," said Aristotle, ". . . is a plurality, which should be united and made into a community by means of education."[11] The world is a far greater plurality, Our salvation, therefore, lies in greater education. Perhaps, our education would be very effective, if our universities, news agencies and similar other institutions were truly international in character.

In any case, we should never forget those words in the preamble of the Unesco Constitution:

> "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

A modern war among nations can be so terribly unjust that it can be declared for aggressive purposes by only the worst of the ruffians. The roots of all wars lie basically in the rejection of the principle of universal brotherhood, and in our surrender to vices like greed, intolerance, hatred, dishonesty, anger and violence. In a sense, indeed, wars are international riots, manifestations of our individual vices in their aggregate forms. In the first half of the 20th century, these vices have already been responsible for two World Wars with nations fighting one another. If we want to prevent the third World War, we on, on all fronts, the first World War against of vices of individuals. Above all, the Everest of narrow nationalism which gives these vices must be conquered as possible, and on its top must be planted the mankind as a whole.

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[10] The Constitution of UNESCO, Article I.

[11] Aristotle's Politics, II, 5. 15.

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INFLUENCE OF THE RAMAYANA ON BENGALI LITERATURE

By NARENDRA DEV

We all know that the Ramayana is the earliest epic of our ancient India, when Sanskrit was the universal language of the land. It is a superb creation of Maharshi Valmiki who is rightly called 'Adi-kavi'—the First Poet of saintly merit. He composed it in such an entrancing style that it at once captured the heart of the people.

India is a land of spiritual thinkers given to sincere love of religion and devotion. We find in this vast country a strong undercurrent of poetry and passion for the sublime running side by side since the Vedic ages. Even the great philosophers of the past and the present of this mysterious land have composed beautiful poems to give expression to their realisation of the highest Truth as revealed to us through the Upanishads, the *Gitanjali* of Tagore and *Savitri* of Sri Aurobindo.

The Ramayana is the ideal epic of India. It is needless to refer here, how this great treasure came to us. It depicts in detail the extraordinary ideal life of the illustrious King Ramachandra and provides historical glimpses of the royal family of Ajodhya. Since when Lava and Kusha, the twin sons of the exiled queen Seeta, sang it for the first time at their father's court unware of their relationship with the King, at the behest of Valmiki, their Guru and Protector, the Ramayana has been sung in every corner of India. In course of time it crossed the frontier and spread to Greater India. Java, Bali, Sumatra and Siam still ring with the melodious songs of the Ramayana.

Valmiki's Ramayana was so adapted afterwards in the different provinces of India that the regional languages with their local colour and diction soon made it their own saga, which they dearly love to sing and perform at the market-places or temple-yards of their town and village. Ramachandra, the highly noble king of Ajodhya, and Seeta Devi, his most devoted consort, Vir Hanuman, his faithful follower, and Lakshman, his selfless brother, have all been raised to the level of dieties. It is the Ramayana which, by attributing divine qualities to Ramachandra and his family, has deified them.

For thousands and thousands of years India has worshipped the hallowed memory of that "Narachandrama" as Valmiki called that ideal king immortal epic. The Ramayana, composed in Sanskrit verses, was not very easy for the common to follow. So, it was between the sixth century fourth century B. C. that the Sanskrit Ramayana was translated into Pali and then into Prakrit, the being the spoken language of India at that period.

Thus, the Ramayana came into the hands masses, and in course of time strange stories were to the main text of the epic, and some have also found their way into it. In the stories Buddha Jatakas, more than one incident of the were found retold in some form or other. In the Ramayana was gradually translated into principal languages of India. Even stories and from the Ramayana began to spread to the the humble villagers.

The theme of the Ramayana is so homely, and the plot of the story so its wide popularity is not in any way a strange menon. The sudden death of King Dasaratha affectionate father who could not survive to pangs of separation from his beloved sons, the dous sacrifice of Ramachandra on the *Rajyavishek* to enable his father to fulfil his his devoted wife Seeta's noble example in husband unhesitatingly to the forests, the Lakshman and Bharata's fraternal attachment other and specially Lakshman's devotion to exemplary. The loyal and valiant follower Vir who was always ready to serve his noble lord his difficulties and dangers; the wonderful apes, monkeys and baboons, and lastly, all the strong and powerful monsters of Lanka are interesting to all people, specially to women and of our land.

Even, we find the poets of the past, whose tion and distinction stands unchallenged. Mahakavi Kalidas, Bhavabhuti and others, were to borrow materials and ideas from the Ramayana largely contributed to the success of their best like the *Raghuvansam*, the *Meghadutam*, and the *Uttar Ramacharitam*, etc.

The Ramayana first came to be translated into the Bengali language during the fifteenth century A.D. by the great Bengali Poet Sri Krittibas Ojha who hailed from Phulia, a village near Santipur, in the district of Nadia. In his wonderful translation of the Ramayana, this powerful and highly imaginative Poet contributed some new incidents and local colours to embellish his work, such as, the "Fall of Taranisen" who went to fight Ramachandra, with the names of Rama inscribed all over his body, the story of Angada being sent as envoy at the Court of Ravana, who made the majestic Rakshasha King look very small by his sharp, curt, satirical and witty remarks, the funny episodes of Ahiravana and Mahiravana, the untimely break of sleep of Ravana's 'King-Kong' brother Kumbhakarna which caused his premature death. These and some other small but excellent additions and alterations made by him, proved the extraordinary merit of this Bengali composer. He is in no way less respected than Valmiki himself throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. It is claimed by connoisseurs that Krittibas's work is rather a new creation than a mere translation, just as they speak about the *Ramcharitamanasam* by that saintly Poet Tulsidas of the 16th century. It is the Kavi Krittibas of Bengal whose work has been so much popularised in his own country, that every hearth and home of Bengal still possesses a copy of his Ramayana. He has become an essential part of our life and society for the last five hundred years. A special class of Ramayana singers grew up in every district, who took up the profession of entertaining people with songs and recitations from the Ramayana during all festive occasions and at annual *melas* or fairs that used to be held everywhere in Bengal.

The popularity of the Ramayana by Krittibas was so much wide-spread in Bengal that some of the less talented poets who came after Krittibas, attempted to copy him in their own way, of whom the names of Kavichandra and Adbhutacharyya may be mentioned here, who achieved some success in their respective bold efforts. The saddest part of it was that these various compositions of an inferior type were surreptitiously infiltrated into Krittibas's text, thereby defiling his work to some extent.

The literary works of Bengal of the medieval age may be classified into three principal groups. First, the *Padavali*, *i.e.*, short lyrical songs, second, the *Panchali*, *i.e.*, stories in verses with detailed incidents, for singing and reciting, and the third is the *Sandarvas*, *i.e.*, thoughtful articles in prose to read and enjoy.

The first and the second group have each some sub-sections, such as, the Padavalis, which have got no less than four distinct divisions. Number One: The Vaishnava Padabali. Number Two: Religious Lyrics other than the Vaishnava Padavali. Number Three: The Popular Love Lyrics, and Number Four: Folk songs and Rural verses.

The Panchali Group have got three distinct divisions, of which number one is the translation from Sankrit epics like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Sri Bhagabata, etc. Number two is the *Mangalakavyam*, *i.e.*, tales in verse of cruel persecutions of the unbelievers by the wrathful gods and goddesses as well as the story of their immense boon and favour to the believers, and number three is folklores in doggeral verse as also social **ballads.**

Though the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and Sri Bhagabata belong to the first division of the Panchali Group, yet we should not forget that the influence of these three Grand Epics, specially the charms of the Ramayana, fascinated the people so much that all the contemporary works and later productions in Bengali literature were saturated with its spirit and they were largely indebted for all their remarkable literary gifts to the Ramayana only.

The direct and indirect influence of the Ramayana are to be found scattered in almost every literary work of the medieval age. In the popular Vaishnaba Padabali, the Poet's description of Sree Krishna's departure to Mathura from Brindavan while the Gopis tearfully make entreaties, their hearts wrung with pain, appears to be nothing but the echo of the scenes of heart-rending sorrow demonstrated by the Ajodhya people when Ramachandra was leaving the city with Lakshman and Seeta on his exile. In the translations in beautiful and easy Bengali verse of Vedavyasa's 'Mahabharata' by our eminent poet Kashiram Das, the descriptions of 'Vana Parba' remind us of the 'Aranyakandam' of the Ramayana.

The famous poetess of the medieval period 'Chandravati Devi,' daughter of the reputed Ramayana-singer Kavi Dwija Vansidas of North Bengal, composed ballads based on Seeta's heart-rending sorrows when she was, on an erroneous presumption of the people, turned out from the kingdom of Ajodhya, and some other pathetic scenes ingeniously selected by her from the Ramayana placed her to an outstanding fame.

Also in the *Mangala Kavyam*, we find that the tough fight between Dakshina Ray and the Pir Gazi Khan as described in the *Rai Mangal* Kavyam is exactly the same as the terrible fight between Rama and Ravana delineated in the *Lanka Kandam* of the Ramayana.

In the *Chandimangal* Kavyam of the great poet Mukundaram, it is evident, that the chapter on the Fire-ordeal of Fullar the heroine is nothing but a clear shadow of Seeta's Fire-ordeal as described in the Ramayana. We also find in it the picture of Kalketu, the hero as portrayed by the Poet, is only a replica of the image of Ajodhya's young prince Ramachandra, a mere reproduction of the grand conception of Valniki.

In the *Aswamedha Panchali* by Dwija Raghunath Das, though largely drawn from Kavi Kashiram Das's *Mahabharata*, one never fails to recognise Ramachandra's Aswamedha, as it is described vividly in the

Ramayana. The picture of successive defeats of Bharata and Lakshmana in their fight with Seeta's two brave sons Lava and Kusha as depicted in the Ramayana, has been redrawn, we find, in Dwija Raghunath Das's *Aswamedha Panchali,* where he describes Arjun combating with an unknown opponent, who was no other than his bold and courageous son Vabhrubahana, and his humiliating discomfiture at the end of the fight.

Now let us examine the folk-songs, popular ballads, folklores and fairy tales of Bengal. Nowhere do we find any reference as to the exact dates of their origin, nor is it possible to trace back their source, but it is a fact, that these were subsequently introduced. The anecdotes of Prince Shita-Vasanta or the tales of Kanchanmala or other stories which narrate adventures of some Prince to the land of Rakshashas for delivering a long-imprisoned princess from their cruel hold are obviously indebted for their idea to the Ramayana.

Thus we find in the medieval period of Bengali Literature the unmistakable evidence of the influence, either direct or indirect of the Ramayana, and also on almost all the literary works of the latter age. And these ideas were unconsciously permeated into their works, and the authors can therefore disclaim any direct influence of the Ramayana over them. The idealism with which the characters of the Ramayana was invested is no more a poetical flight of imagination, but its manifestation is inseparably connected with our everyday life.

In the folk-literature of Bengal, especially in the rural dramas and operas (better known as *Yatra*) publicly perfomed by the villagers, the influence of the great epics and particularly of the Ramayana cannot be denied. A lange number of these play-wrights borrowed their materials from the 'Kalpa-Taru'—the Ramayana. Prior to the *Krishna Leela* performances came into vogue, play had been written on Rama-Seeta episodes the mainstay of the village entertainers.

Perhaps, many of us are acquainted with the *Ram-Leela* performances, which are still very popular in Uttar Pradesh and Behar and which deal mostly with incidents from the Ramayana. In the 'Puppet Dance' performances known in Bengal as *Putul Natch* or 'Drolls of the Dolls' we find most of the characters were drawn from this perennial source—the Ramayana. Many stray songs and doggeral verses of the villages of Bengal are still replete with teachings of the Ramayana. Even the richness of modern literature are very often heightened by the parabolic insertions from the Ramayana. The great structure of the modern Bengali literature, the foundation of which was laid by Raja Rammohun Roy, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar Bankim Chandra Chatterji and others, was steadily raised during the middle of the nineteenth century. edifice is still adding to its height and one the palpable influence of the Ramayana.

One of the mighty modern poets of Bengal Madhusudhan Dutta, whose immortal *Meghnada-Badh* or The Fall of Meghnada, another example in point. Most of the best dramas of the Bengali stage owe their ties to the exuberant influence of the foremost dramatist of our country Girish who is known as the Shakespeare of acknowledged as the father of the Bengali as he was also an histrionic artist of a order, and many of his contemporaries and too, culled copiously from the Ramayana, the as well as Rajasthan ballads for their done for our stage. The silver screens of the are still being very largely covered with the events of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, that of Rajasthana's *Seeta Haran, Seetar Lakshman Varjan, Ramachandrer Rajyavishek Agni Pariksha, Hara Dhanu Vanga,* Bali-badh *Dahan,* etc., are some of the dramas whose are suggestive enough.

It can be safely acknowledged that the the Ramayana is very often prolifically utilised development of the modern Bengali Literature. the works of our illustrious Kavi-Guru Tagore, and those of the great Bengali novelist Chandra Chatterji bear an unmistakable benign influence. Gurudev's *Valmiki Pratibha* an illuminating illustration of this.

Tagore used to call the Ramayana our The eternal history of Bharatvarsha has been in it. India's lofty attainments in the domain and spiritual understanding are due mostly to nant influence of this immortal epic. Our its highest ideal of manhood enshrined in the Gurudev went so far as to declare that the Ramayana are one and the same. In the influence of the Ramayana on our life and is the invaluable treasure which we have our very fortunate ancestors. The fundamental of the Ramayana still resounds within our

Gurudev used to acclaim it as a perennial eternal force ever increasing our mental and wealth. It not only chastens but enriches from within. Days will never come in the future when its influence will cease to ennoble us. Ramayana's immoral *Bani of* remain always gracefully afresh, and it will exercise its sublime and superb influence on of the human activity of life.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA

By Prof. V. K. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A., F.R. Econ. S. (Lond.)

CAPITAL is the life-blood of any industry. Even in the most primitive times, man felt the need of some kind of tools. In modern times of complex and large-scale production, capital has assumed a tremendous importance. The economic prosperity of nations is in direct proportion to the capital they own. The industrialisation of India is a burning need, without which there can be no real raising of the living standards for the people. British Imperialism used its political and economic powers to prevent any decisive expansion of India's industrial capacity. On the other hand, the British control over economic and political life has both 'warped and retarded national development.'

When World War II came to a close, India's industries were faced with new problems. When India became independent she inherited an industrial structure which had been exhausted by war and crippled by partition. The country's economic unity was destroyed. The index number of industrial production, year by year, showed decline. The general index declined from 113.5 in 1941-42 to 104.9 in 950-51. The important factors responsible for this decline are the difficulty of obtaining capital equipment, labour unrest, transport difficulties and restricted investment activity in the country.

The capital equipment of most Indian industries was strained considerably during the war. Replacement of the worn-out machineries requires large capital. Reorganisation of industries also depends on capital equipment. New plants, however, cannot be established without adequate capital resources. In the post-war independent India, the need for capital has further accentuated.

Estimates of total capital invested in the Indian industries are quite inadequate. The only estimate made by Colin Clark for pre-war years is available which provides the following estimates of capital investments:

Average annual rate of investment
(in Rs. crores)

	1919-23	1934-38
Railways	19	2
Irrigation	2	2
Other public works	6	4
Agricultural improvement	55	58
Industry	21	12
Mining	5	—
Housing	40	61
	150	139

As far as the estimates of domestic savings are concerned, the percentage of per capita saving to per capita real income amounts to 9.7 and 11.7 respectively for the above two periods. No such figures are available for post-war years. According to an estimate by the *Eastern Economist*, there has been an actual emergence of dissaving.

The existing sources of finance in India, apart from foreign investments, are managing agents, banks, public deposits, shares and debentures. The managing system is the most important single source of finance in most industrial centres. Public deposits and shares also have an important place in the field of industrial finance. A number of industrial banks were established in the post-war years (1919) but most of them changed their business to commercial banking.

A number of institutions dealing in industrial finance were established in Britain after the first World War. In Germany, the investment banks had ceased to perform the function of supplying cheap industrial credit. Several new concerns were established after the second War. The government also started a State Bank, the Deutsche Industrial Bank for providing long-term credit to industries.

In India, since the outbreak of the war, cheap money was utilized to subserve the needs of the government. The capital market was subjected to control. The available money resources were used for war-financing. Interest rates went high. But this tendency was short-lived. The large acquisition of sterling by the Reserve Bank contributed to the easing of credit conditions.

With the cessation of war, cheap money policy assumed new importance. It was felt necessary that the advantages of the money market should also flow to the other sectors of economy. As the Governor of the Reserve Bank put it, "The benefits of cheap money have yet to percolate to the same extent to the other sector of our economy, particularly agriculture . . ." In India, our need for cheap money is great for both construction and reconstruction purposes. The first Five-Year Plan has already been launched. It is a Rs. 2068.78 crores plan. Both public and private savings have to be mobilised.

However, there are few considerations. The available capital equipments have reached the limit of full employment, partly owing to the capital issues control and partly owing to non-availability of fresh capital equipments. The inflationary spiral has badly grinded the saving capacity in the private sector. The institutional savings in India are almost insignificant. The bears, bulls and fools gamble in chance. Possibilities of investment in shares and debentures and securities have now declined. Slowly, but surely depression seems to set in. Profits have declined. The fear of nationalisation of industries hovers in the minds of the anxious investors.

The Indian Industrial Finance Corporation was started in July 1948. It has an authorised capital of Rs. 10 crores divided into 20,000 shares of Rs. 5,000 each. It is also authorised to issue bonds to the extent of five times the amount of its reserve fund and paid-up capital. The working of the Industrial Finance Corporation for two years have shown that the post-war demand for loans have not been considerable.

Loans have been granted to the cotton textiles, woolen textiles, rayon industry, chemicals, cement, ceramics and glass, oil-mills, electric power, metallurgical industry, iron and steel, aluminium, sugar industry, mining, mechanical and electric engineering and textile machinery.

Investment in precious metals is considerable in India for two reasons, firstly, on account of the lack of investment institutions in the country and secondly owing to the particular attachment of the common people to the glittering metal. However, the bulk of their supply goes to the private sector. During the war, private trade in bullion with overseas countries was suspended. The Government have increased the duty on silver and imposed specific duty on gold.

Insurance companies have also played a very important part in the investment of their funds. About 108 crores of rupees have been invested by them in Government securities, foreign governments and other institutions. Some of them have invested their capital in industrial shares and debentures.

In recent years several investment trusts have also been established, namely, Central Investment & Trust Co. Ltd., Industrial Investment Trust Ltd., New India Investment Corporation Ltd., Hindusthan Investment and Financial Trust Ltd., and others.

The problem of investment in India is peculiarly different. Businessmen have reaped rich harvests during the war, and they had enough money to spare both for industrial investment as well as for lending it to the Government. There have been secret hoardings of the cash by certain people who could not bring it in the open market for investment for the reason of its detection. There has been an increase in wages and salaries also but the inflationary conditions have been coming in the way of the accumulation of small savings.

There are certain external conditions which have their bearing on the prospects of investm country, such as the Korean war, the Comm financial agreements and the industrial policy nation, with regard to import and export tr *Eastern Economist* argues that investors look f for the yield and a steady yield, but can guarantee a steady yield these days? T Government monetary policies, the high income tax and certain acerbities in the concerned with the Five-Year Plan offer no capital formation or investment. The recent down of commodity prices has reduced the of the agriculturists and the merchants. The p of future investments, therefore, are not in hopeful.

The role of foreign capital is no important. Attempts have been made to estimate of the total amount of foreign India. After the repatriation of the sterling *Financial Times* assessed the total foreign £240 million. However, correct computation cult. With a view to attract foreign capi Government announced its policy in April, 1 preferred private investment to inter-gover financial arrangements on the grounds that 'continuity of economic development' and with it 'an administrative and technical The returns on foreign capital have been factory. But new investments have co declined in recent years.

A favourable balance of trade also foreign exchange for a country. Unfortuna balance of India's trade has not been There was a slight improvement in the sit the year 1950-51 but it was only short-liv partition of the country has affected our adversely. India need not also make much sterling balances. They should be well-guard precious assets for its use in times o emergency.

Evidently, the need for both public an savings is clear and urgent. Loans from the national Bank or the policy of deficit fina not go a long way. The economic conditi masses in general are extremely low. Th standards of the people have to be raised. capita income has to be increased. The Five-Y needs adequate finances to meet its oblig respect of vast proposed expenditures. solution lies in increased internal savings. to be effective must be based on the the people. Russia and Japan fully mo internal resources. India has to emu example. The savings schemes are there; required of the people is their sincere hearted efforts to make them a success.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

BALADITYA: A Historical Romance of Ancient India: *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S. Second edition. The P. P. I. Book Depot, Bangalore. Pp. xiii + 476. Price Rs. 6.*

The opening decades of the sixth century of the Christian era were a critical period in the history of our land. It was then that the White Huns, a branch of that formidable Central Asian group of tribes that had carried the terror of their names to the gates of Constantinople and Rome, burst a second time upon India after their initial discomfiture half a century earlier at the hands of the valiant Gupta Emperor, Skandagupta. Under the leadership of Toramana and his infamous son Mihiragula ("the slayer of three crores of human beings," according to the *Rajatarangini*) they succeeded this time in carving out for themselves a considerable dominion in Northern India and threatened to overwhelm the remains of the Gupta Empire. They received their first check from a valiant but insubordinate feudatory of the Gupta Empire, Yasodharman of Malwa and were finally crushed by a grand combination of Indian princes led by the last great Gupta Emperor Baladitya. In the present work, the author has sought to bring before us a picture of this epic struggle of our ancestors against the barbarian invaders. Judged by strict historical standards this work is liable to be charged with some serious lapses. Thus the author's mention of the great Vishnu temple in the centre of Ujjaini (p. 1) is not supported by facts, while his references to "the Vishnupada on the bed of the Phalguni river" (*sic.*) (p. 185) and to "Puri, Jagannath (*sic.*), Bhuvaneswara, and Konarka" (p. 324) as well as his detailed description of the temple at "Puri Jagannath" (*sic.*) (p. 461 f.) are nothing but anachronisms. If we ignore these slight blemishes we have no hesitation in saying that the author has produced a work of outstanding merit. The interest of the story never flags from beginning to end. The incidents are remarkably varied. Not to speak of the side-lights thrown upon the horrible espionage system and the atrocious cruelties of the barbarian invaders, we have thrilling accounts of a high-born maiden's rescue from Hunnish captivity first by a band of robbers and a second time by her own wits, of a sea-voyage from Bharukachcha to distant Tamralipta by way of the West Indian and the Malabar ports, of a dastardly but happily unsuccessful plot to poison Yasodharman at a village inn, of a Princess's *svayamvara* at which the redoubtable Mihiragula through a messenger vainly attempted to coerce her into acceptance of his hand, and of preparations led by kings, queens, and princesses for the final war of liberation against the hated foreigners. Vivid descriptions are also given of the extensive scale of India's maritime enterprises and overseas trade in those times, while pathetic scenes are provided by the historical account of *sati* committed by the wife of a valiant chieftain who was killed in fighting with the Huns and the notices of the last days of Toramana and Baladitya. The characters which are nearly 75 in number range over every walk of life and are all vivid and lifelike. They include a villainous Brahmana, the vilest of the vile, and his counterpart, a noble Chandala sweeper-woman, a loyal and valiant but somewhat narrow-minded chieftain (Goparaja), an implacable enemy of the Huns and a brave warrior but an insubordinate chieftain (Yasodharman), a high-born maiden (afterwards Queen of Baladitya) combining in herself the characteristic grace and charm, purity, devotion and practical wisdom of Indian womanhood, and finally, the Emperor Baladitya figured as the pink of Kshatriya chivalry and (before his conversion to the Buddhist cult of non-violence) of Kshatriya valour as well.

The book is remarkably free from misprints and the paper and general get-up are satisfactory. We wish it the widest circulation among our reading public.

U. N. GHOSHAL

DAYARAM GIDUMAL: *By T. L. Manghirmalani. Printed at Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Distributed by Navajivan Karyalaya and its branch. Pp. 46. Price 12 annas.*

CHARVAK AND CHARINI: *By Raghawendra Govind Kulkarni. To be had of K. G. Kulkarni, 252, Sadashiv, Poona. Pp. 52. Price 8 annas.*

The author of the first book under review is a son-in-law of Dayaram Gidumal, a benefactor of Sind, and of all worthy causes in India and outside. He rose high in the judicial service, and was offered a seat in the Bombay High Court as Judge, but declined the offer as it came too late.

It was not by his eminence as a Judge but as a philanthropist that Dayaram will be best remembered His contribution to the funds of the Bose Institute is a case in point. As a social reformer, as a fellow-worker of Byramji Malabari, editor of the Bombay *Spectator* (weekly) and of the *East and West* (monthly), as an author of notable books on Sind and its culture, Dayaram Gidumal occupied a high place in Western India.

His benefactions were made possible by his economies in personal expenses; often he denied himself the necessities of life. In his time, he was regarded as the guardian of Sind's needy, of the poor and the forlorn. Sri Manghir-malani has done a distinct service to Sind and to the other language areas by acquainting the latter with the life-work of a maker of modern Sind who kept up the traditions of Sadhu Hiranand and Sadhu Navalrai, two disciples of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen.

The second book is an imaginative attempt to reconstruct the past of India of about 2,500 years back. Charvak was born in 2441 B.C. in a family of scholars. He is known to posterity for his materialistic atheistic views; Kapila Rishi held the same opinion when he said: *Ishwara,* the Creator of the worlds, could not be proved as there was no evidence for His existence.

For this heterodoxy Charvak and his followers have been persecuted; his teachings muliated and misrepresented; and all traces of these erased except in opponents' stray references.

Charini is an imaginative figure, the wife and soul's companion of Charvak. Charvak was an upholder of the woman's cause, of the victims of caste system. And Charini travelled with him throughout India and the Himalayas. They held controversies with sages and philosophers; and thereby tested their own system of thought and were confirmed in their views. Charvak has yet to find an authentic historian. In free India, the Communist scholars should turn their attention to one of their master's predecessors in an Indian incarnation.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

BABAJIS MASTERKEY TO ALL ILLS: *By V. T. Neelkantan and S. A. A. Ramaih, M.A. Published by the authors from 1-1, Arulananda Mudaly Street, San Thome, Mylapore, Madras-4. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 7.*

Both the authors have jointly written another book named "The Voice of Babaji" which is already published. They have separately some other books on similar subjects as well. One of them Sri Neelkantan is a veteran journalist of Madras before whom Kriya Babaji materialised himself several times since 26th July, 1952 to propagate his lofty gospel of happiness and his unfailing remedy to all ills. On Friday, September 5 of the same year Kriya Babaji, who is now dead and gone. appeared before Sri Neelkantan when the latter opened his eyes after about four hours of meditation at a stretch. Then followed an illuminating talk between them after which Kriya Babaji laughed, blessed and vanished. The Master thus dictated in materialised form many mysterious things now published in this and the former book. This is, therefore, a wonderful book of psychomancy and occultism. That discarnate spirits can reveal themselves in visible form and talk to us directly about future events and the like is an entrancing art of Hindu Yoga. It is said that Sankaracharya while alive on earth left for sometime his own physical sheath and entered the dead body of a king to learn certain art unknown to him.

This book is written from the view-point of a Vedantist. Pictures of the two authors as well as Kriya Babaji are given in the book. But the book is printed on bad paper. probably newsprint and its price is exhorbitant. Though it is divided into fifteen chapters no index of chapters or topics treated is there. It is however interesting and repays a perusal. The get-up is far from satisfactory.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TRENDS IN ECONOMIC THINKING: *By Santi Kumar Ghosh. Published from 15, Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25. Pp. 57. Price Rs. 2.*

In this small book the author has examined some of the fundamental Production, Consumption, Industry, Monopoly, Trade Cycle, etc., in the light trends in economic thinking. Although the does not offer any revision of existing discussions are helpful in understanding limitations of traditional theories. Students mics will find this book useful.

THE ONWARD MARCH—WEST *Pubilshed by Congress Bhawan, 59-13, Road, Calcutta-20. Pages 35. Price 12*

This booklet gives a short account gress of West Bengal under the Congress under the following heads: Irrigation, Food culture, Land Reform, Relief and Rehabili the Refugees from East Bengal, Social Cottage Industries, Labour, Communica Transport, Community Projects, etc. The full of information which every citizen should

As this is a Congress publication on the Kalyani Congress, readers will naturally have information of Congress activities that of the Congress Government. But such tion is not found anywhere in this booklet. leaders have said at times without number Indian National Congress and the Congress tration of the Government are not one and thing but Congressmen often forget this and the two. All credit of the Government is the credit of the Congress organisation and as Congress becomes a blind supporter of what in the name of the Government. Thus the is getting away from the mass contact which of the Congress deplore.

A. B.

LECTURES ON INTERNATIONAL TIONS: *By R. N. Chowdhury, M.A., History, Maharaja's College, Jaipur. Bharati Publishing Home, Jaipur. Price Rs.*

Prof. R. N. Chowdhury's work under covers in six lectures the history of relations from the Treaty of Versailles, 1919 foundation of the United Nations Organisation Students of current affairs and international will find the volume quite helpful.

SUDHANSU BIMAL

VIDEHI (A Novel of Indian Life) *By Leslie Holden. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1953. Pp. 402. Price Rs. 8.*

It is symbolic of the rising prestige of India that books such as Mr. Holden's are coming into being, replacing the peculiarly burra-sahibish outlook on men and things we have had to put with till fairly recently.

Perhaps the greatest virtue of Mr. Holden's is his appositeness and his intelligent under Indian life, society and customs and I think it thing to be able to say that Mr. Holden's colour are neither jarring nor perfunctory.

Videhi, the principal figure of the present a lovable and deeply sensitive young girl whom cious gods endowed with rather more pronounced of individuality than was good for her. The an unfortunate early marriage which founded instantaneously and a separation followed within of days. Spontaneous love (for which she came to Videhi with an impact that literally swept her off her feet. But before this love could blossom, tragedy struck and Videhi's lover suddenly died of plague. A period of ceaseless mental struggle sent the girl into a self-imposed exile in the wilderness of Bihar. In the end, chance brought Videhi to Bombay where he met her quondam husband, now a shining light in the Indian Civil Service and was at last reconciled to him.

The best parts of this well-told, if somewhat spun out, tale are, curiously enough, sustained not by Videhi, but by her loving and self-effacing mother Shalini who early learnt the lessons that a cruel and unrelenting life gave her. She hovered over her brood and her little world of little fads and inhibitions with vehemence and futility that is perhaps only possible in an Indian mother. It is, therefore, not surprising that the frail Shalini, with her deep sense of her daughter's shortcomings, comes out in sharper relief in Holden's canvas.

Videhi is as sweet as she can be, but her complete abandon during one of her first encounters with her aged lover (p. 274) does not square up with the picture drawn of her in the book. Many will not also approve of the way Mr. Holden has painted the goings-on in the young people's debating society-cum-club in Delhi with everybody falling in love with everybody. I did not also like the jacket illustration: the stiff, outlandish and completely expressionless half-bust of a woman, which can be anybody's but Videhi's whom one grows to like in spite of her understandable limitations.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SRI AUROBINDO: HYMNS TO THE MYSTIC FIRE: *Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. 1952. Pp. xxxvi+607. Price Rs. 15.*

This enlarged edition of a monumental work of the great scholar-saint will have to be consulted by all future students of the Veda and its publication after only six years proves that it hardly needs any recommendation to them. From very ancient times the Veda is known to convey apart from its superficial liturgic sense a secret 'inner' meaning only known to the mystics. The fanciful and arbitrary interpretations of the European etymologists and historians, which unfortunately 'has persuaded the mind of modern India,' entirely miss this true meaning of the Veda. The 'Foreword' seeks to explain the true import of Vedic religion and the basis of the esoteric interpretation of the Veda. No Vedic scholar should miss this brilliant thesis, where mystic meanings of some of the keywords like Ritam are divulged. It is only a pity that greater preoccupations of the saint prevented a planned esoteric edition of the whole Rigveda on a scholastic basis. We have, instead, only the text and translation of the Hymns to Agni in their esoteric sense and for a specimen of the inimitable performance we need only quote here the English version of the very first hymn of the Rigveda which has been uttered by myriads of devout Indians for many millenniums.

"I adore the flame, the vicar the divine Ritwik of the Sacrifice, the summoner who most founds the ecstacy." A comparison with the numerous current versions of the Hymn will inevitably bring out the superior quality of the present volume.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

HINDI

JAIN SHASAN: *By Sumeruchandra Diwakar: Published by Bharatiya Granthpith, Kashi. Pp. 475. Price Rs. 3.*

The present edition is the second edition of the book, which effectively deals with the tenets of Jainism in a critical as well as catholic spirit and in a style which is lucid and literary, together with an attempt at applying these tenets to some of our present-day problems. A praiseworthy publication in every respect.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MAHADEO BHAINI DIARY—PART III: *(From 2.1.33 to 20.8.33). Concluding portion of Yeravda Jail, Edited by Narahari Parikh, Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. September 1949, Price Rs. 5.*

This book brings down the story of Gandhiji's prison life at Yeravda from the beginning of 1933 to 23rd August, 1933. He was in Sassoon Hospital and his life there was open to the public. To be sure, all his life had been an open book, but from this time on it was wholly so. During this period he was so absorbed in the removal of untouchability that it marks an important period of his life. If any other period of his life can be compared with this, it is the period of his life when he was at Noakhali. From that on to the great sacrifice at Delhi, Gandhiji was not only a political leader, he was leader also in constructive works and the combination of the two comes out very clear and bright in his life—as we review this period.

"Untouchable" students came to see him; he asked them about statistics on various topics, consulted Thakkar Bapa and tried to find a means to solve the difficult problem of the removal of untouchability. Was his fast a coercion or otherwise? As days went by, he discussed the point with Vallabhbhai. "It was not a problem—it was a danger. To him untouchability was a stain, a curse." He had discussions with Pandits of the orthodox school and wanted to know who was an untouchable. It was not dependent on vocation, and the first step towards self-revelation was the removal of untouchability, and untouchability as practised in the past came nowhere near its implication in modern times. Gandhiji was busy organising and husbanding his strength.

There were many other discussions: Should girls wear ornaments; should there be mixed marriages; if so, what would be their implications. The mischief from a blind obedience to Sanatan Dharma and the advice from Gokhale regarding Seva also came up for consideration. Was not Malavyaji's solution of untouchability a mistake? Even to fill one's belly or to take a hearty meal was a crime in the present context of things. Is prayer possible without fast? Is fast possible without prayer? While talking to the Gujrati students Gandhiji said that it was necessary for the students to understand the position of Varna in Hinduism. As for Gandhiji himself there was nothing high, nothing low in society. There is an interesting passage also about the meeting with Stanley Jones and a discussion about the Tagore family and its position in Brahmo Samaj on page 151.

The volume contains several interesting appendices and documents. The solution proposed on temple entry to Congressmen and others has a very intimate and close bearing on untouchability. It contains also some correspondence with the Government and an account of the second fast. It contains also an interesting critical observation on Nagananda by Sri Harsha. Who was this Nag? Where was this

Himalaya Parvat? The earlier part of the drama was slack but the latter part Gandhiji considered to be beautiful. The sacrifice of Jimutbahan is beautifully expressed (Act IV, verses 23-24). Even at the age of 64, Bapu was experimenting on the way to give up spectacles. The repartee from Vallabhbhai and Rajaji is also recorded as well as the estrangement of the Ali brothers who wanted to be considered the sole representatives of Islam. The translation of the Geeta into Gujarati by Narmada Shankar and its influence in strengthening one's faith in the Geeta was sufficiently recognised, and it was a real influence in Gandhiji's own case.

But it would not be possible—nor would it be desirable—to make an inventory of the many episodes and remarks of Gandhiji and his circle. Sufficient mention has been made to suggest that the book is a mine of information and that in no bookish fashion. It keeps up the standard of Mahadeo Bhai's diaries as reviewed in these columns.

Literary discussions, political principles, social reform organisations were all woven into the texture of Gandhiji's life, and the book faithfully reproduces it.

P. R. SEN

SHRI GITA VEDANT: *By Purushottam Bhangi Parekh, Amreli (Saurashtra). Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 255. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Parekh does not know Sanskrit. He has studied the Gita in translations and has still been able to publish more than one book on the different aspects of its teaching and philosophy. In this particular book, in seven sections, he has been able to analyse and explain the of (1) Captivity (*Bandhan*) and Liberation (2) the Genesis of the book, (3) The Triputas Jiva, and Brahma and (4) two others in the the verses of the Gita. For such a non-sch composer, this is a notable work.

BROKEN WING: *By (1) Shivam Sund Palash and (3) Krishnaprasad Bhatt. Publ the Adarsha Pustak Bhander, Ahmedabad, 1950 card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 330. Price*

Broken Wing (Shivam Sudaram) the (Agradut), (Palash) and Tears and Laughter prasad Bhatt) are three tales originally Khalil Jibran. The translators do not know and have had to rely on translations in one of the of the Indian languages or even English. The been able to capture and reproduce the spirit original. The price Rs. 4 is rather heavy ordinary reader's purse.

VANACHHAYA: *By Dhumketu. Published Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad, 19 card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 281. Price*

Dhumketu *alias* Shri Gourishankar G. been writing books of fiction and also serious like the Life of Hemchandracharya, at the which a meteor (*dhumketu*) is running in spaces of the sky. He has till now written thirty books if not more. His novels and have proved immensely popular. The present consists of twenty-two short stories. They readable and attractive.

K.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Small-Scale Production of India

V. R. Natarajan writes in *The Mysore Economic Review* :

When production is carried on with small quantities of the various factors of production the scale of production is said to be small. In modern days, production has a tendency of being instituted on a large scale; but still small scale production persists with great vigour.

The causes of the persistence of small-scale production are to be found in (i) the nature of certain occupations to which small-scale is best suited ; and (ii) the advantages of small scale.

(i) The following are the cases in which small scale is invariably adopted :

(a) the occupation requiring personal attention and care like tailoring are mostly conducted on small scale.

(b) The products which require high artistic excellence are produced on small scale.

(c) Some products do not command a wide market, and must be produced on small scale.

(d) Some occupations by their very nature cannot be conducted on a large scale. Agriculture is an example. It is true that we often hear of big mechanised farms but they are not big as compared with mammoth factories. Bidis are made by hand and bidi making has, therefore, to be a small scale enterprise.

(e) Industries in the experimental stage have to be run on small scale.

(f) Handicraftsmen, who want to remain independent, work on a small scale production.

(ii) The following are the advantages of small-scale production. Firstly, the master can keep a close watch everywhere, his foreman or workman cannot afford to shirk the duty. Secondly, he saves much of the book-keeping and the elaborate system of checks which are essential in the case of large establishment. Thirdly, the relations between the master and his servants are very intimate and cordial; and there is rarely any occasion for strikes or lock-outs.

The chief disadvantage of small-scale production is that it cannot take advantage of the various economies which are available in the case of large-scale production. Moreover, difficulty is faced if the commodity of a standard type has to be produced in bulk. In other words, it is unsuited for mass production.

However, the disadvantages of small-scale production have been appreciably reduced by a number of factors. Firstly, the small-scale producer shares the wastages of external economies which are constantly increasing in importance. Secondly, the advantages of research, new modes of production etc., which were so far available to big producers only are now available to small producers as well. In all matters respecting trade knowledge, newspapers and trade and technical publications of all kinds are perpetually scouting for him and bringing him much of the knowledge he wants. Finally, small machinery have been invented for the benefit of small-scale production, which can be operated by electricity. They have greatly improved the lot of the artisan and granted him a fresh lease of life.

Production in India has been carried on from olden days on small scale. In industrial as well as agricultural sectors, small-scale production has been the rule. With the advent of Britishers in India, production began to take place on large scale. Even then, the typical feature is small-scale production. Of the total output, not less than 61.8 per cent comes from small units. Of the total national income about 84 per cent comes from these units. It is, therefore, very clear that in our country, most of the production is organised on small scale.

There are several reasons for this state of affairs. Firstly, India is still carrying on her old ways of production and Capitalism has not yet fully developed here. It is a feature of feudalism and mediaevalism that production under it is organised on small scale; and this feature still persists in India. Secondly, Indian producers generally possess small capital, and they are, therefore, unable to carry on production on a large-scale. Thirdly, Indians are poor people and their purchasing power is small; hence they cannot purchase certain goods in large quantities. Limitation of demand also sometimes acts as a check on large-scale production.

Is this situation unfavourable to the country? In fact, large scale and small scale, each has its own sphere of advantages and disadvantages. But in some spheres, production on a large scale is inevitable, *e.g.*, in the case of key industries. In other spheres, if the volume of the output has to be substantial, production has to be organised on a large scale. Hence efforts should be made to remove artificial obstacles to large-scale production. Where small-scale is suitable or is otherwise desirable, we should make attempts to remove the causes of efficiency therein.

In India there is a wide field for small-scale industries. Even now, cottage industries support millions of people. India is an agricultural country and the peasant is in a state of enforced idleness of several months in the year. Agriculture must be supplemented by suitable supplementary industries. Besides, labour is cheap and machinery is dear. The All India Village Industries Association has been doing a lot to popularize small-scale industries. The National Congress, the Government of India, and State Governments render enthusiastic support to small and cottage industries in every possible way.

In India, small industries have shown remarkable efficiency in the past, and still occupy a large part in the system of production. The low wages, the scattered character of the Indian cottage and other small industries, and the difficulty of organising them are perhaps some of the serious defects of the present system of small scale production in India. In spite of these inevitable defects in the economic organisation, small scale production in India at present covers a much larger area than in European countries.

In the words of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, "the development of village industries on a co-operative basis is essential if they are to survive increasing competition. The question of organising them on such a basis should receive the attention of the departments of co-operation and industries in all States." Co-operation can help artisan class, (a) by giving loans on small interest, (b) in the purchase of raw materials used in handicrafts, and also (c) in the sale of finished article. In fact, Co-operation on these lines is the great hope of the small industries in India.

What is the future of small scale production? The question is more easily raised than answered. As regards agricultural production in the future, it is said that the tendency to agricultural progress is from extensive to intensive cultivation, and that agriculture should assume more and more the form of small farms organised on a co-operative basis. It is only by a process of intensive cultivation that sufficient food can be raised for the growing population of the world. Professor Seligman observes that large scale production must soon give place to small-scale production in agriculture. As regards, the future of production in manufacture and commerce small-scale business are not free from defects but many of the defects of small scale industries, wherever social and economic conditions are favourable to them, can be overcome by organising them on a co-operative basis. While large-scale enterprises are numerous and show a tendency to increase, it is also evident that the small producer still holds his own in certain important and useful branches of production.

To conclude, in modern industrial organisation, small scale industries have a place as well as the large industries. But in developing small industries, we have to distinguish between healthy forms of small-scale production and unhealthy sweated businesses, where the workmen work for the middlemen at low wages. Such sweated industries do not deserve encouragement. But the healthy forms of small scale production in India, wherever social and economic conditions permit, have to be encouraged and preserved with a view to attain a healthy social economy.

—

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

Thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged 17th (June, 1954) edition of A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE & OFFICE COMPENDIUM by Tripurari Saran of U.P. Secretariat is *Just out.* It deals with innumerable subjects of General Knowledge, General English, Precis-writing, Drafting, History, Geography, Science, Literature, Politics, Sports, Pacts, Plans and Conferences, World Directory, World Affairs, Questions & Answers and various other useful topics. HIGHLY SPOKEN OF. *Indispensable for all Public Service Commission Examinations.*

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Asia and America

Van Wyck Brooks, an American criti in *The Aryan Path* :

"Throughout Asia today there prevails an of hope, not of despair. There is not a single Asia in which people feel that we are entering age of chaos.. What they see opening out is a limitless horizon of hope—the hope of operation among free peoples. There will be ments along the way as these hopes unfold. They come from America, or as the result of American A great part of Asia's hopes, however, will be and should be fulfilled with American co-opera have everything to gain by being on the side of

So, in *The Situation in Asia*, writes Owen and who knows better what he is talking what a contrast to Europe, where the "Decline West" has, for the last 30 years, been taken for That mankind has come to the end of its H. G. Wells believed at the last. and how many have agreed with D. H. Lawrence that Europe is dead and stinking." For decades every voice has cried "chaos" and "despair," and "hope" is anathema to European ears.

How could it have been otherwise since, English statesman said, the lamps went out Europe and considering that in two general continent has almost destroyed itself while of its imperial possessions overseas? The Europe is the result of its exhaustion and and generations will have to pass before Frost's phrase—it learns "what to make of a thing." But Europe's extremity has been Asia's tunity, and the displacement of planetary deprived Europe of its empires abroad placed empires at home in their own possession. For time in modern conditions the nations of Asia their own, free to shape their own destinies out their own forms. How could they feel that "entering on an age of chaos"? How could they buoyed up with "hope"?

But now, in relation to all this, what position of American writers? This country share the mood of Europe—for America is too and too large and it has lost too little; and literary life is still so far under the European it reflects this end-of-the-world feeling. It traces everywhere of the influence of Joyce, Kafka, Lawrence and the Existentialist express this feeling, in disregard of the real the country and Melville's remark that the come for Americans to "set," not "follow" It is obvious that, before long, we shall be cedents—our position of power will all but do so; and we shall do this, I predict, in Asiatic minds that share our vitality and our the future. I suggest that we have as gain by "co-operation" with Asia as Asia has by co-operation with us—I mean on the I trust, on the political level.

—

Our Educational Problems

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Car*

Courses :

There is not a single educationist in who has not expressed his dissatisfaction approval of the present system of

Government also, on the assumption of a need for reorientation, have, from time to time, set up commissions, published books and reports and issued inspiring statements, but nothing substantial has yet been done.

It is admitted on all hands that the present system has either outlived its utility or has been, generally speaking, unsuitable for a country with different ideals and rich educational traditions. Yet the Public Service Commission, of late, have started being critical of the educational standards. One cannot, I believe, hold at the same time that the system of education is defective and expect the standards to go up. All this discrepancy is due to the fact that education is usually considered as an isolated issue. We think of a few brilliant products of the system in the past, and by a mental comparison, begin to cry over the progressive deterioration of standard in our time. In doing so, in most cases, we conveniently refuse to take into consideration the circumstances—conomic, political and cultural—prevailing in the past and their unrecognisable changed character at the preent day. But the impact of environment is one of the sic factors and an understanding of its significance ill help us to look at the whole problem with greater mpathy and more equanimity of mind.

A SOCIAL PROBLEM

A generation of men and women gradually sailing drift from its moorings, dazed by the first flush of the angerous ideal of liberty and shattered by economic epression (for their hope of a better life in free India as as high as their despair is deep now) cannot easily ettle to a calm and healthy way of thinking. For bvious reasons, therefore, agitation in some form or the ther is their only means of escape. In fact when mes are breaking, society is in the last throes of integration and the sense of values is fast vanishing thout yielding place to new, it is indeed too much to pect the glory of a historic past. The problem of ucation, therefore, is primarily a social problem and ly the rehabilitation of a definite social ideal can ultiately solve this problem in any satisfactory manner. t present we have no way of life; living for us is erely a matter of habit, a mere biological process.

But this is perhaps too wide a context for the subct under discussion, though I believe we cannot gauge e full implications of the problem except in relation the social background. Let us, therefore, deal with ne of the problems directly. It is unfortunate that o much of filthy politics has contaminated almost all e spheres of our national life. In professional politics, en in a democratic country, the spirit of democracy very often sacrificed to a rigid adherence to mere ocedural methods. This is why needs of the hour are ten neglected or the strength of a right cause weakened the delay and intrigues perpetrated democratically a chain of committees and sub-committees set up by parent body.

All this may be a weakness inherent in democracy elf or these methods may have some diplomatic significance in the administrative politics of a country, but educational institutions, in spite of their similar set such methods can produce only disastrous results—fact about which all but the politically minded feel eply concerned. For elections to various academic odies in the universities have not been in most cases ry different from municipal elections and their effect all concerned and the future of education has been, ay the least, the most pernicious.

Indeed this failure of democracy in the most ghtened constituency of a country makes the whole cture even more depressing. It is, therefore, necessary that the administrative structure also should be basically changed along with the system of education. That, of course, does not mean that there should be more or governmental interference; in fact such interefence should preferably be the minimum possible in every instance.

For political values, at least in comparison with the educational ideals, are much less permanent and if anything substantial is to be achieved, the policy and purpose of education cannot afford to change with the changes of party governments, that democracy on that level indicates. Yet the power can make a great and definite contribution to the cause of education in this country, because here in India a politician wields limitless powers and can easily do a great deal in any direction. Even a petty member of a powerful political party is accepted by the masses as a social reformer, an educationist, a connoisseur of arts and sports, all in one and he also acts all these roles with a modesty which is another name for graceful deception. When that is so, they can do much by actively recognising the proper significance of education in the making of a nation and also by trying to create an atmosphere where teachers get the social value and status that they deserve.

VICTIMS OF SACRIFICE

In a society where man's worth—intellectual or otherwise—is determind or measured by the money he earns, teachers in general cannot except to do their best or exert any healthy and effective influence. Economic discomfort may sometimes be tolerated if there is any compensatory reward in terms of social recognition and prestige, but when even that is not there, it will be unfair to exhort them from the pulpit of self-sacrifice. Why, a teacher may legitimately ask, should the members of the teaching profession be always ear-marked as victims of sacrifice when they have their claims on society as others have or when the responsibility for nation-building is not entirely theirs It is not only bad logic but also bad taste that demands all sixteen annas of a rupee without paying none.

A few individual teachers may have carved out for themselves some covetable positions eiher by their scholarship or by other qualifications, but in general teachers are a class of languishing people thrown into the profession out of necessity, not by choice. Competent and earnest men are attracted by more lucrative jobs which also mean more dignity and honour. Yet there is no dearth of well-placed dilettanti in this country who would refuse to speak about the nobility of the teaching profession. But the fact is that the profession has retained all the other concomitant factors proverbi-

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ally associated with it except nobility. More financial assistance, of course, is now being given by the governments to all the educational institutions, but what is really the use of well-furnished libraries and laboratories in universities full of dissatisfied or political-minded teachers disposed to think in terms of trade unionism? Or what are the ultimate results of these scattered grants without any co-ordination or any definite ideal in view?

This again raises another pertinent question—what is the real value of all this inflated importance attached to education at the university level if in earlier stages it is improper or even misguided? A plan for educational reform, therefore, will include all the different stages which should be treated as integral parts of an organic whole.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

Then there is confusion of issues and there are strange notions about teaching and purpose of education, and because everybody feels qualified to speak about the subject there is a plethora of contending views. One of our greatest difficulties is that while thinking of our universities we cannot help thinking in terms of Oxford or Cambridge or even of Harvard or Yale. And this is certainly a very wrong way of thinking. For one thing our needs are different. Then, they (universities) were originally set up with a different purpose in view, and, above all, they do not as yet possess the sanctity and the element of piety that had been lent to some of the foreign universities by tradition or their peculiar background. But this mental comparison becomes almost ridiculous when we know that our universities despite their similarity of patterns do not impart education as a means to culture or even in any systematic way.

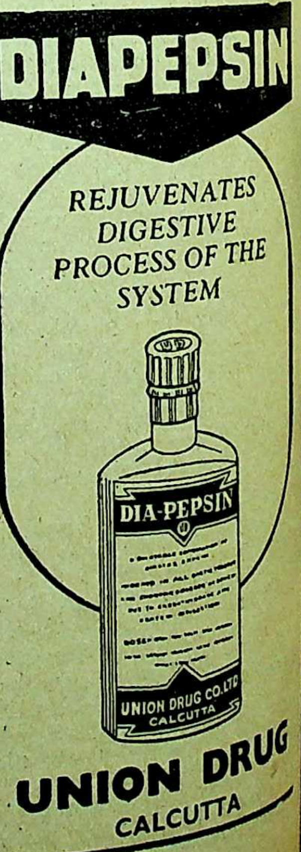
There are universities where teachers are required to coach Intermediatte students and also to guide research scholars, which is done obviously at the cost of intensification in any stage of the university education. There are others where library or laboratory facilities are far from satisfactory, yet researches are carried on because it is believed that research works, whatever be their quality or worth, bring credit to the university. This unhealthy craze for research on the part of the students, often taken as some stopgap arrangement or as the last resort for an unemployed degree-holder, and low sense of standard on part of the authority have been responsible for may approved theses which are nothing but compilations of others' views or anthologies of rambling thoughts. This is why very few research-works done in this country have attained anything like wide or international reputation. Governments are now giving valuable financial assistance for building up well-equipped libraries and laboratories, but these equipments being very expensive, these scattered grants cannot meet the needs anywhere in full. It would certainly be more worthwhile if they could establish a few research centres for science and humanities with eminent and competent scholars to guide the students. This may also engender a higher sense of standard and value and ultimately drive out of our minds all these cheap and undignified notions about research and university degrees.

Ideas about teaching are more unwholesome and misguided. Here in a college, a high-salaried and complacent principal suddenly becomes critical of his colleagues because they are not original. There in a university a vice-chancellor thinks that a teacher's merit or worth is to be judged by the number of papers he has managed to publish in non-descript periodicals. Evidently those who hold the reins in matters educational do not actually know what is the real purpose of education. Real originality is as rare a world as genius and the institutions set up up the character and personality of students in them a lively interest in their subjects of do without such originality. What is really teacher is not his capacity for positing but the ability to place facts and views in that the students aspire to know more when inquisitiveness is satisfied. A mere academ knowledge of books has failed to enrich conduct, may have his significance in learning, but as a teacher he may not be his students that impetus which helps them to life better through knowledge.

THE TEACHERS AND THE TAUGHT

But the most important aspect of the present context is the one concerning between the teacher and the taught, admini student community. The ideal relations *Guru* and *Shishya* that existed sometime spacious and less complicated past and which often referred to, though I believe anachro public speeches, are certainly not there. It fact that the student as a community have be conscious of their rights than duties and that only lack devotion and integrity but sometimes primary sense of responsibility towards the and society.

All these are indeed deplorable. But I still persists an element of bureaucracy in the administration of the country. There is unnecessary and harmful interference on the administration with students' affairs. Sometimes it is made manifestly clear that the authorities



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to impose a rigorous code of behaviour and that the students without their official guidance cannot conduct themselves properly. This gradually kills the spirit of freedom that is the breath of educational sanctuaries and this habit in kind is not very much different from the justly condemned western habit of bearing the white man's burden or leading a civilized mission.

Grown up university students may fail to appreciate this patronizing attitude. They may be led by the loving cared and the high moral and academic qualities of their teachers, which are revealed more through examples than precepts, but seldom by threats or coercion. If we want our students to cultivate responsibility and discipline, we must let them manage their own affairs, for thus alone can they learn these virtues which grow from within and under congenial circumstances. It might mean in the beginning a running of risks, for there may be bungling and mismanagement, but we must be prepared to face these difficulties because we should give them the opportunity to learn through their mistakes, and also because the students, when they are taken into confidence or entrusted with any responsible work, are likely to rise up to our expectations especially when the community sense is now so strong among them.

It is, therefore, unwise to turn back or adhere to an old ideal while dealing with the present situation, and it is dangerous to maintain a negative attitude because that might inflame the students, young as they are, to go beyond proper limits in their claims and demands. This does not imply a cowardly surrender to the students' way of thinking but merely the admission of the need for a readjustment and a willingness to proceed with the business with better understanding. If there is corruption among students today it is partly because the administration is not free from it and partly because there is no healthy occupation for them. Many avenues may be found for giving proper direction to their energies and even some social purposes such as campaign against illiteracy and other social evils may be partially served by their willing co-operation, once that understanding and good will is created among all concerned.

EARN AND LEARN

There is another important factor which should not be ignored particularly when it is vitally connected with the economic conditions of the students. The practice of giving and taking charity has been encouraged since long in our educational institutions; but at least the acceptance of charity by a student has a bad psychological effect—it blunts the edge of self-respect. Much is being said these days about the dignity of labour and I think educational institutions can and should provide poor students with opportunities for supporting themselves through their student days instead of letting them accept gifts and charities without the slightest qualm.

There may be many other problems which the educational institutions have to face today, but none is too difficult to be solved. Our educationists, who really matter, should. do well to come down at once to realities and approach these problems with minds free from any preconceived ideas or biassed ideals; for the causes of disintegration are deep-rooted and a change in the system of education will almost invariably mean a reform in the structure of our decadent society.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

People's Daily on Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China

"Fully confident, let all the people discuss the Draft Constitution and joyfully prepare to welcome the birth of the first Constitution of the Chinese people!"—writes the editorial of Peking *People's Daily* on June 16th, 1954.

The full text of the editorial follows:

Publication of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China is an important event in the political life of the Chinese people.

The Central People's Government Council at its 20th meeting of January 13th, 1953 adopted a "resolution for the convening of the National People's Congress and local people's congress at every level." This provided for setting up the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as Chairman, to draft the Constitution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, submitted the "Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China (first draft)" to the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution on March 23rd, 1954. The Committee conducted a detailed and careful study and discussion of the Draft Constitution and drew more than 8,000 persons in all walks of life into taking part in its discussions. It successfully completed the work of drafting the Constitution on June 11th, 1954. On June 14th, the Central People's Government Council at its 30th meeting decided to publish this Draft Constitution and have it discussed by the people of the whole country so as to collect still broader opinions for revisions. This will be in preparation for submission of the Draft Constitution to the first meeting of the National People's Congress for examination.

The Draft Constitution reflects the actual conditions of the great social changes that have taken place since our people's revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China. It sums up in legal form the main experience in struggle and organisation of the Chinese people. It affirms the fruits of the Chinese people's revolution—the interests which the people have won—and affirms the aspiration common to the Chinese people to build a Socialist society step by step.

The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has acted as a provisional constitution since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Real life proves the correctness of this programme. The Draft Constitution is based on the Common Programme. The preamble of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China states: "This Constitution is based on, and is a development of, the Common Programme of the Chinese Political Consultative Conference of 1949."

Certain basic principles laid down in the Programme are affirmed in the Draft Consti the same time, because the real life has alre a step forward, the Draft Constitution incl new provisions in connnection with the State social system. These are certain new, concre sions mainly concerned with building a Sociali step by step and with strengthening the peopl cratic system.

The preamble of the Draft Constitution People's Republic of China begins: "The people, after more than a century of heroic finally in 1949, under the leadership of the C Party of China, achieved their great victory people's revolution against imperialism, feuda bureaucratic capitalism, thereby ending the long of oppression and enslavement and setting up the Republic of China, a people's democratic dic The system of people's democracy—new democ the People's Republic of China ensures that Ch in a peaceful way wipe out dxploitation and po build a prosperous and happy Socialist society

Article 4 of the general principles provides: People's Repbulic of China shall ensure the st abolition of systems of exploitation and the b a Socialist society by relying on the organs of s the social forces and through Socialist indust and Socialist transformation."

The construction of a Socialist society be the Draft Constitution the objective prescribed law of our State. The great idea of Socialism suance of which many revolutionary martyr Chinese people laid down their lives is becoming ant reality step by step. The Draft Constitution the reality of the increasing growh of Socialis tion with each passing day. After the Draft tion is formally adopted, it will play the role of guaranteeing and promoting the healthy devel this brilliant reality. How happy and i patriotic people will be by this great reality prospect it opens up. The correctness of the Constitution lies in the fact that its provisions with the building of a Socialist society in are not based on wishful thinking, but on follow a practical and reliable path.

What is the basis for realising Sociali country?

Our country is a people's democratic st the working class and based on the alliance of and peasants. This is the political basis for

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Socialism. Our state-owned economy is an economy owned by the whole people. This is the economic basis for realising Socialism. According to statistics for 1952, the proportion of industrial production in the national economy increased from ten per cent it was before liberation, to 28 per cent; in modern industry, the sector of state-owned industry of a Socialist character already came to 50.7 per cent; state and co-operative trade already came to more than 50 per cent of the total value of sales within the country. Co-operative economy in agriculture and handicrafts also holds an important position in the national economy. By the end of 1953 there were more than 14,000 agricultural producer co-operatives in the country. Now they have increased to 95,000. Capitalist industry and commerce is gradually taking the path of state capitalism. The political, economic and cultural levels of the mass of the people are rising day by day, and they ardently desire the happy life of Socialism. These facts are the starting points set down in the Draft Constitution for the struggle to build a Socialist society.

But, to build a Socialist society, transition step by step must be undertaken. Gradual transition is dependent on the daily development and growth of the material basis of Socialism, and at the same dependent on the daily raising of the Socialist consciousness of the mass of the people.

The preamble of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China writes: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of Socialist society is a period of transition. The central task of the State during the transition period is to bring about, step by step the Socialist industrialisation of the country and to accomplish, step by step, the Socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce."

Many articles in the general principles of the Draft Constitution contain sound and reasonable provisions in all respects of this subject.

In our country, there exist, on the one hand, state ownership or ownership by the whole people and co-operative ownership of the means of production. On the other hand, there exist ownership by individual working people and capitalist ownership. This means that at present the Socialist economy and non-Socialist economy exist side by side. This is a basic characteristic of the transition period of our country. On the basis of these actual conditions and the direction of the development of our country, the Draft Constitution stipulates that the Socialist economy of owenship by the whole people "is the leading force in the national economy and the material basis on which the State carries out the Socialist transformation." It also stipulates that the State will protect private ownership of the means of production and other property according to law. At the same time, it provides that the State shall encourage individual economy to change, step by step, on the voluntary basis and through a concrete form of transition into the economy of co-operative ownership. It further stipulates that the State shall encourage and guide "the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state capitalist economy step by step replacing ownership by capitalists with ownership by the whole people. The Draft Constitution also provides:

"The State prohibits any person to use his private property to undermine the public interests." All these provisions will guarantee the successful accomplishment of Socialist construction and Socialist transformation in our country. They will guarantee the advance of our

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people toward a happy Socialist society free of exploitation.

To guarantee the transition step by step into a Socialist society, it is necessary to develop further the democratic system of our country in order to strengthen relations between state organs and the mass of the people, to raise the political and working initiative of the mass of the people.

Article 2 of the general principles of the Draft Constitution says: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congress at every level."

This means that the power of the people in our country is exercised by the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at every level. Article 2 of the general principles of the Draft Constitution also provides: "The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at every level and other state organs, without exception, practise democratic centralism."

By democratic centralism is meant: firstly, the organs of state power in our country, are created by popular elections and are supervised by the voters and the electoral units, which, in accordance with law, have the right to replace their own deputies. Secondly, the state administrative organs, the courts and the procurator's offices are all created by the organs of state power. They are responsible to the organs of state power, report to them and are supervised by them. The central and local administrative organs at every level are the executive organs of the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at every level. The organs of state power have the right to remove personnel in all state organs created by them. Thirdly, democratic centralism combines the initiative and creativeness of central and local organs with the principle of the subordination of the lower level to the higher level, of the local to the central organ. These and other provisions in the Draft Constitution guarantee that all the people of the country, act as true masters in national life, and guarantee that the state organs and their personnel serve the people faithfully.

To guarantee the transition step by step into a Socialist society, it is necessary to consolidate the unity of the country's various nationalities.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the country's nationalities have been united, free and equal, in a big family of nations. Facts prove that only in a country that is led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, is it possible to solve in a real fashion the question of relations among nationalities within a country.

Article 3 of the general principles of the Draft Constitution provides: "The People's Republic of China is a unified, multi state," 'all the nationalitities are equal," "regional ty nomy applies in areas where people of the national ties live in numbers," etc.

Section 5 of Chapter 2 of the Draft Constitu special provisions dealing with the local auto organs of the areas of national autonomy. Ad along the direction indicated in these provisions Draft Constitution, greater unity among the nation in our country and the prosperity and progress nationalities is assured.

The Draft Constitution provides that all C citizens enjoy equal rights and have definite oblig Citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the to elect and be elected. All citizens have freed speech, the press, assembly, association, processi demonstration, the right to education and the fr of religious belief. Citizens have the right to

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charges to any state organ at any level against any government worker for breach of law or negligence of duty.

The State assures citizens the right to work. The working people have the right to rest and to material assistance in old age, illness or disability.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and domestic life. The State protects marriage, the family, the mother and child.

The past five years under the people's democratic system show that the people have exercised these rights to the ver-increasing extent, and will be able to do so still more with the growth of the country's economic construction.

Of course in our country the rights of citizens should not be isolated from obligations. That is why the Draft Constitution stipulates that citizens also have the duty to abide by the law, to respect and safeguard public property, to pay taxes and perform military service.

These obligations are all in accord with the immediate interests of the Chinese people and closely related to the rights enjoyed by citizens. The rights and obligations are necessary to consolidate and defend our country, to ensure the mass of the people a happy life and to realise Socialist construction and Socialist transformation.

The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China has now been published for the people of the whole country. This Draft Constitution represents a new height in the democratic and Socialist construction of the people of our country. Any constitution of a capitalist country which is used to oppress and exploit the people cannot compare with the Constituion of the people of our country. The Constitution of the people of our country is a truly democratic constitution, belonging to the Socialist category. People throughout the country should take an active part in the discussion on this fundamental law of the land which has a direct bearing on their own interest and raise opinions. The wisdom of the people of the whole country will thus be gathered together, in order to perfect the draft of this first Constitution of the Chinese people. With this Constitution as our weapon, we can ensure the constant success of our country's great cause of construction for Socialism.

We fully believe that the central task of the transition period of our country can be successfully achieved by relying upon the people's democratic united front led by the Communist Party of China, the fraternal love, mutual assistance and unity of the various nationalities wihin the country, the friendship and solidarity between our country and the great Soviet Union, the People's Democrocies and peace-loving people throughout the world. This is pointed out in the preamble of the Drafy Constitution. Any plots to undermine our construction on the part of any reactionary forces either within or outside the country will be crushed under our triumphant iron fist.—*Hsinhua News*, June 17, 1954.

Omar Khayyam

Iran has produced some of the greatest luminaries of the world who immensely contributed to the development of knowledge in the mediaeval times and who were mainly instrumental in bringing about renaissance in the Western world. Omar Khayyam of Nishapur is one figure.

In his homeland he is not counted among the four pillars of Persian poetry, who are, namely, (1) Firdausi, the author of the world-famous epic, *Shahnama*; Saadi, the great moral thinker; Hafiz, the celebrated lyrist; and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the author of *Masnavi* called the "Quran in the Persian language." There he was better known as a mathematician and astronomer till his poetic merit was brought to light by the Western scholars. H. A. R. Gibb writes in *The Legacy of Islam*, Omar Khayyam is a name much more familiar in England and America than in Persia. Today he is universally regarded, in both the West and the Orient, as one of the intellectual giants of his age.

LIFE

Ghyasuddin Abdul Fath Ibn Ibrahim el Khayyam, better known in the world as Omar Khayyam, was born in 1048 at Nishapur, the capital of Khorasan, which is a province of Iran. His place of birth is a disputed point among historians. Mohammad and Saharauri hold that he was born at Basang, a village in the district of Astrabad, but their contentions do not stand the test of later historical researches. Actually he was born, educated and passed the major part of his life at Nishapur where he ultimately died and was buried. "His tomb at Nishapur is in itself sufficient proof of the identity of his birthplace," says a writer, "for in Iran the custom in Omar's days, as in ours, was to bury the dead in the place of their nativity."

Though Omar has universally been accepted as an Iranian national, some historians hold, he originally belonged to an Arabic tribe 'Al-Khayyami,' who were tent-makers and had migrated and settled in Iran long after her conquest by the Arabs.

Not much is known about the early life of the celebrated poet, but being the son of a well-to-do father he received the best education available in those days, and became the pupil of the learned Imam Mowaffiq, a well-known teacher of the Islamic world. Here he met and made intimate friendship with Hassan Ali Ibn Ishaq better known in history as Nizamul Mulk Toosi, the Grand Vizier of Malik Shah Seljuki, and Hasan Bin Sabbah who later on became the founder of the Ismaili sect.

As the legend goes, the three class-fellows, who in their later life earned immortal places in the page of history, had entered into a remarkable bond of friendship—that if anyone of them might get ahead of the other, he would try his best for the advancement of the remaining two, even to the extent of sharing his wealth and honour.

Nizamul Mulk, who was the most brilliant among the trio and topped the list in the examination, was

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invited to undertake the education of Alp Arsalan, the Seljuk prince. When Alp Arsalan ascended the Seljukid throne, Nizamul Mulk was elevated to the high rank of the grand Vizier and proved himself to be one of the ablest administrators that the Orient has produced.

In the midest of his many pre-occupations, Nizamul Mulk did not forget his former friends and kept up his promise and installed Hasan in a post of considerable responsibility, but Hassan was involved in several court intrigues and left the service to become the founder of the Ismaili sect.

Omar Khayyam, a philosopher by nature, had on the other hand declined a lucrative Government job and preferred an annual pension of 1200 gold pieces paid out of the revenues of Nishapur, where he had settled in order to devote the rest of his life in the pursuit of learning and poetry.

AS A POET

Omar Khayyam was a high class poet whose worth as a poet was not fully realised during his lifetime and whose immortal quatrains (*Rebaiyat*) have been better appreciated in the Western world. The best part of his poems were composed during his youth in the quiet and beautiful landscape of Nishapur. Under the "shade of sweet scented trees that shed their lovely flowers at his feet, Omar often sat sipping his cool sharbat from the hands of saki and smoke his fragrant hookah. He watched the dark-eyed maidens roaming about and as he watched he forgot all the anxieties of worldly life."

The translated version of his famous *Rubaiyat* (quatrains) was first published by E. Fitzgerald in 1859, which made him famous througout the modern world.

It is needless to search for a carefully reasoned system of philosophy in the works of a poet. So was the case with Omar, whose verses record certain moods. The dominant note of his verses is to cast off the cares and anxieties of the worldly life by sipping a cup of wine. A few drops of liquor would free one from all sorts of miseries and would transport him to the realm of ecstasy and bliss.

The verses of Omar were composed during different periods of his life and the contradictions in his writings are due to the progress of his ideas as he passed through various stages of life—from a pious Muslim to an avowed sceptic. His sole consistency lies in his praise of wine, to which in his moments of depression he turns for oblivion. His love for wine is so intense that he wishes that his body may be washed with wine after his death.

"Ab with the grape my fading life provide.
And wash the body whence the life has died.
And lay me shrouded in the living leaf,
By some not unfrequented garden side."

He says that he tried to give up wine and swore not to taste it again—but when spring came his penitence was torn to pieces.

"Indeed, indeed, repentance oft before.
I swore—but was I sober when I swore?
And then, and then came spring, and rose in hand.
My threadbare penitence apieces tore."

CONTRIBUTIONS

Omar has also left behind him three metaphysical treatises. The manuscript of the treatise *On Existence* exists in Berlin: the manuscript of a small Persian treatise *Dar Ilm Qulliat* has been presedved in a library of Paris and *Nauroz Nama* has recently been discovered by F. Rosen.

After completing his studies, Omar v Samarkand, Bokhara, Isfahan and Balkh which intellectual centres in those times and added to astronomical knowledge by exchanging views on subject with some of the leading intellectuals in these cities. Side by side with his scientific he also studied medicine in which he won a reputation.

Khayyam's fame in the Orient mainly rests on outstanding mathematical and scientific researches not on poetry. His works on algebra were transla Europe in 1851 while his *Rubaiyat* were first pu in 1859. Manuscripts of his principal works ex Paris and in India Office, London. The Masadra Euclid's axioms, and Mushkilat-al-hisab, dealing complicated arithmetical problems, have been pre in Munich (Germany).

According to V. Minorsky, "he was the gr mathematician of the mediaeval times." His f contribution is in the field of algebra. He adv the science of algebra much further from the reached by the Greeks and also by Khwarizmi; greater part of Omar's works is devoted to equations while Khwarizmi dealt with quadratic tions only. He also deals with geometric and alg equations of second degree, an admirable classif of equations including the cubic. He recognises th different forms of cubic equations. His solution of and quadratic equations with the help of conic se is probably the most advanced contribution to Ar mathematics that has survived to us. "His skill geometer," says Max Mayerhaf, "is equal to his li erudition and reveals real logical power and penetra

In physics, Omar's researches are devoted to sp weight of gold and silver. The Tarikhul Fi mentions Mizanul Hukma which determines the method ascertaining the weight of objects studded with prec stones without taking out such stones.

During the reign of Malik Shah Seljuki illustrious Grand Vizier Nizamul Mulk Toosi, had i a body of savants including Omar Khayyam and A Rahman Hazini, to carry out astronomical observ Their efforts led to the reform of calendar which in advance of the Gregorian by 600 years and acco to Sedillot, an authority on the subject, "it is exact."

The famous observatory where Omar carried his astronomical researches was constructed at Ray the calendar formulated by Omar is known as Tarik-al-Jalali."

Of his death the following story is told by N Arwah: "On the day of this death, Omar attentively reading the *Book of Recovery*, a metaph work of Avicenna. When he came upon the c 'One and Many' he put aside the book, stood up, his prayers and made his last injunctions to his f and relations. Since then he neither ate nor dra the evening and after the evening prayers he pr and cried out; "O, Almighty, verily I have tri realise Thee to the extent of my abilities. I beg forgiveness." Saying this, he breathed his last. H buried, according to his life-long desire, in a bea grove.—*Careers*, July 1954, Lahore.

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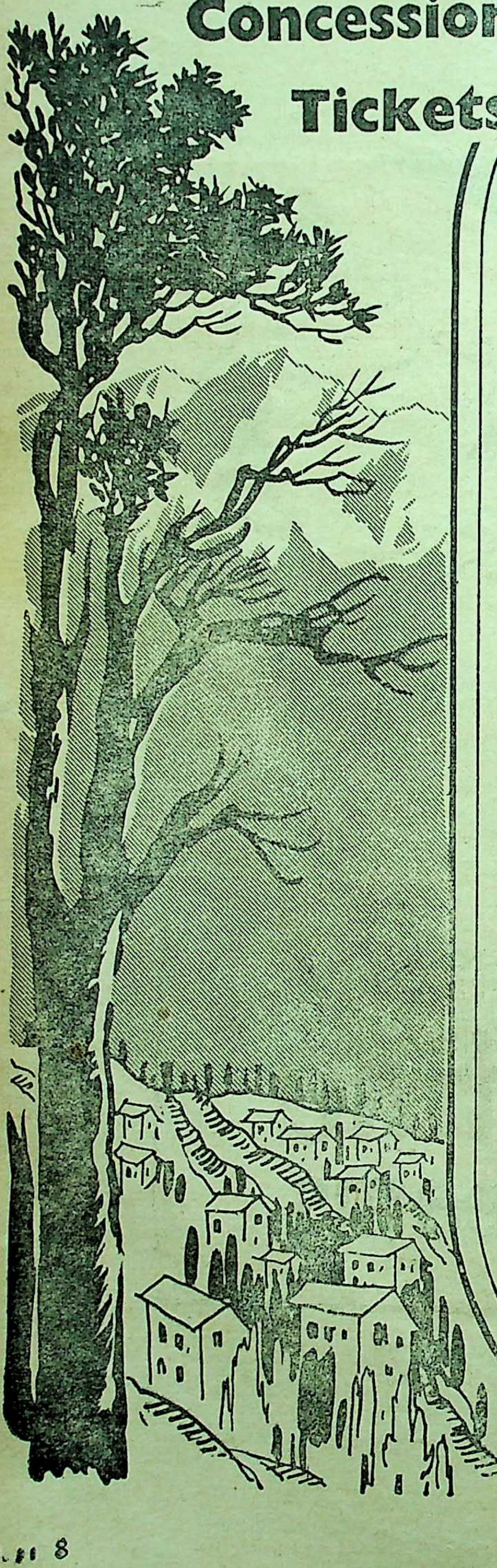

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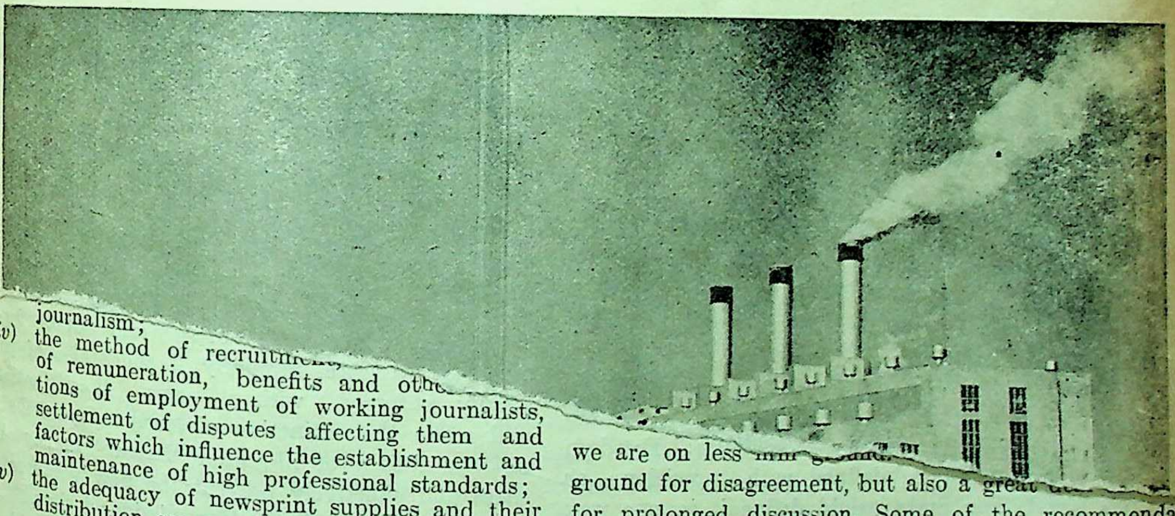
A view of the famous Moghul Gardens of Shalimar in Srinagar with snow ranges in the background



journalism;

(iv) the method of recruitm of remuneration, benefits and oth tions of employment of working journalists, settlement of disputes affecting them and factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of high professional standards;

(v) the adequacy of newsprint supplies and their distribution among all classes of newspapers and the possibilities of promoting indigenous manufacture of (i) newsprint and (ii) printing and composing machinery;

(vi) machinery for (a) ensuring high standards of jounalism and (b) liaison between Government and the Press; the functioning of Press Advisory Committees and organisations of editors and working journalists, etc.;

(vii) freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it; and to make recommendations thereon."

The terms of reference being so wide, the Com-

we are on less ground for disagreement, but also a great for prolonged discussion. Some of the recommendations, such as those for ownership and for emoluments, if made too rigid, would defeat the very purpose for which they were made.

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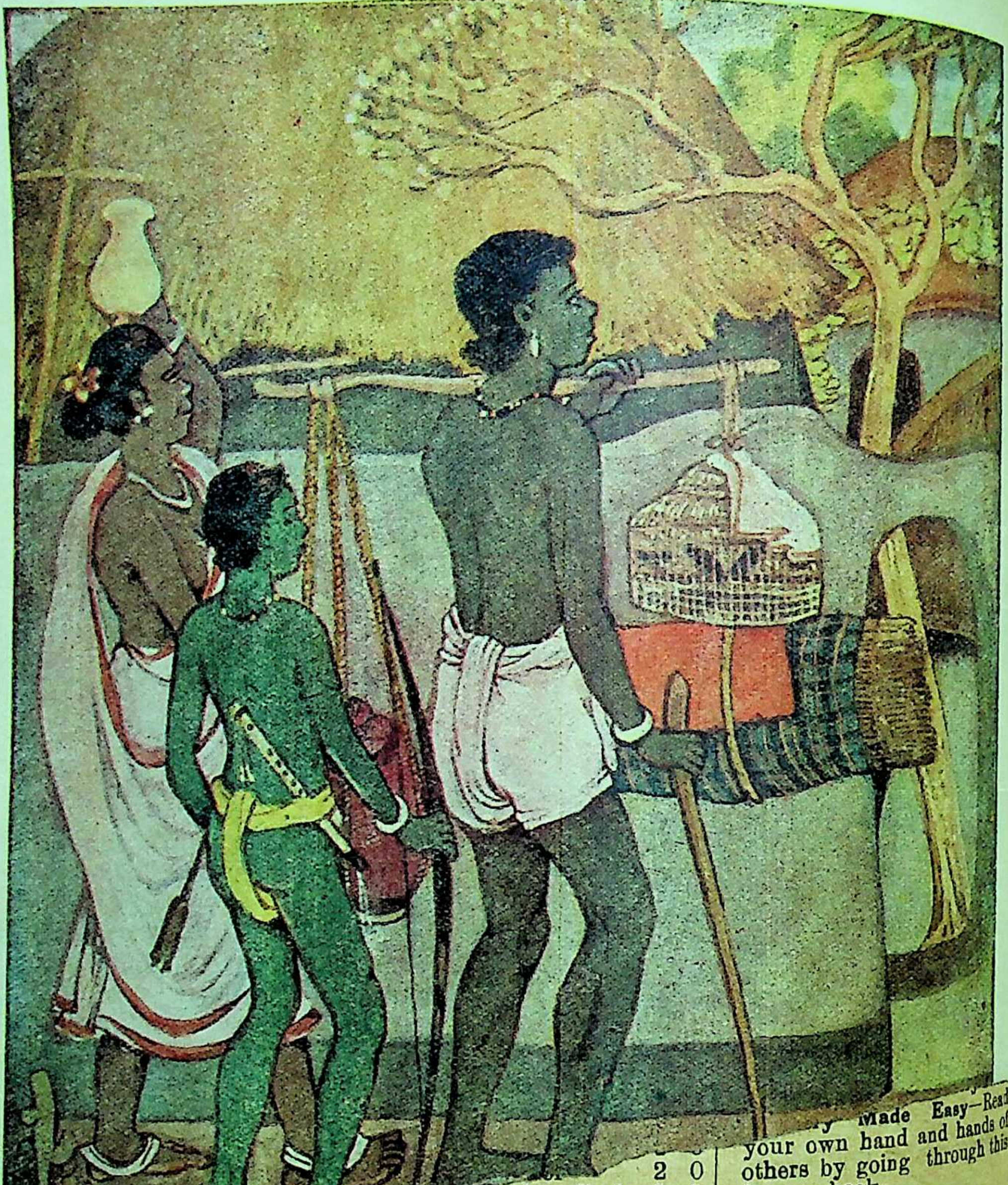

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NOTES

The Press Commission Report

The Press Commission has published Part I of its *Report.* It is a volume of 538 closely printed pages and bears testimony in every page to the extreme care and conscientious application which Sri Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha and his colleagues and assistants brought to bear on the manifold problems.

The Terms of Reference were as follows:

"2. The Press Commission shall enquire into the state of the Press in India, its present and future lines of development and shall in particular examine :

(*i*) the control, management and ownership and financial structure of newspapers, large and small, the periodical press and news agencies and feature syndicates;

(*ii*) the working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair views;

(*iii*) the effect of holding companies, the distribution of advertisements and such other forms of external influence as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism;

(*iv*) the method of recruitment, training, scales of remuneration, benefits and other conditions of employment of working journalists, settlement of disputes affecting them and factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of high professional standards;

(*v*) the adequacy of newsprint supplies and their distribution among all classes of newspapers and the possibilities of promoting indigenous manufacture of (i) newsprint and (ii) printing and composing machinery;

(*vi*) machinery for (a) ensuring high standards of jounalism and (b) liaison between Government and the Press; the functioning of Press Advisory Committees and organisations of editors and working journalists, etc.;

(*vii*) freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it;

and to make recommendations thereon."

The terms of reference being so wide, the Commission had to probe deeply into the intricate workings of the Press in general.

It may be said—and it is being said—that the picture presented is not absolutely correct in all details, and that in certain matters, such as in those relating to the price per page of the dailies, and the rates, space allowances and placing of advertisements, the recommendations of the Commission have gone beyond the actual scope of the terms of reference.

Be that as it may, the picture presented is revealing and comprehensive, and that not only of the Press, but also of the reading public and of the Governments, at the Centre and in the States. The findings, as detailed in the volume just published, expose most of the structural defects of the Indian Press of today, and there can be no doubt that most of them have been correctly surveyed.

The Press Commission is to be felicitated therefore for having thus completed the very arduous and intricate task of preliminary fact-finding. It may well be said that the structure of the Press tomorrow may now have its foundation firmly under-pinned, all the basic defects having been exposed.

When we turn to the Recommendations, however, we are on less firm ground. There is not only ample ground for disagreement, but also a great deal of need for prolonged discussion. Some of the recommendations, such as those for ownership and for emoluments, if made too rigid, would defeat the very purpose for which they were made.

The Press Commission has given a clear indication of the objectives aimed at by their recommendations by giving in detail the objects before the Press Council they propose. They are :

1. To safeguard the freedom of the Press.
2. To help the Press to maintain its independence.
3. To ensure on the part of the Press the

maintenance of high standards of public taste and foster a due sense of both the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

4. To encourage the growth of the sense of responsibility and public service among all those engaged in the profession of journalism.

5. To keep under review any developments likely to restrict the supply and dissemination of views of public interest and importance, and to keep a watch on the arrangements made by Indian newspapers and news agencies with foreign newspapers and news agencies or other bodies for the reproduction in India of material obtained from those sources.

6. To improve the methods of recruitment, education, and training for the profession, if necessary by the creation of suitable agencies for the purpose, such as a Press Institute.

7. To conduct through the Press Institute a continuous study of the contents and performance of the Press.

8. To promote a proper functional relationship amongst all sections of the profession.

9. By censuring objectionable types of journalistic conduct, and by all other possible means, to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards. (In this connection the Council will have the right to consider *bona fide* complaints which it may receive about the conduct of the Press or of any person towards the Press, to deal with these complaints in whatever manner may seem to it practicable and appropriate, and to include in its annual report a record of any action taken under this level and its findings thereon.)

10. To promote the establishment of such common services as may from time to time appear desirable.

11. To promote technical and other research.

12. To study developments in the Press, which may tend towards concentration or monopoly and, if necessary to suggest remedies therefor.

13. To publish reports, at least once a year, recording its work and reviewing the performance of the Press, its development and the factors affecting them, including the number and circulation of newspapers, the condition of working journalists, and the financial condition of the industry.

14. To review the ownership structure and its impact on the performance of the Press.

The whole problem revolves round one question, that of the Freedom of the Press, as opposed to its responsibilities. Indeed the basic premise, Freedom of the Press, cannot be defined with precision as matters stand. The State would define it in one way and the Press in several other. The Press Commission has quoted from the American Commission thus:

"Freedom of the Press is essential to political liberty. Where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another, no freedom is secure. Where freedom of expression exists, the beginnings of a free society and a means for every retention of liberty are already present. Free expression is therefore unique among liberties.

"The right to freedom of expression is an expression of confidence in the ability of free men to learn the truth through the unhampered interplay of competing ideas. Where the right is generally exercised, the public benefits from the process of winnowing truth from falsehood able ideas from evil ones. If the people govern themselves, their only hope of do wisely lies in the collective wisdom derived the fullest possible iaformation, and in the presentation of differing opinions. The right necessary to permit each man to find his the religious and political beliefs which his private needs."

And has further elaborated its own views

As Mahatma Gandhi has stated in words have been inscribed on the portals of All Radio at Delhi. "I do not want my house walled in on all sides and my windows stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be about my house as freely as possible. But I to be blown of my feet by any of them. not a religion of the prison house. It has roo the least among God's creations. But it is against insolence, pride of race, religion or Democracy can thrive not only under the eye of its legislature, but also under the guidance of public opinion, and the Press *par excellence*, the vehicle through which can become articulate. Its role consists not reflecting public opinion, but in instructing giving it proper orientation and guidance. For the Press has not only a moral right to free sion, but is subject to certain responsibilities "In the absence of accepted moral duties, can be no moral rights. From the moral view, freedom of expression does not include right to lie as a deliberate instrument of The moral right does not cover the right deliberately or irresponsibly in error."

With these as premises, the Press Commi has arrived at its conclusions and given its mendations. But it is evident that some of the have to be considerably altered or modified in that the main objectives be attained. For ex if the recommendation regarding the splitting unitary ownership is adopted, it will either State or Party subsidisation and control or it mean the running of newspapers on purely motives by joint-stock companies or private par ships. And it will further mean the laying down distinction between the Press and other form private enterprise. Similarly if the scales of pay rigidly enforced without any discrimination will mean the extinction of many papers that not the weight of ill-gotten "Black" money them and effectively prevent the new ventures districts that the Press Commission desires.

In autocracies and totalitarian States, this tion of the Freedom of the Press does not since *L'etat c'est moi* is the motto of the dictat democracies, where the People are called upon, every so many years, to make fools of thems at the behest of this party or that, the control Press is of the essence in party politics. This done by dragooning the Press into submission by Party in Power, with the legal whip in one hand the flesh-pots of Government publicity in the as was done in the years 1941-45. And again it can be done, by the displaced party where cravens who seek shelter behind the footling phrase that the "Press is the Mirror of Public opinion," are concerned, by mob incitement and threats against the circulation of the paper concerned. And then of course there are those who would view the journalistic profession in the light of the Oldest Profession, as a field for mercenary activities only.

All these are evils and the Press Commission has rightly viewed it on idealistic lines. But the cures prescribed might be too potent. That has to be considered in detail.

National Plan Loan and Bank Finance . .

The National Plan Loan is estimated to have withdrawn from the market a large sum of money, nearly Rs. 140 crores. It is a fairly good achievement on the part of the government. One aspect of this loan should not be however be ignored and this is the probable result of the loan on the flow of finance to the private sector of the economy. Ours is a mixed economy and the Government depend to a large extent on the private sector for increasing industrialisation and providing employment. But the point is that private capital in this country is not being accumulated to the desired extent, on the contrary, it is accumulating at a progressively falling rate. Industrial progress is checked for lack of capital in the private sector and it is only in the public sector that the pace of industrialisation is having a rapid progress.

The reluctance of private capital to come forward in the private sector cannot be ignored. The impact of the National Plan Loan on such capital has to be measured therefore, in the light of subsequent movements in the financial field. There is an absolute impasse, where the smaller industries are concerned, in the matter of their expansion and development. The Government has to decide as to whether all future developments in the sphere of industry is to be taken up by it. If a mixed economy, with both Public and Private sectors is to continue, then flotations of large loans have to be made with very considerable circumspection.

Following the recommendations of the Shroff Committee, the Reserve Bank of India has taken several important actions to supply the growing needs of industrial finance in the private secor. First, the scope of the Bill Market has been liberalised and enlarged so as to include all scheduled banks. While the Shroff Committee recommended that the scheme should be xtended to scheduled banks having deposits of Rs. 1 rore or over, the intention of the Committee was to iclude only licensed banks with deposits of Rs. 1 crore more. It has, however, been decided by the Reserve ink to extend the scheme to all scheduled banks in ssession of a licence granted by it in terms of Sec- 22 of the Banking Companies Act 1949, irrespective of the size of the deposits. It may be stated that the bill market scheme was introduced by the Reserve Bank in January 1952 as an experimental measure. At present, only scheduled banks having deposits of Rs. 5 crores or more and in possession of such a licence are eligible to participate in the scheme.

The Reserve Bank, as recommended by the Shroff Committee on finance for the private sector, has reduced the minimum limit of advances under the scheme from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs and the minimum amount of each individual bill has been fixed at Rs. 50,000 instead of Rs. 1 lakh. The result will be that the tendency among the scheduled banks to move from short-dated securities into medium-dated will be accentuated. The bill market scheme, since its inception, has lessened the banks' need to hold Government securities in the slack season with a view to selling them later when pressure for funds increased. Formerly, the sudden rise in demand for Government securities caused wide fluctuations in the security market. The bill market scheme has generated a shift towards medium-dated securities. The maturity pattern of banks' gilt-edged portfolio shows marked changes. Investments in Treasury bills declined sharply either through maturity or rediscounting. Securities maturing in 5 to 10 years, on the other hand, rose from Rs. 140.3 crores to Rs. 161.7 crores; that is, as a percentage of the total holdings of securities, the holdings in medium-dated securities rose from 42.9 to 47.9 and those maturing between 10 and 15 years from 8.5 to 15.1. But the holdings of securities maturing within five years declined from 33.4 per cent of the total investment in securities to 30.3 per cent., between December 1952 and December 1953.

At the end of December 1953, out of 89 scheduled banks, there were 25 banks with deposits of Rs. 5 crores and over. The Bill Market scheme hitherto covered these 25 banks which accounted for 85 per cent of the total advances. But as a result of the extension, it will now cover 33 banks. These 33 banks, however, constitute only about 37.5 per cent of the total number of scheduled banks.

The Shroff Committee also recommended that the Reserve Bank should actively pursue the question of linking indigenous bankers and shroffs to the Bank. Repeated efforts were made in the past by the Reserve Bank in this direction. In 1937 and again in 1941 the Reserve Bank agreed to extend rediscount and remittance facilities to indigenous bankers provided they were prepared to separate their non-banking business from their non-banking busines banking business, discard the within a specified period, and maintain proper books o account, which could be audited and made available t the Reserve Bank for inspection. The proposals were however, not acceptable to the bankers, who were no agreeable to give up their non-banking business.

The Reserve Bank observes that joint-stock an co-operative banks have, since 1941, made considerab progress and there has been a large increase in th number of their branches and resources, and indigenous bankers have been able to obtain funds from joint stock banks at reasonable rates. There has also been a tendency on the part of some indigenous bankers to convert themselves into joint-stock banking companies, and the banking legislation enacted in 1949 covers the non-scheduled banks.

Another suggestion which the Shroff Committee has made in this connection is that, pending direct linking of indigenous bankers with the Reserve Bank, steps should be taken to encourage rediscounting by the Reserve Bank of the usance bills of the indigenous bankers, such as the Multani hundis of the Shikarpuri shroffs, through scheduled banks. But there are certain administrative and statutory difficulties in rediscounting Multani hundis. Under Section 17(2) (A) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, the Reserve Bank is required to observe certain essential safeguards and can rediscount only bills maturing within 90 days which arise out of bona fide commercial or trade transactions and bear two or more good signatures one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank. It would be extremely difficult in practice for the Reserve Bank to verify whether the numerous Multani hundis, which are generally for small amounts, have arisen out of bona fide trade transactions.

In the opinion of the Reserve Bank, such rediscounting facilities will not by themselves be of any significant assistance to the Shikarpuri shroffs, whose limits for advances by the banks with which they normally deal are determined by their credit-worthiness and the nature of their business. These banks have normally sufficient funds for the extension of the limits of the shroffs, if requirements of prudence justified it.

The Reserve Bank has, however, accepted another suggestion of the Shroff Committee. The Committee recommended that the Reserve Bank should treat shares and bonds of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and State Financial Corporations as on a par with Government securities for advances under Section 17(4) (A) of the Reserve Bank Act, on such terms as the Reserve Bank may deem appropriate. The Reserve Bank has accepted this recommendation and shares and bonds will hereafter be treated on a par with the Government securities for the purpose of advances to scheduled banks under Section 17(4) (A) of the Reserve Bank Act.

The Shroff Committee further recommended that he indirect participation by banks in long-term indusrial finance would be considerably facilitated if the eading banks in India, in co-operation with the insurance ompanies, could form a consortium or syndicate for nderwriting or investing in new issues of shares and ebentures of industrial companies wherever they are tisfied about the soundness and prospects of the procts. If banks in India would invest, say, an amount qual to 5 per cent of their deposits in such shares nd debentures, they could make available a further m of over Rs. 30 crores for the long-term finance of industries in the private sector without seriously jeopardising their liquid position. Accordingly, the Reserve Bank of India has appointed a committee to consider the question of extending financial facilities for new industries on a long-term basis. The Committee is presided over by Mr. S. K. Handoo, Managing Director of the Imperial Bank of India, and consists of the Managing Director of the Central Bank of India Ltd., and the General Managers of the Bank of India Ltd., Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company Ltd., and New India Assurance Company Ltd. The Committee has been asked to make specific recommendations on the formation of a consortium or syndicate for financing new industries on the lines suggested by the Shroff Committee. The final outcome of the suggestions of the Committee and the Reserve Bank's decisions thereon will be awaited with considerable interest by all sections of industry

Indian Shipping

Indian shipping today does not represent even half a per cent of the tonnage of the world, writes Sri M. A. Master.

Twenty-three steamers with a tonnage of about 175,000 gross registered tons ran regularly at present on some of the important routes. They carried about a million tons of cargo a year, which was nearly 5 per cent of the total overseas trade of India.

In a special article in the Independence Day Supplement of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Sri Master examines the problems of Indian shipping.

According to the writer, out of a total sum of Rs. 106 crores paid as freight between 1946 and 1951 for the import of 180 lakh tons of foodgrains, Indian ships had received only Rs. 5 crores.

In 1951 Indian ships had been allotted only five lakh tons of Government cargo out of a total of 90 lakh tons equivalent to 5.6 per cent. In 1952 Indian ships had been given only 533,000 tons of Government cargo out of a total tonnage of a little more than 6,100,000 tons. That was less than nine per cent.

Sri Master estimates on the basis of such published figures of the major and minor posts as were available that nearly 20 million tons of cargo had been carried on an average in the preceding three years in the overseas trade of India.

The Government of India, the writer points out, had at one time planned to buy a dozen ships to conserve the exchange resources and to aid substantially the national fleet. But that opportunity had been lost. Later on, they had announced in reply to criticisms in the Parliament that all Indian purchase missions had been instructed to make use of Indian bottoms as much as possible. But as Indian ships were not available at all places and in times of need use of foreign ships sometimes became inevitable.

He contradicts the contention that if the Government of India were to give preference to Indian ships for the carriage of cargo under its patronage, it would constitute an act of discrimination and refers to the practice of the greatest maritime power in the world, the USA, where in addition to the provision of the carriage of cargo on the principles of 50-50, a Bill had recently been introduced in both Houses of the Congress providing that all foreign-aid cargo originating within and outside the USA as well as cargo procured by U.S. Government for its own account should be transported exclusively on privately-owned U.S. Flag Commerical vessels.

Bombay State Financial Corporation

At the first annual general meeting of the Bombay State Financial Corporation, the Chairman elucidated the policy of the Corporation in relation to financial assistance extended by the Corporation to the needy industries. The Corporation is authorised to undertake various types of business under the State Finance Corporation Act. For the present, however, its operations will be confined to granting loans and advances to industrial concerns of medium and small-scale industries. It would participate in subscribing also to debentures of industrial concerns. With the expansion of business and enrichment of experience the Corporation may undertake other lines of business in due course.

In deciding its policy, the Board has taken care to avoid overlapping of activities with the Industrial Finance Corporation of India. This aim is being achieved by its decision to entertain loan applications from public limited companies of medium- and small-scale industries only up to a maximum of Rs. 5 lakhs. Public companies in the State intending to get loans and accommodations in excess of this limit will have to approach the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for their financial requirements. The central institution entertains applications only from public companies, and, therefore, other concerns, such as private limited companies, registered partnerships, and proprietary concerns, can only seek financial accommodation from the State Financial Corporation. This demarcation of activities between the State and the All-India Corporations is both necessary and practical as it prevents overlapping and helps co-ordination between the two institutions.

The Board has fixed the minimum and maximum amount of loan which it can lend to concerns at a time at Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5 lakhs respectively. The minimum loan fixed at Rs. 10,000 will enable small-scale concerns to take advantage of the assistance rendered by the Corporation. Industries requiring loans below this minimum will have to turn to other sources for assistance. Under the State Financial Corporation Act, the maximum limit of loan has been fixed at Rs. 10 lakhs. But the Board has decided that in the initial stages the limit should be Rs. 5 lakhs and this is just a way of caution.

Although the Corporation's activities are confined to medium and small-scale industries, such concerns as can offer adequate security can alone get accommodation from the Corporation. Under the provisions of the Act, the loans—both medium and long term—must be secured by mortgage of fixed assets of the borrowing concern. As a result, industrial concerns which have no tangible or fixed assets to offer as security are not eligible for assistance from the Corporation. The amount of loan sanctioned must be secured by about 50 per cent of the net value of fixed assets of a concern, and thus the borrowing concern should have assets valued at not less than Rs. 20,000, if it seeks a loan of Rs. 10,000. This limitation acts rather harshly on small industrial concerns, such as rice mills and oil mills operating in mofussil areas. Moreover, for their day-to-day operations these concerns have to borrow working capital from commercial banks and for that they have to provide tangible securities. Therefore, small industrial units are often handicapped in obtaining loans from the Corporation as they could not provide adequate securities for medium- and long-term credit.

Applications of many industrial concerns are for loans either wholly or partly for working capital. But the Board has decided that loans should be primarily given for purposes of acquiring fixed assets, either for development of new units or for expansion, renovation or modernisation of existing units and that loans for working capital would be extended only in exceptional circumstances. The Bombay Government has also given instructions to the Corporation to give loans for working capital only in exceptional cases.

Irrigation Rates in Uttar Pradesh

In an article in the *Vigil* criticising the enhancements in canal water rates in the Uttar Pradesh, Sri Triloki Singh writes that the Government of Uttar Pradesh did not appear to make any distinction between the rates charged for productive and unproductive canal rates. While State irrigation was nowhere looked upon as a profit-making commercial enterprise, and rates were kept lower for relatively unproductive canals constructed as a protection against famine, even at a low outturn in the outlay, Sri Singh points out, the U.P. Government had been after increasing rates since the advent of independence.

The irrigation rates, revised after the First World War on account of rise in wages and prices, had been further revised in 1923 and except in the case of sugarcane the rates in 1948 generally were those of 1923. Quoting certain statistics the writer shows that the price of foodgrains had gained 100% since

1923. Viewed in that perspective the present enhancements in irrigation rates of 130 per cent to 300 per cent could hardly be justified.

Sri Singh further shows with the help of statistics that the net revenue to the U.P. Government from irrigation after meeting the working expenses and other incidental charges had increased six times with the addition of only 1|9th in the capacity of the Ganga Canal and a few hundred tube wells for *khariff* crops. There was no increase in supplies for *rabi* crops on any canal in U. P.

The irrigation rates in U.P. were higher than in any other State in India except for sugarcane in Bombay.

We have every sympathy with the people who have to pay heavy rates and taxes, but we are amazed to learn that food prices have gone up only 100 per cent, as compared with pre-war rates.

Statistics is a singularly pliable and elastic science where India is concerned. The old adage about lies and statistics remains operative in our country to-day.

Poliomyelitis in Bombay

According to a statement of the Acting Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, Sri V. L. Gidwani, in a meeting of the Corporation of the City of Bombay on August 9, it was learnt that since 1949 when there had been 389 attacks of poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) resulting in 65 deaths, the figures had been:

Year	Attacks	Deaths
1950	122	20
1951	51	15
1952	57	27
1953	53	18
1954 (up to 7.8.54)	118	22

Mr. Gidwani said that the situation was under control. He added that efforts were being made to get gamma globulin from the United States, where it was being tried out for "passive immunity." But it was a very costly treatment as a ten c.c. phial cost Rs. 200.

In an editorial article on the 12th August, the *Bombay Chronicle*, which was carrying on a regular and systematic campaign for the prevention and putting a stop to its extension, writes that though polio figures were relatively smaller this year than in some of the previous years quoted by the Municipal Commissioner, complacency in the effort to halt the spread of the disease could not be tolerated, because only two months of the difficult period had passed and there were nearly two more months to go. Parental anxiety could only be allayed when there was demonstrable evidence that the dreadful march of the disease was being halted effectively. The newspaper thought that the municipal authorities might be under-estimating the seriousness of the danger presented by the disease. It quotes the expert opinion of Dr. George Coelho and urges the municipal authorities to improve the conservancy and public health services in the city.

Ganga Bridge Project

Considerable progress has been achieved on the preliminary work for the Ganga bridge project which is to cost Rs. 16 crores. Global tenders were invited for the erection of the main bridge across the river at Mokameh, about 54 miles east of Patna. Nine Indian and foreign firms have submitted tenders. In addition to quotations for two official designs they have also quoted for alternative designs. The foreign engineering firms are mainly from Germany but some of them also have Indian, Australian and Italian associates.

At the site of the project, work is proceeding steadily. Collection of pitching stone at the site has started. It is estimated that nearly thirty million cubic feet of stone will be required mainly for the vital guide bund. On an average, two or three train-loads of stone will be carried to the project site everyday. To meet the transport needs of the projects, about 1500 broad-gauge and meter-gauge wagons are undergoing a process of repair and conversion. So far nearly Rs. 80 lakhs have been spent on the project and it is estimated that another one crore and 25 lakhs of rupees will be spent in the current financial year.

Actual work in the river bed will begin in October next year. Meanwhile, plant, machinery and steel required for the foundations and girders will be collected. When completed, the bridge will provide a far more satisfactory transport system for carrying traffic between North Bihar and South Bihar and will help in the development of North Bihar and surrounding areas including Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Assam and indirectly Nepal.

Government and Unemployment

While the problem of unemployment is increasing in the country, some of the Government policies in this regard evidently tend to worsen the situation. And the most glaring instance of this contradictory policy is the re-employment of retired officers as well as the extension of the terms of many officers who are already due to retire. It is now-a-days a common practice, and the practice has become widespread enough, to re-employ retired Government officers either in the departments to which they originally belonged or in some other departments. Again, retirement is often put off by extension of the terms for several times. The result is obviously dangerous—new employment is thus bound to be limited with the consequential rise in unemployment.

Government seem to have forgotten what was done during the early 'thirties to check the growing unemployment. It was the compulsory retirement at the age of 55 and this was followed with few exceptions by the authorities at that time. Why is it not being followed this time also? Are the elderly officers of the present regime more efficient and more indispensable than their compeers of the late 'thirties? In the railway department, in the post and telegraphs department, in the income-tax department, just to cite a few examples, re-employment and extension of the terms of the high officers have become a normal feature of Government employment policy.

The usual excuse put forward is the paucity of qualified and suitable younger men. There is some justification for this, we know. But thanks to nepotism and wire-pulling by well-placed relatives, it is seldom the best candidate who is put forward for selection. This also cannot be denied.

Rate Cut in Wheat

The fall in wheat prices in the USA and Canada is an important event. The initiative in reducing the wheat price came from the USA. The cut was not made directly in the selling price; it was effected by increasing the shipping subsidy for wheat by about 10 cents a bushel (60 lbs.). Following this action, Canada made a cut of 10⅛ cents a bushel in the Canadian Wheat Board's export price for three top grades. The revised rate now stands at $1.72½ a bushel, and this applies to sales under the International Wheat Agreement as well as to other sales. The main reason for the drop in wheat prices is the large increase in world supplies, following two successive record crops in the United States and Canada and the prospect of another good crop in the current season. Production in other parts of the world has also increased considerably. India, with a good crop of wheat and rice harvests in the past year, is practically out of the import market this year. The world's biggest importing area, Western Europe, has harvested a record crop, particularly France, Italy and the UK. The main problem of the world wheat crop is that while the importing countries are in need of less wheat, all the exporting countries have more wheat for sale. Because of increasiong production and mounting stocks, the USA was forced to reduce the wheat price. The total production of wheat during 1953-54 of the four major wheat exporting countries, namely, the USA, Canada, Argentine and Australia, aggregated 2,212 million bushels and there was a carry-over of further, 1,610 million bushels from the 1952-53 crop.

The cut in American and Canadian wheat price has ot however brought any reduction in the selling prices f Australian and Argentine prices. The world wheat arket has undergone a striking change in the face of sing supply with falling demand. The importing gnatories to the International Wheat Agreement have ot yet made their guaranteed purchases. The total urchase during the current year is only 421 million ushels—and this is very much less than the 581 mil- n bushels fully taken up in the previous two seasons under the agreement. India, which the second big- st import quota, has taken up just one per cent of quota of 37.3 million bushels (equivalent of one llion tons).

The exporting countries may reduce their prices to the minimum of $1.55 per bushel so as to force the signatories to take up their quota. If they do so, India is in duty bound to take up its quota of one million tons. It is said that she cannot refuse to buy, because in previous seasons when the free market price was well above the maximum price fixed under the International Wheat Agreement, the exporting countries honoured their obligation to the full. Similarly, all other signatory countries will have to take up their quota if the wheat price comes down to the "floor." When the last International Wheat Agreement was being negotiated and concluded, we objected to India's renewing the pact as it was evident that the world wheat price was bound to decline. Britain was of course clever as she kept out of the agreement. She is now free to buy at the lowest market the minimum quantity she needs.

Golden Lanka

The wealth of ancient Ceylon and the skill of its engineers was far-famed in the epics and chronicles of ancient Orient. A most amazing proof is given in the following extract from the *Worldover Press.*

It also shows how little the foreign rulers of Ceylon were concerned with the real welfare of the children of the soil, anywhere in Asia. Else these ancient structures would not have been neglected.

From no mere sentimentalist, but from a hard-headed and experienced man of business outlook, comes a report that fascinatingly combines the meeting of a great need with a reliance on historic ways of the ancient Ceylonese. Dr. Raymond W. Miller, F.A.O. Consultant, a public relations counsel and a lecturer at the Harvard Business School, tells a colorful and unusual story, basing it on Hardy's research.

The Ceylonese Kings, before the time of Christ, erected irrigation systems and reservoirs for the people. Ceylon today has a population of about 25,000,000 for an area half that of England, and although there were fewer people back in antiquity, some of the cities contained a million inhabitants. There was food enough for all, but the mosquito decimated the population time after time from malaria. To rid themselves of this deadly pest, the people moved out and migrated to other places, there to build up cities anew. Again and again this happened. There were other enemies—predatory kings from India who came to plunder and destroy.

When they moved out, the city populations left behind them giant waterworks, well-built, strong, and adequate. It happens that these have stood up until the present time, needing only a measure of repair. The oldtime Ceylonese have mergd with the dust, but their water systems lie unused through the ages, so skillfully constructed that they can be utilized even in our 20th century. Amazingly, 2,000,000 persons can be supplied with water in this arid region, merely by patching up a section of the old viaducts, lakes and canals. No new engineering has been necessary.

Says Hardy: "I have seen technical assistance projects in many lands and under many different conditions, but this one is in a class by itself." So much for the oddity of those conditions in Ceylon. But Hardy properly draws deductions which affect technical aid as a method. "Each time I visit Asia," he declares, "I become more convinced that the type of technical assistance rendered by F.A.O. is what the under-developed countries of the world need and want."

Co-existence

The recent statement made by Pandit Nehru, in the House of People, has clarified the issues in India's Foreign policy in a remarkable way. We are putting it on record below:

Mr. Nehru said that co-existence assumed non-interference in each other's affairs. The alternative—another war—might lead to "co-destruction."

He said that the Indo-China settlement at Geneva had given rise to a feeling of security, or "a lesser feeling of insecurity," and the world was moving towards less fear and suspicion and gradually towards some settlement.

Any approach to the question in the way likely to be adopted at the proposed S.E.A.D.O. conference in the Philippines might arouse these fears and suspicions and thereby encourage a feeling of insecurity.

Referring to the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, he said they had discussed frankly and freely the different political and economic systems in India and China, how far they could come into conflict with each other and how far each country would tolerate and not interfere with the other. "These talks led us to a large number of common approaches, in spite of such differences we might have in our countries as how to solve our respective problems. It was not only a pleasure but I profited by this meeting considerably, and I believe it was of some advantage to the Prime Minister of China also to have stayed for a few days in India and to have had frank talks with us and a fleeting glimpse of India as it is and a grasp of something of the mind of other countries of Asia."

Some other Asian countries entirely agreed with the approach in the joint statement issued by the Chinese Prime Minister and himself and the joint statement of the Burmese and Chinese Prime Ministers. "It is an important thing, this gradual growth of an area of peace in South-East Asia."

Since the House debated foreign policy last, many developments had taken place which might all together be referred to as "the crisis of our time." It could be viewed from many angles. Viewed from the continent of America it would have one angle, from the middle of Europe another angle, and from the middle of Asia it would have yet another angle. But however different might be the facets, in its totality it was the same.

Referring to the Geneva conference, Mr. Nehru that the Indo-China problem had in a sense become epitome of the crisis of our time." The conference Asian problems was held in Europe and was dealt with by Europeans, Americans and the like. all the respect he had for those European and Ame countries "it does not make the slightest difference cause we must have a say in deciding our destiny Asia's destiny."

The conference at Geneva tried to discuss matters ignoring what Asia thought on the matter. which was intimately connected was there. A number of Asian countries, principally the C conference countries, were not represented at the ference, but their views were nevertheless referred to. "Geneva saw the impact of realities unreal way of doing things. The unreal way forget Asia, largely speaking."

He was not saying this to criticize the work Geneva but rather the way countries of the We got into considering Asian problems. No could be isolated and he could well understand the interest of Europe or America in Asian problems as European problems were of interest to India and for the simple reason that they all acted on each When a problem might lead to war or peace, it to be a local or continental problem. But it was pletely out of place and out of date for problems considered by certain European or American Po forgetting or ignoring Asia, especially when those lems were of Asia. This was realized at Geneva though the Asian countries were not formally repre there, to some extent their voice was heard and great deal of effect on the decisions there.

He praised the leading States in Geneva who to an agreement. But behind all that was the com necessity of coming to a settlement or facing a trous war. It was not a final settlement as it did resolve all the world's problems but it did indicate people reacted when they had to face the reality of and peace. They reacted inevitably for peace "that is the healthiest sign so far as Geneva is concer

Mr. Nehru referred to the circumstances which India had accepted the new responsibilities Indo-China and to the preliminary conferences Delhi, and said he was glad that all that had been so far in regard to the three Commissions had the animous approval of the members of the Com This showed that "there is a great deal of the spi working together." All the countries in Indo-China also so far been very helpful to the Commission the conferences held in Delhi they showed "a frie even to each other which was rather surprising. have started on this work in Indo-China in a sense good auspices."

India had taken on herself a heavy respo and all kinds of problems were likely to arise day to day. In a sense, what would happen else in the China Seas and round about, would have its effect on Indo-China.

In Korea, he said, some progress had been made, but the situation was not a happy one. He hoped, however. that attempts to reach a peaceful settlement would continue to be made.

During the Geneva conference, Mr. Chou En-lai had come to India on a visit. China and India were the two biggest countries of Asia and each had had a very long past which touched the other in the course of history. In the present day they had both to play an important role in Asia, if not in a wider sphere. “We have, therefore, always thought it of the highest importance that India and China should understand each other and should, as far as possible, co-operate with each other. We are neighbours with 2,000 miles of common frontiers. Anyhow we are big, dynamic, vital, growing and progressive nations and we are bound to come in touch with each other in many places. That coming into touch could be either a friendly touch or in conflict. It is our desire, and I believe it is the desire of the Chinese Government, that our contacts should be friendly and that we should co-operate in as large a measure as possible.”

As a result of this came the agreement on Tibet. By itself it was a minor agreement but then the five principles contained in it of non-aggression, mutual recognition of territorial integrity, mutual non-interference in each other's affairs, etc., had become the basis of a new approach to these matters.

The visit of Mr. Chou En-lai was important to us, to talk to each other and discuss matters frankly and fully. At that time the Geneva conference was going on. No one knew what the final result would be and so we had occasion to discuss those matters at Geneva as well as many other matters pertaining to Asia.

After his visit to India, the Chinese Prime Minister went to Burma and the Prime Ministers of Burma and China issued a joint statement there more or less on the lines of the joint statement issued in Delhi embodying those five principles. “I have little doubt that some other countries in South-East Asia also agree to these five principles and the approach of the joint statement.”

It was no doubt true that by agreeing to follow this peaceful course they could not guarantee peace in Asia or anywhere else. But “we do throw our weight on the side of peace. It was after Mr. Chou En-lai came here that he went back to Geneva and this agreement was arrived at. While we have to congratulate ourselves on the progress made in regard to a settlement of Indo-China, I do wish the House to remember that the world is sitting all the time on some kind of an edge of a precipice and no one can know what new development or happening might upset this balance.”

The word “co-existence,” Mr. Nehru added, had been used and thrown about a good deal in the past few months. So far as India was concerned her whole policy was based right from the beginning on the conception of co-existence, and the idea was not new to her. “Naturally we do not wish to interfere with others in any way and do not propose to be interfered with by others.

“Naturally the consequences of this approach are co-existence. It is only when you want to interfere, or you are afraid of being interfered with, co-existence does not exist. In the world today nobody can be certain but you can make your own guess whether interference with each other can be checked or controlled or not. If it cannot be checked, of course there can be no co-existence and conflicts arise. And we have arrived at a stage in the world when a small conflict is likely to become immediately a big conflict and a big conflict a world war. There are no small stages left now so that this problem whether co-existence is possible or not is a very important one. If it is not possible then the only alternative is world war.”

But whether one liked the present state of affairs in the world or not one had to choose between a policy likely to lead to war on a large scale and a general approach meant by the word “co-existence.” The countries at the Geneva conference realized that the alternative to not accepting some idea of co-existence was war, which they were naturally not prepared to face.

The Geneva agreement had specifically laid down that the countries in Indo-China should be independent and they should not have military alliances with other countries or align with other countries and should more or less belong to what might be called the area of peace. There was some argument about the interpretation of the words but the general idea of the Geneva decision in regard to Indo-China countries was quite clear.

“If the Indo-China countries, or any of them, align themselves definitely with one powerful group of nations, they become a threat to the other and, therefore, a cause of conflict. On the one side, it was feared that they may be a spring-board for the actions of Communist countries and on the other it was feared that they would be bases for action against those countries. So unless you can isolate them in a military sense from these two groups you make them a cause of conflict. Therefore, this important decision was made that these Indo-China countries should as far as possible keep out of these military alliances and in a sense form part of the area of peace. How that idea develops will depend on circumstances.”

The question of Goa had provided some excitement in India and infinitely more excitement in the mind of the Portuguese Government. It was extraordinary how in the last month or so the Portuguese Government had started an organized campaign in all the capitals of the world against India in regard to Goa and said all sorts of things in the course of those campaigns.

They had made it out that some military intervention was going to take place either by Indian soldiers as such or disguised as fisherfolk carrying arms. There had also been considerable addition to their formal military force in Goa. There had been a good deal of correspondence with the Portuguese Government and on reading it one would feel bewildered, as he himself had been.

Referring to Portugal's suggestion for impartial observation of the situation and India's acceptance of the same and her proposal for a conference, he said: "During the past two weeks we have exchanged Notes after Notes and yet that meeting has not taken place." The two sides had nominated their representatives and yet they could not meet and "some excuse or other is being found by the Portuguese Government, and apparently they want us to commit ourselves in regard to these matters."

"We are not prepared to commit ourselves about anything, nor do we ask them to commit themselves. Naturally these talks between our representatives and the Portuguese Government is not going to solve the Goa problem. They are not going to discuss the basic problems of a de facto and de jure transfer of Goa. They have to be left over for future discussions. The present stage is a limited stage to discuss what is happening there now. In regard to that no commitment is necessary, nor can be made. If the Portuguese Government wants us to make any commitment giving up or modifying our ideas in regard to Goa, they are mistaken. We are not going to do that, nor do we ask them to make any such commitment. We want to proceed step by step, peacefully and gradually and arrive at some settlement.

"One thing has surprised me very much and that is the reaction of some countries to this Goa issue. Some of them, I think, were probably not fully aware of the facts because when we placed the real facts before them they admitted that they did not know them. Others, knowing the facts, have acted in a way which has surprised me."

Mr. Nehru said: "The movement for independence in India was for the whole of India, obviously including Indian State, Pondicherry, Goa and other places. It made no difference to us that in the course of history colonial forces had come and divided India between them."

The moment the protecting power in India went and the whole country became free, the raison d'etre for Goa remaining separate ceased and "indeed it would have been in the nature of things if at that time this question had been solved."

The Prime Minister recalled that a little before or after the transfer of power, the then Hyderabad Government, which had adopted a non-co-operative line with the rest of India, had started negotiations with the Portuguese Government about Goa. This was no secret and known to everyone. Some proposals were discussed about some kind of common control for Goa.

The Hyderabad Government of that day "felt surrounded by the Union of India and was an ambitious Government and had various ideas." They wanted an outlet to the sea. At one time they thought of spreading out up to the Bay of Bengal and later to the A Sea via Goa.

Mr. Nehru said that it was no use blaming any individual but the persons who were the moving behind all those negotiations had mostly left Hyder and some of them had suffered adequately for it.

But the point was Portugal presumably th that Hyderabad might be a bulwark against the I Union and wanted to join hands with them. Of c nothing came out of it because other changes took with some rapidity. "But it is interestng to see h Portuguese Government of the day, not long ago, discussing this problem of Goa with the Hyder Government when now they adopt the line th subject is too sacred to be discussed. I refer to only to show how at one stage, when they felt because of the British protecting power going away future might be uncertain, they wanted to do someth

Since then India had stated that Goa must be part of India. The historical and other necessities Goa remaining separate were over. Nothing could it there.

Apart from the fact of Goa being in this co and the fundamental fact of Goanese themselves w ing it, the major fact was that "what is called co lism is in retreat and has to be so." "We talk ab crisis of our time and many people view it in diff ways. Probably in the U.S.A. the crisis of the ti supposed to be Communism versus anti-Com nism. It may be so to some extent. But the cris the time in Asia is colonialism versus anti-coloni Let us be quite clear about it." (cheers)

A wise step was taken in Burma and Indi Indonesia there was some trouble but it was solved some extent. One could see the difference where trend of modern history had been recognized and had been a peaceful change-over and friendship betw them and the countries which had till then dom them. It was in this larger context of the freedom countries that they should see this problem of Goa.

He could understand the Portuguese, having a s corner in their hearts for the days of Portu grandeur. But that did not justify in any sense, le or otherwise, the Portuguese adopting a policy tod holding on to Goa against the wishes of the peop Goa.

"One thing I deeply regret and that is the way Portuguese Government has brought the Church int picture, thereby trying to make this a religious is which of course it is not." The topmost Catholic le in India had expressed themselves quite clearly on issue not only of religion and Catholicism in India of Goa itself and had supported the freedom mov in Goa.

Christianity had come to India long before it to Portugal or to Europe. He would like member remember that Christianity was not a foreign re but as much an Indian religion as any other. It been in India for the last 1,908 years, especially in South India. There were some five million Roman Catholics in India. In matters concerning their freedom of religion, conscience, etc., they themselves had said that they had full freedom. So it was a matter of deep regret to him that this religious bias was being given to this purely political question of Goa.

If the British had to withdraw from India and had to come to a friendly settlement as they did, it was extraordinary for anyone to imagine that any small foothold on the coast of India here and there could continue under colonial domination. It was absurd.

The argument that Goa was part of Portugal needed no answer and the claim that the Goanese were fond of the Portuguese administration could very easily be proved.

During the last seven years or so, though India was in full sympathy with the movement of the Goans in Bombay and elsewhere, they had strongly perhaps too strongly, avoided any direct interference in the matter because they wanted to settle the matter peacefully and co-operatively. The state of affairs in Portugal was different from that in India. In one or two of his speeches the Portuguese Prime Minister had made some references to democracy. "With due respect to him I was not aware that this word was understood or acted upon in Portugal." It was not his concern what was the situation in Portugal just as it was not Portugal's concern what happened in India.

But he was interested in Goa as the Portuguese Prime Minister was. Powerful historical forces were at work. It was not the Indian Army but a powerful indigenous movement that was at work. They wholly sympathized with the movement. In Goa there was nothing like civil liberty. Newspapers could not be published and an eminent surgeon was arrested and deported because he said in a private dinner that Goa was not part of Portugal.

The only way to deal with the question was for people to talk with each other. The other way was war. "We want to settle this question peacefully and we hope to settle it but that can only be done if the other party is prepared to discuss these matters."

India Puts Its U. N. Votes on Record

The *Worldover Press* gives the following bit of interesting news:

"Disturbed by such criticisms as 'India always votes with the Communists,' or 'India never backs the United States,' Indian government researchers have compiled figures to show that such attitudes in the U.S. are not warranted by the facts.

"Citing United Nations records they assert that out of 66 votes on the question of Korea, India voted with the U.S. 32 times, and either abstained or voted against it 34 times. In the eighth session of the U.N. General Assembly, India backed the U.S. on 27 occasions, and the Soviet Union on 19 occasions. The government statement points out that on 14 occasions, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. supported each other. The voting record, of which this is a summary, is set forth in the utmost detail, issue by issue and vote by vote."

Guatemalan Victory—For What?

Guatemala was a test, a test of democratic procedure when faced with a crisis. It was a surprise to most, when events moved in a way that was so long associated with the totalitarian countries. Now, in the aftermath, the questions remain still unanswered. The *Worldover Press* in its July 23rd issue, puts forward the following:

"Both the White House and State Department have publicly expressed satisfaction at the triumph of anti-Communist elements in Guatemala. In private, however, unless blind to realities, they must know that countless pitfalls lie ahead. The overthrow of the Arbenz regime was cleverly brought about, but in coming months nothing short of real wisdom will be required. Important unresolved issues, and their handling, will be watched by all the world and in particular by Latin Americans.

"Can true unity prevail among the various forces constituting the government junta? There are strong rival ambitions, genuine differences on aims and principles. As a Central American correspondent for *Worldover Press* reported during the revolt, the insurgent leaders were without a specific program. On steps for improvement, their statements have been impromptu, piecemeal, often confused.

"Who put up the large sums used by Colonel Castillo Armas to pay his rebel soldiery, to buy and hire planes? Who supplied the planes, certain napalm bombs, and minor armament? If Washington cannot truthfully and convincingly show that it did not give covert material aid to the revolutionists, Latin American fears will be universally augmented. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency seems definitely involved, and Castillo's money did not come out of thin air. It may be argued that all this was justified, but Latin Americans will probe with embarrassing question.

"Were the planes that bombarded Guatemala based on Nicaragua as well as Honduras? If so, was this a part of U.S. planning, and if not, did it in any case meet with U.S. approval? Every democratically minded person in Central America, overwhelmingly non-Communist, is concerned over the role played by dictators, such as Nicaragua's Somoza, who has often threatened democratic neighbor states like Costa Rica

"U.S. spokesmen, with sincerity, have expressed hope for a reform program by the new government. And yet, after having had a hand in the overturn, they say of internal questions they 'can't interfere.' It has been plain all along that many of Castillo Armas' backers were reactionaries, as hostile to democratic reforms as to Communism. *The ruling junta has already announced that illiterates will no longer be permitted to vote, despite the experience of nearby Jamaica and other countries, where illiteracy has not prevented intelligent* *balloting. This move has wiped out at a stroke the fine efforts of the Arevalo government to help the long oppressed Indians to come into their own. Nearly three-fourths of the people are illiterate. The junta is clearly committed to minority rule. Will Washington remain silent?*

"What will happen to the arms purchased from Communist sources? It is odd that this shipment, played up as so tremendous when in the hands of Arbenz, is now described as well-nigh worthless. Some weapons were parachuted, under Arbenz, into rural areas, where they are likely to become the dragon's teeth of new conflicts for local possession. Will they serve to foment fresh border clashes? Note that the new junta has reiterated Guatemala's old demand for British Honduras.

"What of the impact on the United Nations? Concern has been felt there, because the U.S. (knowing Russia wanted to keep the Guatemalan question in the Security Council and under veto) strove to get it into the hands of the Organizaion of American States. This contradicted method used on Korea, for here there was not only an attack by Guatemalans on an elected Guatemalan government, but a technical invasion staged outside the country, in Honduras. Will regional authority keep on superseding that of the world body? The French pointed out that when Thailand had just asked for peace observers, U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge had said he never hoped to see the day when a small country which believed it was threatened was to be asked by the U.N., 'What's the hurry?' Yet on Guatemala, however understandably, the U.S. took an opposite position. The end of this precedent is not yet.

"Millions of non-Communist Latin Americans have shown alarm at the U.S. handling of Guatemala. The press, of all shades, has been outspoken. *WP* correspondent Victor Alba, interviewing in Mexico many refugees from Latin dictatorships, along with intellectuals and informed professional people, found criticism widespread. Yet he reports a discernible pro-U.S. feeling that once did not exist. On this a new fellowship could be built by renewed economic and cultural co-operation. Will Washington overcome its recent neglect, and show a real awakening?"

The Question of Formosa

Writing under the heading "Co-existence, Chinese Style," the *Spectator* (August 20) says: "It might seem odd that the conference to prepare a treaty on the defence of South-East Asia should be announced from Washington at a moment when Mr. Chou En-lai was toasting the Queen and his British guests were tucking into their melon stuffed with fruit. But this is a kind of sequence that, in this uncomfortable age of 'co-existence,' we must get used to—without getting confused by.

"The Chinese, for their part, have kept matters absolutely distinct. Just a few days before the exotic East-West banquet the Chinese Prime Minister delivered his report on foreign affairs to the Central People's Government Council. In this he said: '... by liberating Taiwan from the rule of the trai... Chiang Kai-shek, only by fulfilling this glorious ... will we achieve the complete unification of our ... motherland, will we complete victory in the great ... of liberating the Chinese people, will we ... safeguard the peace and security of Asia and the ... world.'

"He went on to dare the Americans to stop ... Last Tuesday (August 17) President Eisen... accepted the dare, and the effect may be that ... will jog along without much new activity on either ...

"The point at issue is that, though Chiang ... undoubtedly making himself a nuisance (and not ... to the Chinese Communists) in the China Seas, C... En-lai would make more sense of his own doctrine ... co-existence if he recognized Formosa as falling ... the American sphere of influence—in rather the ... sense as Northern Viet-Nam is now within the Chi... sphere of influence—than by breathing fire at Wash... over the heads of the British Labour delegation ... Peking.

"This is why the creation of SEATO is an ess... *accompaniment to co-existence, Chinese style.* So ... as the Chinese are intent on expanding, the re... of non-Communist Asia will only be safe if they ... defended, first, by their own efforts and, secondly, ... Western guarantee of their integrity."

Time and Tide (August 21) says: "The situ... as regards Formosa is a striking lesson on the fo... leaving Anglo-American differences unresolved, of f... to reach an agreed overall view of the world situ... and the strategy which should derive from it.

"The British, under Mr. Attlee, took the view, ... the victory of the Communists on the Chinese main... that the right thing to do—whether it was pleas... not—was to recognize the *fait accompli.* As re... Formosa, the Labour Government took the view ... it was geographically part of China and should so... or later revert to it. It is an arguable view.

"The Americans looked less at Formosa than at ... world situation of which Formosa is part. And ... they looked at it against the background of the ... situation, it was with a practical rather than a ... eye. If it is the purpose of Communist States ... Communism roundly proclaims it is, to destroy the ... States of the world and replace them by Com... dictatorship, using in the process all means up to ... including, war, then to be bound by narrow leg... and to hand over to a Communist State another va... point—which would make the defence of the Far ... and of Australasia much more difficult—would be ...

"This, in a sentence, is the basic difference ... tween the British and the American approach. ... further complicated by consideration of what fate ... Formosans would meet if ever the Chinese Co... nists got control there. There can be little ... what it would be at the hands of a Chinese Co...

nist Government which boasts it has 'liquidated' two-and-a-quarter millions of its own nationals."—*L.P.S.*

Industrial Policy of Pakistan

Promotion and encouragement of private enterprise was the structural edifice upon which the industrial policy of Pakistan was now being based, reports the *Pakistan News*.

During the switch over of an economy hitherto basically agricultural to one which envisaged greater accent on industry, Government had sought to act the principal investor. Reaction of private enterprise to that policy of the Government was very encouraging.

The Government-proposed Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation had become the sheet anchor of home industry. The Corporation had helped to organise and set up many large-scale new industries; and had invested a sum of approximately sixty crores of rupees in the industrial enterprises of the country. Thirty-seven major industries had been considered for regulation, development and planning. Those were concerned with arms and ammunitions for war, cement, coal, electrical equipments, heavy chemical, heavy engineering industries for construction of aircraft, ships, locomotives, wagons, automobiles, agricultural machinery, iron and steel, mineral industries and others.

In the industrial planning of Pakistan top priority had been given to the development of power. Special emphasis had been laid on the industries dependent upon reconstruction and development of agriculture and upon the promotion of medium and small cottage industries. It had been sought in the first place to manufacture locally the products of the country's readily available raw materials, in particular jute, cotton hides and skins, sugar-cane and tobacco, etc.

The industrial policy of the State was directed to make the field for the private entrepreneur as attractive as possible. Pakistan welcomed foreign capital seeking investment from a purely industrial and economic objective and not claiming any special privileges. Government's policy was that nationals of Pakistan be given option to subscribe at least 51 per cent of all classes of share capital and debentures in the 13 industries concerning cement, coal, cotton, spinning and weaving mills, fish-canning and fish oils, generation of electric power (other than hydro-electric), glass and ceramics, heavy chemicals and dye-stuff, minerals, preserved and prepared foods, power, alcohol, ship-building, sugar, and tanning and leather. In other industries Government wanted opportunity to be given to Pakistan nationals to subscribe at least 30 per cent of all classes of share capital and detention. But if indigenous capital was not forthcoming in required quantity foreign nationals might, with Government approval, subscribe those shares. The essential condition was that the nationals of Pakistan must be allowed to participate in the administrative and technical services and training facilities should be provided to Pakistan nationals by concerns that wished to establish themselves in Pakistan. In cases where foreign firms asked for trading facilities in Pakistan, Government's policy was to ask for subsidiaries to be registered in Pakistan. Government also provided facilities for the remittance of reasonable proportion of profits to countries from where capital was drawn.

The *Asian Review* of London gives, in an article on "The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation," the broad outlines of the progress up to date. They include the new paper mill, begun in 1950, at Chandraghona on the Karnaphuli river, about 25 miles from Chittagong. This project is estimated to cost Rs. 5 crores and will produce about 30,000 tons of paper per annum. As yet the production has not reached full capacity. Besides that, there are two paper-board and straw-board factories at Nowshera (N.-W. F. P.) and Rahwali (Punjab).

In jute there are 11 mills of 6,250 looms under construction at a cost of 16½ crores. Of this the P.I.D.C. is investing 6½ crores. Two of the Adamjee Jute Mills at Narayanganj, of 1,000 looms each, are producing over 40,000 tons of jute textiles. It is estimated that within two years all the 6,250 looms will be in production, with an output of 200,000 tons of a total value of 22 crores.

The cement plants at Daudkhel (Thal) and at Hyderabad (Sind) are being set up with Canadian and New Zealand money mainly.

Besides the above, the P.I.D.C. plans to set up three woollen mills in Baluchistan, Waziristan and Thal at a cost of 50 lakhs each. Ten sugar mills of 8 to 9 thousand tons capacity, a small caustic soda and chlorine plant complete the picture for the present.

Sterling Convertibility

The signs are multiplying that the convertibility of sterling may prove possible early. In September Mr. Butler is likely to go to Washington to attend the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and the matter will be discussed there with the Americans and with most of the Finance Ministers of the Sterling Commonwealth. Thereafter action may follow quickly. By far the most striking development in recent months towards achieving sterling convertibility has been the great stride made by the City of London to recapture its former supremacy as an international monetary centre. During the war and immediately after it, the disparity of financial strength between the United States and the United Kingdom had widened alarmingly with yawning dollar gap. The incovertibility of sterling for non-residents as well as residents, and the whole paraphernalia of exchange control, with its blockings and its segregation of capital from current transactions had weakened the position of sterling as an international currency. The wartime sales of British foreign securities, the loss of reserves, the growth of both short and long-term overseas liabilities, the post-war physical economic controls, the continuance of State trading and the submergence of the free commodity markets —all these handicapped sterling convertibility.

But sterling has survived as an international currency and has regained its strength and influence which may favourably compare with its pre-war position. The mechanism and the tradition of international banking inherited from the past by the London money market has greatly helped sterling to recover. London's close integration of financial institutions of every kind—banks with branches or agencies all over the world, the acceptance houses, the discount market, the bullion and foreign exchange dealers, insurance brokers, the shipping and commodity markets—is one unequalled by any other financial centre in the world.

The second reason for the resilience of sterling is the continued allegiance owed to it as the basis of currency by a large section of the world, and this is an indispensable ingredient in sterling's strength. This association with sterling springs partly from tradition and habit; but it is also a testimony to the adaptabisity and flexibility of the sterling system. Although Britain, the banker of the sterling area, is now a net debtor on capital account and her overseas liabilities payable at sight and at short notice greatly exceed her immediately available assets, the use of sterling as basic currency and the confidence on London as the banking capital of the sterling area have not been impaired.

This continued hegemony of the sterling area is being attributed to the growing accumulations of larger sterling balances in London. In the words of late Lord Keynes,—when you owe your banker one thousand pounds, you are at his mercy; but when you owe him a million he is at yours. This dictum clearly applies to the position of the present-day sterling area—Britain being a heavy debtor to the sterling area countries on account of the accumulated sterling balances, holds the position of supremacy not only among the sterling area countries but in the world in the sphere of monetary transactions. Although for the last fourteen years sterling was not a freely convertible currency, yet it has been more freely converted into the goods and services of international trade than any other currency. It is often said that half the foreign trade of the world is done through sterling.

The year 1953 was a turning point in the post-war history of sterling. From that year London re-emerged as a great financial centre. The major commodity markets have been freed, including those for cereals and cotton in which dollar trade is important, and for this freedom in dealing was withheld so long. Many of these freed commodities, including copper and coffee, are not subject to restriction on re-export. A real foreign exchange market has been reopened in London where the op are again dealers for their own account and no of the Bank of England and accordingly can their technical knowledge freely. With the freedom in arbitrage facilities, London has regai the full the share in foreign exchange business enjoyed before 1939. Further, a free gold marke again operates in London and the use of sterling transactions between non-sterling countries has greatly extended and the various schedules of held by non-residents have been reduced to only With the extension in the use of international foreign bankers and merchants now find their balances in London rising and this received a impetus from the reopening of the London gold Between July 1953 and April 1954, United States trial production fell by 10 per cent. Between dates, the sterling area gold and dollar reserves 19 per cent. Arbitrage movements of short-term have been encouraged by the new facilities and confidence in the London money market. Rumour rampant that sterling would be allowed to break its moorings and rise above its present upper gold of $2.82.

But what the sterling convertibility would mean and what advantages or dangers would follow One thing is certain and it is that so long as the exi control is maintained, sterling convertibility would mean much. Sterling convertibility would be technical step towards the abolition of exchange But full convertibility would demand the removal import quotas and the freeing of the travel allow The initial aim is apparently only the introduction "non-resident convertibility," that is to say, a st affairs in which non-residents or foreigners re outside the sterling area will in general be allowed convert into dollars any sterling earned by them future by current trade. For the ordinary citizens sterling area countries, the non-resident convertibility have little direct effect. They will continue hemmed in by the same exchange and import restri as now obtain. This sort of convertibility will have direct effect on India's trade with America and dollar countries. Americans who earn sterling course allowed to turn it into dollars already. It have no direct effect on India's trade with members the sterling area; they will continue to maintain voluntary check on dollar spending as is now followed and they will be allowed to purchase from the common pool in London when they want The only direct advantage from the non-res convertibility will be enjoyed by the forty-odd of the transferable account area—countries in Europe, southern South America, behind the Curtain and a few other countries such as Japan convertibility of sterling will enable them to use sterling to buy dollars from the central pool in L openly and without restrictions.

Another effect of convertibility will be the liquidation of various payments mechanisms that were developed during the period of inconvertibility, of which the most important is the European Payments Union.

Iranian Oil Settlement

An agreement was reportedly reached on August 5 between the Government of Iran and a consortium of eight major oil companies of the world. That agreement ostensibly solved the three-year-old dispute between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (subsequently between the British Government) and the Government of Iran over the nationalization of Iranian oil in 1951.

The agreement, which was to run for twenty-five years with provisions for three five-year extensions, provided for the formation of two operating companies to operate the oil fields and the Abadan refinery in Iran. Those two companies—one dealing primarily with exploration and production of oil and the other with refining—were to be organised by the consortium. The companies would be registered in Iran with their operating headquarters there and would be incorporated under the laws of the Netherlands. The companies would have seven directors each—two to be named by Iran and five by the consortium.

According to the *Reuter*, the agreement required the consortium companies to pay the National Iranian Oil Company for all oil required for export and sell the crude oil and the products exported. Products for Iranian home consumption would be available to the National Iranian Oil Company at substantially their cost.

The agreement also provided for the settlement of the claims for compensation by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company against the Government of Iran for nationalizing the Abadan refinery. Accordingly, the Iranian Government would pay to the A.-I. O C. a sum of 25 million sterling in ten annual instalments, commencing from the 1st January, 1957.

The consortium was formed in London on April 10 this year when agreement was reached between eight major oil companies to reopen the flow of Iranian oil to world markets. It consisted of five American companies, who would between them hold 40 per cent holding in its shares, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with another 40 per cent holding; the Royal Shell Dutch and Companies Francaise des Petrols, who would between them hold the balance of the shares. The five American companies were, Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, California Oil, Texas Oil and Socony Vacuum Oil Companies. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company would receive payments from the other members of the constrium for the 60 per cent interest distributed among them.

The reaching of the agreement on Iranian oil was an event of major international importance, because, as a special correspondent of the *Times* wrote in February, 1953, the problem of Persian oil was not simply a question of the relationship between one Sovereign State (Iran) and the company operating on its territory (A.-I. O. C.). It had become, to quote him, "a major international issue affecting the foundation of the international oil structure, the role which British interest will play in that structure and the balance of payments for the United Kingdom, for the Commonwealth, and for Europe."

Since 1950 and more particularly since the time of the nationalization of Iranian oil in 1951, several attempts at a settlement proved infructuous. The present agreement was generally considered as a victory of American diplomacy—as the names of five major American oil companies on the consortium would also appear to suggest. According to Sri K. Balaraman, New York correspondent of the *Hindu*, it was generally conceded that the U. S. President's Special Representative in Iran, Mr. Herbert Hoover (Junior), had played an important role in the settlement of the Iranian oil dispute. He writes: "Only future historians can say if the United States had anything to do with the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq as the Communists have been charging. However, a high American official once told me after Dr. Mossadeq had been overthrown that the world would perhaps never know how close Communists came to taking over Iran and if the pro-Shah revolution had been delayed even by a few days Iran might have become an Asian Czechoslovakia."

B. Storin writes in the *New Times* that the ratio of Iranian and consortium representatives on the board of directors of the two companies proposed to be established by the agreement enabled the consortium to make whatever decisions it liked and completely ignore the wishes or opinion of Iran's representatives.

"But apparently," writes Mr. Storin, "the consortium wants more than that. For under the new agreement all matters pertaining to the technical management of the Iranian oil industry will be handled not by the board in the Netherlands, [He says that the company would be incorporated in the Netherlands while according to the *Reuter* the companies would be incorporated in Iran under the laws of the Netherlands.—Ed., *M. R.*] but by the consortium's London headquarters' where Iran will have no representative whatever. The London headquarters, for example, will be responsible for the appointment and dismissal of technicians of all categories, including plant managers, well superintendents, etc. This will give it effective control over every aspect of the industry, and the company organized in the Netherlands will be no more than a "front" for the five U. S. corporations and A.-I. O. C., which will be free to run Iran's oil business to suit their own ends."

France and E. D. C.

The French National Assembly was to discuss ratification of the European Defence Community Treaty on August 28, four days later than had been originally scheduled. In view of the failure of the Brussels talks between France on the one hand and other signatories to the treaty on the other to reach an agreement on the modifications of the Treaty suggested by France it would be interesting to recall the factors behind French reluctance to ratify the Treaty embodying a proposal originally put forward by the French Premier, M. Rene Pleven in 1950.

The reasons for French reluctance to ratify the European Defence Community Treaty has been summarised in a pamphlet issued by the Comite France Actuelle which was organized by a group of French businessmen with the object of assisting Americans to understand France and French problems. It is stated that the original French proposal for a European Army, or the Pleven Plan as it came to be called, had been intended to serve two purposes: "(1) it was to be a further step towards European unification beyond that taken by the Schuman Plan (which has now led to the creation of the European Coa and Steel Community); and (2) it was designed to meet the American pressure for the rearmament of Germany by providing a mechanism through which German military resources could be put to work in the defense of the five Western World without the danger involved in re-establishing a German national Army."

In the long period of negotiation since the Pleven Plan had been put forward, its basic concept had been considerably altered. The EDC Treaty (as signed by France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) did not provide for the creation of any European political authority to which the Army would be responsible. "The original plan had called for the incorporation of military units from the participating countries at the lowest possible organization level (conceived of as the combat team); under the present draft of the Treaty the national integrity of military forces is maintained through the level of the division so that the degree of integration is drastically limited."

During the past seventy-five years France had thrice been overrun by German armies. Therefore many Frenchmen were repelled by the suggestion of a European Army in which they or their sons might have to take orders from German Officers. Some Frenchmen feared that the European Army would come to be dominated by Germany and that a rearmed Germany might be tempted to regain her Eastern Territories by force and that, through the European Army, France might find herself an unwilling partner in such an adventure. So the French people were divided over the acceptance of the EDC.

The proponents of the EDC saw it as a means of bringing about German rearmament, which they regarded as inevitable, in a way which best guaranteed that German military might would not be used against France. It was looked upon as a step, although an imperfect one, toward the creation of an ultimate European federal union—and perhaps ultimately of an Atlantic Community; and as a means of safeguarding the defence of the West world.

The opposition to the Treaty (and it included Frenchmen **ranging in political** conviction from followers of General de Gaulle on the right to Communists on the left) proceeded from the following considerations:

> Many regarded the European army as an unworkable arrangement for organizing an effective defense against possible Communist aggression;
>
> Others were moved by patriotic reasons to deplore the disappearance of the French army and its glorious traditions;
>
> Some feared that since, under the EDC, the French Government would not have full authority over the army, it would prove difficult for France to police and defend her overseas territories such as, North Africa (this bore some relation to British reluctance to join the EDC because of Commonwealth commitments).
>
> Many—and that was perhaps the strongest basis for objection—feared that the influence of the French army units and the French commanders within the EDC would be overwhelmed by the greater influence of Germany. It was also believed that France, weakened by the continued drain of the Indo-Chinese war, would not be able to hold her own militarily within the framework of a European army.

Still other Frenchmen did not believe that the establishment of the European Defence Community would, in fact, lead to unification of Western Europe; they believed that the proposal was put forward out of order, that it should, in fact, be preceded by the adoption of a political authority, since otherwise it created a military force responsible to no supreme political power.

It is noted that the British promise to maintain a force on the European continent and similar assurances from President Eisenhower had strengthened the supporters of the EDC while undoubtedly the chances for its ratification had been weakened by a concentrated attack, led by the followers of General de Gaulle on one hand, and the Communists on the other.

"Obviously the question is one on which Frenchmen can hold differing views from motives equally sincere and patriotic," it concludes.

French Cost in Indo-China War

The Comite France Actuelle estimates on the basis of figures furnished by the Ministere des Etats Associes (Bureau Militaire) that the total French cost in the war in Indo-China, which had flared up in 1946, amounted to 5,478.860,000 dollars up to the end of 1953, while the total aid received by France under the Marshall Plan is estimated at 3,849 million dollars up to the end of 1952-53. Based on the invoices of equipment and supplies received American aid to Indo-China is valued as follows:

Year	U. S. aid to Indo-China (dollars)	Cost of Indo-China war (dollars)
1952	328.570 000	1,282.860,000
1953	354,290,000	1,171,430,000

It is added that American help in Indo-China increased greatly in 1954. In addition to financial help, other aid was given France in the form of delivery of American material.

The French army had committed 26 per cent of its entire officer force to the Indo-China war. The number of casualties had been agonizingly high for France; for the past four years France had lost as many officers as regularly graduated from St. Cyr, the French military academy.

The Case of Dr. Otto John

Dr. Otto John, Chief of the West German Intelligence authorities and head of the office for the Protection of (West German) Constitution, left his hotel in West Berlin on July 20 and crossed over to East Germany of his own accord. Dr. John said in his first broadcast speech from East Berlin on July 23 that his decision for leaving Western Germany grew out of his conviction that some "striking action is necessary in order to appeal to all Germans for an initiative for the reunion of Germany." He also referred to the growth of Nazi influence in the West German administration in a Press Conference in East Berlin on August 11. He declared that during his visit to the United States of America in June he had found "hysteria and preparations for war" and had become convinced that the American slogan for the Germans was: "Germans to the front."

The desertion of Dr. John, writes the Berlin correspondent of London *Times*, had caused great "dismay" in Western Germany, flowing "partly from an inevitable wave of moral insecurity which such an event sets in motion and partly also from the fear that he may tell his new hosts enough to destroy any system of security information from the Soviet zone which the Federal Republic may have been able to build up." (*Statesman*)

The *Times* in an editorial on August 12, under the caption, "A Personal Tragedy" writes that the reasons for Dr. John's going over to the Communist camp appeared to be more personal and indeed pathological and less political and ideological. A man with Dr. John's anti-Nazi liberal post could not be blamed for watching with anxiety the return to public offices of former Nazi officials. But to react in the way Dr. John had done was a gesture of despair, since by working in East Germany Dr. John would not be escaping the former Nazis, whose return to public offices had been sanctioned by Communist authorities.

The newspaper adds: "If the causes of Dr. John's desertion are personal, its consequences will clearly be far wider. Coming at a time when Dr. Adenauer faces resumed Russian pressure for German unity on Communist term and, even from within his own ranks, a noticeable increase in interest in the Russian offer, the example of a senior officer seeming to swallow the Russian bait, can only serve to weaken the Federal Government."

The newspaper thinks it important for that reason to "emphasise the essentially unrepresentative and subjective nature of his decision. It is a personal tragedy, with roots in the German past," writes the *Times*, "and should not be seen as a pointer to tendencies of political developments in Germany's future."

An appraisal of the Communist reaction was provided by the Communist columnist Jan Marek, who in an article in the *Cominform Journal* on August 20 sarcastically refers to Dr. Adenauer's statement that Dr. John's defection was not of much importance and writes that it was characteristic that Dr. John's statement that there were supplementary secret agreements attached to the EAC treaty had been denied by Adenauer five days before that statement had been made.

Election of New President of U.N.

The new President of the United Nations would be elected when the General Assembly met on September 21 next. The United States of America had nominated Prince Wan Waithyakon, Foreign Minister of Thailand, while Britain and several Western Euopean countries had indicated their approval of the candidature of Dr. Van Kleffeus of the Netherlands.

By convention a representative of Western Europe was to be the next President. India, however, had hardly anything to choose between the two.

Writing about the U. S. decision to support Prince Wan, the *Hitavada* points to the fact that the accession of Thailand to the Presidentship of the U. N. was not likely to arouse much enthusiasm among the free and uncommitted nations of Asia, though it might be a natural inclination on the part of the U. S. Government to oblige a pliant ally.

Thailand, the paper writes, was completely under

U. S. influence. She had already received 150 million dollar worth of U. S. aid in the post-war period. Recently there had been an agreement for sending U. S. military equipment to Thailand to the tune of $3 million. Already there was a 200-man U. S. military mission in the country.

University Presses in the U.S.A.

Mr. Victor Reynolds, President of the Association of American University Presses, writes that over the past 85 years, since 1869 when the first American University press had been established at Cornell University, the University presses of America had established themselves in the minds of American people as substantial publishers concerned with books of merit. According to Mr. Reynolds, the American University Presses had accounted for the publication of about ten per cent of the 12,000 new titles and new editions brought out in 1953.

The University presses were non-profit enterprises owned and operated under the aegis of Colleges and Universities. Their activities covered a wide range, though undoubtedly publication of scholarly books and monographs was considered as their most important duty. The largest presses in the USA were those at Columbia, Chicago and at Harvard followed by those at California, Princeton and at Yale.

The relatively well-established presses spent about 10 per cent on advertising. When a book was such that substantial sales could be expected, the University press shared that good fortune with the author on a standard royalty basis.

Viewpoints on International Affairs

Discussing and comparing the differing viewpoints held by Britain and the U.S.A. on international affairs, especially in relation to Communist China, *The Times* (August 5) says: "It is a mistake to minimize these differences since they are the outcome of tradition and geography and will recur. They are part of the raw material with which the Anglo-American alliance must deal, not a reason for despairing of the alliance's vitality.

"American condemnation of Communist China represents the firm conviction that Chinese Communists, and probably their Russian colleagues also, are people outside the borders of civilized law . . . To attempt to reach formal agreements with them as at Berlin and Geneva is probably at best a waste of time The only form of co-existence possible is the vigilant aloofness which the Roman Empire maintained against the Goths, Picts and other tribes beyond the *limes*.

"The British view, while no less wary of Communist intentions and no less ready to resist a clear case of Communist aggression, tends to oppose the concept of a world divided between the sheep and the g countries with which it is possible and impossible make agreements. . . . Some of the most durable British agreements, such as those with France in 1 Russia in 1907, have sprung out of conflict. On reasoning co-existence can be something more negative avoidance of war. Both points of view claim to be practical and based on commonsense.

After declaring that the two attitudes are the of two distinct historical traditions and that both "their obvious dangers," *The Times* ends by saying: the case of China, it should be possible to probe b emotions and discover a solid strategic ground where real interests of Britain and America coincide.

"That such a ground exists cannot be de Americans who think that Britain is soft towards C may have noticed how sternly the House of Co heard the news that China was ready to shoot planes without warning. And the British people think that some Americans are keen to have war China may have noticed how swiftly those Americ drew back the other day when Dr. Rhee suggested ing against China."

Defensive Alliance in the Balkans

The "treaty of alliance, political co-operation mutual assistance" signed at Bled, Yugoslavia, on Au 9 by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey, and Yu slavia formalizes a situation which has, in fact, e for 18 months. It is, none the less, important.

It was during 1952 that the menacing attitude their "Cominform" neighbours convinced the Governments that some form of defensive co-opera between them was essential. The outcome was "treaty of fritndship and co-operation" signed in A on February 28, 1953. This was decisive. It pro for close and regular consultation between the sig ries. There were clauses on economic, technical, educational co-operation. And there was agree for consultation between the three General Staffs.

On the military side, the result has been defensive plans for the contingency of possible a from the north have been worked out jointly. is no common command, no "integration" of the armies, as in the case of the North Atlantic Tr Organization (NATO) forces in Western Europe. for example, the Greek "order of battle" and mob tion plans are now based on the assumption of operation with the Yugoslavs in the defence of M donia and the Vardar valley and with the Turks in defence of Thrace.

There has thus been for some time what one call a *defacto* defensive alliance. But none of the partners had given any formal pledge to come to assistance of another in the event of its being attac They have now done so. The alliance is formal as as factual.

In its drafting, an obvious difficulty presented itself. It was easy to deal with the contingency of direct aggression. The formula is based on the pattern of the Atlantic Treaty. Aggression against one will be considered as aggression against all. The three pledge themselves that they will, "individually or collectively, render assistance to the party or parties attacked . . . including the use of armed forces which they shall deem necessary for efficacious defence."

But there is another possibility. Greece and Turkey, but not Yugoslavia, are members of NATO. Therefore a case might arise in which Greece and Turkey might find themselves involved in war, as a result of their obligation to come to the assistance of some other NATO member which had been attacked. But Yugoslavia would be under no such obligation.

The solution is a familiar one. Yugoslavia agrees that in such a contingency the three would "consult each other on measures to be taken . . . to meet the situation which would have thus been created in their area." More could not have been expected. The Greek and the Turks are very satisfied. So are the NATO countries.

But even so, the overall position is still complicated and not satisfactory. There are now, in free Europe, two defensive systems, two defensive allianes. One is NATO, the other this new Balkan system. Greece and Turkey form the link between them.

But there is still no machinery of consultation, no provision of any sort for any kind of eventual military co-operation between two systems. Any planning for such co-operation would, for obvious geographical reasons, primarily concern Yugoslavia and Italy. Because of the Trieste dispute, their relations forbid it. And that involves a dangerous weakness in what is again, for geographical reasons, a particularly vulnerable area—the area of the historic "Ljubljana gap."

Fortunately, the prospects for Italo-Yugoslav agreement on Trieste are better than they have ever been. There are still some stubborn points on which a compromise has to be found, and is not easy to find. But the need for agreement is an imperative one. And without being over-optimistic, one may hope that the next few weeks will see a settlement at last.

It should not be overlooked that the two treaties—of Ankara and Bled—do more than create a military alliance. They also provide for co-operation in other fields, political, economic, and cultural, between the three Governments—one of which is Communist, the others emphatically not Communist. This should provide a practical demonstration that not merely "peaceful co-existence" but fruitful collaboration is perfectly possible between countries which have radically different social and economic system—provided that they can rely on each other's peaceful intent, tolerance, and mutual respect.

S. E. Asian Defence Conference

The Times (August 16), commenting on the decision to hold a conference at Baguio, Philippines, in September "to strengthen the fabric of peace" in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific, says: "It can be taken for granted that Communist planners in the East are already looking beyond Laos and Cambodia to whatever opportunities lie to hand in Siam, Burma, and Malaya.

"Siam and Burma will come increasingly into the limelight, and next month's conference will have to examine the threat to the two great rice granaries of South-East Asia, with their wealth of natural resources. The prize is a rich one."

"As Burma holds the key to India, so Siam guards the gate to Malaya and Indonesia. Malaya, rich in rubber and tin, is at least as vital to the British Commonwealth as Manchuria's industrial complex is to China—and as vulnerable. With the recent changes in Indo-China, Siam now feels the influence of Communist power pressing closely round her borders. Nature offers no promising defensive line on which her armed forces could halt aggression, even with outside help.

"Three or four years ago the outlook in Burma seemed bleak. Today the picture is much brighter. U Nu's popular Left-wing Government is able to compete with Communist programmes and promises on equal, and even superior, terms. The republic has not won its independence from Western rule in order to become a satellite of China. Burma's fixed aim is to remain genuinely free of obligations to any single Power.

"This attitude of self-reliance seems naive, and even suspect, to many Americans, but it is sincere. Burma renounced much-needed American aid last year, and has resolutely stood apart from membership of any Far Eastern defence organization, because she is determined to steer an independent course between the rival groupings.

"At the same time, she has been impressed by Mr. Eden's efforts at Geneva, and her ties with Britain are growing stronger. Some link between a future South-East Asian security organization and Burma, of an economic (as opposed to military) nature, is not impossible, particularly if assistance can be funnelled through the Colombo Plan."

The Times continues: "Siam, having enjoyed full sovereignty much longer, is less sensitive about accepting help from others. She squarely places her trust in the United Nations and welcomes the shelter of Washington's wings. But Siam, too, makes a fetish of her independence. Field-Marshal Pibul has been more than willing to accept an American military mission and economic aid; he is unlikely to permit American or other foreign units to enter Siamese territory unless the Communists openly invade his country.

"Whether invasion comes will depend mainly upon the capacity of the Siamese Government to prevent unrest at home, particularly in the north-east. Outside Bangkok, people show little interest in national politics and are, generally, contented. Siam is a rich country by Asian standards, and there is no reason why living standards should not rise steadily provided that she can find markets for her agricultural products. The key to security here, as in Burma, is economic viability.

"For the free world, the stakes involved in Siam and Burma are large. Neither can be protected by military means, as Western Europe is protected within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the most important decisions to be taken this autumn will not be matters for the generals.

"It is probably desirable that a strategic reserve of Allied ground, naval, and air forces should be organized somewhere in the background, with a modest international headquarters, as an instrument of retaliation or rescue should the Communists openly make trouble in either country. That they will attempt it by subversive means is almost certain.

"The free world's aim must, therefore, be to ensure that each outbreak can be detected and dealt with promptly by the government concerned, and that neither poverty nor economic strain breeds discontent and hesitance. A defence organization, as such, is not the answer to this kind of problem."—L.P.S.

Commonwealth Development Finance Company

The Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd. came into being on the 24th March, 1953, with a share capital of $15 million following the announcement of its intended formation in the communique issued by the Commonwealth Economic Conference in December, 1952. The share capital was divided into 8,250,000 'A' ordinary shares subscribed by 91 industrial, mining, shipping and banking companies and firms in the United Kingdom, and 6,750,000 'B' ordinary shares subscribed by the Bank of England. In short, the company was an instrument of private enterprise formed with Government approval with substantial participation by the Bank of England, which was represented by one Director on the Board. The company acted on close co-operation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The main objects of the Commonwealth Development Finance Company (CDFC), states a memorandum attached with the first annual report of the company, "are to provide or procure financial facilities of all kinds for the development of the natural and other resources of any part of the Commonwealth. The role of CDFC is primarily to help the financing of development undertaken by private enterprise. CDFC does not, therefore, propose to take itself a direct part in such development, and special emphasis is laid on the provision of expert management by those already engaged in the enterprise concerned." Other conditions the fulfilment of which would enable applicants to ask for financial assistance from the CDFC were that the applicants should provide satisfactory evidence that they had provided a rea amount of money out of their own resources, a appropriate cases had raised as much as co reasonably expected through the normal channels and were still unable to raise the nec capital within the area in which the develop was taking place and that their projects reasonable prospects of being remunerative.

The memorandum further states that the C would tend not to invest too big a block of its in extremely large-scale projects, such as unlikely to yield a return for several years and probably better suited for Government finance.

"Public utilities and hydro-electric schemes at present considered appropriate fields for C participation only in certain conditions; pri that the projects must not only contribute the development of resources in the area but clearly and specifically assist in the improvem the balance of payments of the sterling area. Fin ing of transport, communication, harbour boards similar statutory undertakings would not norm regarded as suitable for CDFC participation." investment in other development corporations (considered it to be best for itself and the corp concerned to invest separately but in agreem particular project as was the case with the Sui Transmission Co., in which the Pakistan Ind Development Corporation as well as CDFC investing.

From the first annual report of the Com wealth Development Finance Company it app that up to the 31st March, 1954, the Company invested or negotiated the investment of approxim $5 million in three major Commonwealth Dev ment projects. A sum of £1 million had been cribed to the equality of the Sui Gas Trans Co. Ltd. in Pakistan. A loan of £2 million had b made to the Electricity Supply Commission of S Africa. Terms had been agreed in principle for loan—the contract was to be completed short £1½ million, with provision for an increase t million over the next two years, to the South Af Industrial Cellulose Corporation (Pty.) Ltd.

Other applications received during the year proved unsuitable for detailed consideration. report says that generally it might be said that able applications had not yet begun to come for in the volume which might have been antic This could partly be explained by the ignoran the functions of that new organization by pot borrowers, and partly by the fact that sound dev ment projects were already to a large extent b financed through other channels, whether by Gov ment finance, or through normal market channel through corporate investment in overseas subsi companies.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(1) Introductory : Preamble

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

In this article and the articles that will follow, I propose to deal with some of the salient features of our Constitution. I may, however, state here at the very outset that in these articles I shall not always use the term Constitution in a narrow, technical, and legalistic sense, meaning by it only the legal elements in it. Occasionally, I shall use it also in its usual sense, implying by it both its legal and non-legal (though not illegal) elements. As I have shown before, in this *Review,* in detail in another connexion,[1] the Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone. It is made up of what Professor Wheare[2] has rightly described as "constitutional rules of strict law" and "non-legal constitutional rules." What Maitland[3] has called "rules of constitutional morality, or the costumes or the conventions" of a Constitution, make up a substantial part of it. However, the context will indicate in what sense the term Constitution has been used by me in any particular place.

II

PREAMBLE

I shall first of all deal with the Preamble to our Constitution. Before, however, I do this, I shall refer to an interesting fact. In his recent work[4] entitled *Principles of Social and Political Theory,* which he has presented to "the reader" as "the testament" of his "old age," Professor Ernest Barker has printed the Preamble to our Constitution after the Table of Contents. In explaining his reason for this he has said in his Preface to the work :

> "It seemed to me, when I read it, to state in a brief and pithy form the argument of much of the book; and it may accordingly serve as a key-note."

This is, indeed, a high tribute from a very distinguished person to the political wisdom of the authors of our Constitution. I am not, therefore, surprised that a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava,[5] should speak of the Preamble in such enthusiastic terms as follows[6]:

> "The Preamble is the most precious part of the Constitution. It is the soul of the Constitution. It is a key to the Constitution. It is a proper yardstick with which one can measure the worth of the Constitution. All the 395 articles of the Constitution have to be measured with the yardstick of the Preamble and such provisions as stand the test of the Preamble are good and others should be taken as worthless. The fact is, Sir, that our Jawaharlal is to us, what his name suggests, a precious jewel. It is no surprise therefore that the Preamble which was drafted by him is also a jewel set in the Constitution. It is a superb prose poem, nay, it is perfection in itself. It is why my honourable friend Kamath failed to introduce his God into it, for in a perfect thing there is no scope for addition or alteration."

Now, what does the Preamble say? It solemnly declares :

> "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:
>
> JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
>
> LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
>
> EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
>
> and to promote among them all
>
> FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;
>
> In our CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this CONSTITUTION."

It may legitimately be asked in this connexion: What is the value of this Preamble so far as either the provisions of our Constitution or their interpretation are concerned? This leads us on to a legal point. According to *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes,*[7] a leading authority on the subject with which it deals:

> The Preamble of a statute "has been said to be a good means of finding out its meaning, and, as it were, a key to the understanding of it; and, as it usually states, or professes to state, the general object and intention of the legislature in passing the enactment, it may legitimately be consulted to solve any ambiguity, or to fix the meaning of words which may have more than one, or to keep the effect of the Act within its real scope, whenever the enacting part is in any of these respects open to doubt."
>
> But the preamble, it is added, "cannot either restrict or extend the enacting part (of a statute), when the language and the object and scope of the Act are not open to doubt."[8]

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[1] See my article entitled "Position of the President of India" in *The Modern Review* for June and December, 1950. and also for June, 1951.

[2] See K. C. Wheare, *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 4th Ed., pp. 1-5.

[3] See his *Constitutional History of England*, p. 398.

[4] First published (Oxford University Press) in 1951.

[5] East Punjab : General.

[6] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 18th November, 1949.

[7] See the Tenth Edition (1953, pp. 44-49) by G. Granville Sharp and Brian Galpin.

[8] See *Ibid.*

We also find in Justice Story:[9]

"The importance of examining the preamble, for the purpose of expounding the language of a statute, has been long felt, and universally conceded in all juridical discussions. It is an admitted maxim in the ordinary course of the administration of justice, that the preamble of a statute is a key to open the mind of the makers, as to the mischiefs which are to be remedied and the objects which are to be accomplished by the provisions of the statute . . . It is properly resorted to where doubts or ambiguities arise upon the words of the enacting part . . .

"There does not seem any reason why, in a fundamental law or constitution of government, an equal attention should not be given to the intention of the framers, as stated in the preamble. And accordingly we find that it has been constantly referred to by statesmen and jurists to aid them in the exposition of its provisions."

He has added,[10] however, writing in the Context of the American Constitution, that "the preamble never can be resorted to to enlarge the powers confided to the general government[11] or any of its departments."

> "It cannot confer any power *per se*; it can never amount, by implication, to an enlargement of any power expressly given. It can never be the legitimate source of any implied power, when otherwise withdrawn from the Constitution. Its true office is to expound the nature and extent and application of the powers actually conferred by the Constitution, and not substantively to create them."

Judges of our Supreme Court also appear to act on this view of the preamble of a statute as well as of our Constitution. Thus we find in the judgment[12] of Patanjali Sastri J., in *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras,* with reference to the appeal of the Counsel for the petitioner to the Preamble of our Constitution in support of a certain contention[13] of his:

> "There can be no doubt that the people of India have, in exercise of their sovereign will as expressed in the Preamble, adopted the democratic ideal which assures to the citizen the dignity of the individual and other cherished human values as a means to the full evolution and expression of his personality, and in delegating to the legislature, the executive and the judiciary their respective powers in the Constitution, reserved to themselves certain fundamental rights, . . . as in the American model . . . This has been translated into positive law in Part III of the Indian Constitution, and I agree that in construing these provisions the high purpose and spirit of the Preamble as well as the constitutional significance of a Declaration of Fundamental Rights should be borne in mind. This, how is not to say that the language of the pr should be stretched to square with this or constitutional theory in disregard of the rule of interpretation of any enactment, tutional or other, that its spirit, no less th intendment should be collected primarily fr natural meaning of the words used."

Again, we find in the judgment[14] of Mukherjea in *The State of West Bengal* v. *Anwar Ali Sarkar*

> "I agree with the learned Chief Justice Calcutta High Court that the express provi an enactment, if it is clear and unamb cannot be curtailed or extended with the the preamble to the Act. It is only wh object or meaning of the enactment is no that recourse can be had to the preamble explain it."

Further, a similar view[15] was expressed Chandrasekhar Aiyar J., in the course of his jud in the same case. He said:

> "If the scope or the meaning of the Ac doubtful, the preamble can be referred t ascertaining its extent and purpose. But whe operative parts of the Act are clear and th no ambiguity, the preamble cannot be allow control the express provisions."[16]

III

I shall now deal with some of the impl of the Preamble of our Constitution. Before, ho I do this, I may point out that the Preamble Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar rightly stated in Constituent Assembly of India[17] (to be refer hereinafter simply as the Constituent Ass "mainly founded on the Objectives Reso which had been moved in the Constituent Ass by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 13th Dece 1946, and adopted by it on 22nd January, 194 which ran as follows:[18]

"This Constituent Assembly declares its firm solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Indep Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her governance a Constitution:

(2) Wherein the territories that now co British India, the territories that now form Indian States, and such other parts of India as outside British India and the States as well as other territories as are willing to be constituted the Independent Sovereign India shall be a Uni them all; and

(3) Wherein the said territories, whether their present boundaries or with such others as be determined by the Constituent Assembly

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[9] See his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States,* 5th Edition, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 350-351.

[10] See *Ibid.*

[11] That is to say. the Federal Government of the United States.

[12] See *The Supreme Court Reports,* 1950, Vol. I, Parts II and III, pp. 197-99.

[13] See *Ibid.*

[14] See *The Supreme Court Reports,* 1952, Vol. III, P pp. 327-28.

[15] See *Ibid,* p. 353.

[16] Das J., expressed practically the same view in the of his judgment in the same case. See *Ibid,* p. 345.

[17] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 23rd N 1949, p. 834; also the Introductory Note of Dr. B. R. Amb *Draft Constitution of India,* 1948, p. iv.

[18] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 22nd Ja

> thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and
>
> (4) Wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and
>
> (5) Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic, and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and
>
> (6) Wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and
>
> (7) Whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and
>
> (8) This ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

It may be interesting to note here that as a mark of "the solemnity of the occasion and the greatness of the pledge and the promise which this Resolution" contained, the members of the Constituent Assembly stood up in their places, at the request of its President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and voted in favour of the Resolution.[19]

Let us now analyse the Preamble. As shown before, it declares in the first place:

> "We the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic . . . in our Constituent Assembly . . . do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

Now, what is the precise significance of the expression "We, the People of India"? To my mind, the expression implies that our Constitution has been duly enacted and adopted by the People of India, acting in its aggregate and sovereign capacity through the Constituent Assembly of India.[20] Further, it means that the whole nation, as it were, was supposed to be present within the walls of the Constitution Hall, New Delhi, where the Constituent Assembly held its deliberations. Shri H. V. Kamath hardly exaggerated the constitutional position of the Constituent Assembly when he said to it on 17th October, 1949, during the consideration of the Preamble:[21]

> "Here we are not individuals. Here we are all the people of India. . . . All that we have done here in this Assembly has been in the name and on behalf of the people of India."

Speaking of the constitutional position of the British Parliament, Bryce[22] has said:

> "Parliament is omnipotent because Parliament is deemed to be the people. Parliament is not a body with delegated or limited authority. The whole fulness of popular power dwells in it. The whole nation is supposed to be present within its walls. Its will is law; or, as Dante says in a famous line, 'its will is power'."

Whatever might be the fiction of law, this description of the British Parliament would, *mutatis mutandis,* equally apply, *as a matter of fact,* to the position of the Constituent Assembly of India on 26th November, 1949, when it finally adopted our Constitution. And what was virtually the constitutional position of this Assembly on that day became also legally so on 26th January, 1950, under Article 379(1) of our Constitution.

I may give one more illustration in this connexion. The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America also solemnly declares:

> "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Commenting on this, Justice Story[23] has observed that "the proper conclusion deducible from the" preamble is that the Constitution "is an act of the people, and not of the States in their political capacities;" that "it is an ordinance or establishment of government, and not a compact, though originating in consent;" that "we have the strongest assurances that this preamble was not adopted as a mere formulary, but as a solemn promulgation of a fundamental fact, vital to the character and operations of the government;" that "the obvious object was to substitute a government of the people for a confederacy of States; a constitution for a compact;" and that "the uniform doctrine of the highest judicial authority has accordingly been, that it (*i.e.,* the Constitution) was the act of the people, and not of the States; and that it bound the latter as subordinate to the people." Justice Story has also quoted in this connexion a view[24] of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Martin* v. *Hunter's Lessee* that

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[19] See *Ibid.*

[20] See in this connection Clause (4) of the Objectives Resolution quoted before.

[21] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th October, 1949, pp. 438-39.

[22] See his *American Commonwealth,* Vol. I. 1928, p. 252.

[23] See Story, *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 352-53.

[24] See Story, *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 318 and p. 353.

> "The Constitution of the United States was ordained and established, not by the States in their sovereign capacities, but emphatically, as the preamble of the Constitution declares, by the people of the United States."

Webster, another distinguished American publicist, is of the same opinion about the Constitution of the United States. He says[25] that

> The Constitution "is ordained and established *by the* People *of the United States*. So far from saying that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established *by the people of the several States*. But it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States in the aggregate. Doubtless the people of the several States, taken collectively, constitute the people of the United States. But it is in this their collective capacity, it is as all the people of the United States, that they establish the Constitution."

What Justice Story, the American Supreme Court, and Webster have said in regard to the question of the source of the Constitution of the United States, does equally apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to that of the source of the Constitution of India. That is to say, the Indian Constitution, too, is, as noted before, an act of the sovereign people of India in its collective capacity. It follows from this as a corollary that any attempt at secession from the Indian Union on the part of any section of its population or any territory thereof, will be a highly illegal act and will have to be dealt with as such. Nor has any such section or territory any "right of nullification" in respect of any law of the Indian Union which is within the legislative competence of the Parliament of India and which it has duly enacted. I, therefore, fully agree with the view[26]—though not exactly with the reasoning—of Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India, that no State of the Indian Union has any "right to secede from it" and that the Union is "indestructible."[27] I feel, however, that it would perhaps have been much better and more expedient if Clause (1) of Article 1 of our Constitution had been worded as follows:

"India, that is Bharat, shall be an indissoluble[28] Union of States."

A critic may, however, argue against the position we have taken in the preceding pages that the members of the Indian Constituent Assembly were directly elected by the people of India on the basis of an adult suffrage, and, therefore, any decision taken by them in the said Assembly could legitimately be construed as a decision "in the name and on behalf of the people of India." There is undoubtedly some force in this argument in view of the fact that the members of the Constituent Assembly were, under what is known as the Cabinet Mission Plan[29] of 16th May, 1946, indirectly elected, practically, by Provincial Legislative Assemblies constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935. Moreover, the franchise for election to these Assemblies was restricted to 14 per cent[30] of the total population of British India. As a matter of fact, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy of India were faced with this problem in 1946 in connexion with their proposal for the formation of the constitution-making machinery to be brought into being for working out a new Constitution for India.

> "In forming any assembly to decide a new constitutional structure," they observed, "the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new constitution. The only practicable course[31] is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies."[32]

They adopted this course and thus solved the problem they had been faced with in connexion with their proposal for the creation of a representative Constitution-making machinery. I think that they adopted the right course in the then circumstances of India. The formation of a Constitution-making body on the basis of an adult suffrage would have entailed a considerable delay—a delay which might prove dangerous in many ways in those days.

We have, however, a precedent for this in the constitutional history of the United States. The invitation to the Convention at Philadelphia which was held "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles" of the Confederation of the United States (1781-1788), but which prepared, with "admirable boldness," "a wholly new Constitution" in 1787, had not specified how the delegates of the Convention from the different States of

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[25] See *Ibid*, pp. 263-64.

[26] See *the .Constituent Assembly Debates* of 4th November, 1948, p. 43.

[27] Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, another member of the Drafting Committee, has expressed the same view so far as the acceding Indian States are concerned, "The Constitution," he has said, "does not permit the States which have acceded to the Union to secede from it. Their association with the Union is inseparable and they have become an integral part of the Indian Union. There is no going back." See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 23rd November, 1949.

[28] This word occurs in the Preamble to the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900.

[29] See paras. 17-18 of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16th May, 1946.

[30] See the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1934, London, para. 126.

[31] In one version this word is "alternative."

[32] See *Papers relating to the Cabinet Mission to India* (Manager of Publications, Delhi).

Confederation were to be chosen. But what actually happened was that "in all cases," says Professor Munro, "the appointments were made by the State legislature, or by the governor under authority given by the legislature." "In no case were the delegates to the constitutional convention of 1787 directly elected by the people," and "many of them were sent with specific instructions to revise the Articles (of the Confederation) and do nothing else."[33]

It may be argued against this view that the draft Constitution framed in 1787 by the Philadelphia Convention provided, by its last Article, for its ratification by conventions of the several States of the Confederation (*i.e.*, by bodies to be specially chosen by the people[34] for the purpose), but that there is no provision in the Constitution of India for its formal ratification either by its people or by its constituent units. This is true. But it may be urged against this view that, in the first place, the position in 1949-50 of many of the so-called constituent units of the proposed Indian Union was not analogous to that of the States of the American Confederation in 1787-88; that, secondly, all the nine States[35] specified in Part B of the First Schedule to the proposed Constitution of India, including the State of Hyderabad, had signified their acceptance of the Constitution before it was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th November, 1949;[36] and that, lastly, and this is most important, the participation by the electorate as well as by different political parties in the last General Election in India, which was held on the basis of an adult suffrage, indirectly established beyond doubt the acceptance of the Constitution by the people by this country.

I shall now say a few words in regard to the expression "Sovereign Democratic Republic" in the Preamble. The corresponding expression in the Objectives Resolution referred to before, was "Independent Sovereign Republic." It was changed into "Sovereign Democratic Republic" by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly. In justification of the change Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, stated in his Introductory Note[37] to *Draft Constitution of India*:

> "The Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in January, 1947, declares that India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic.[38] The Drafting Committee has adopted the phrase Sovereign Democratic Republic, because independence is usually implied in the word 'Sovereign,' so that there is hardly anything to be gained by adding the word 'Independent'."

We agree that the words "Sovereign Independent" or "Independent Sovereign" are somewhat tautological. And we should, in a constitutional document like the Constitution of India, certainly aim at some economy and precision in the choice of words. But is not the expression "Sovereign Democratic Republic" also somewhat tautological? One can understand the use of such an expression as "a Sovereign Republic," or "a Sovereign Democracy," or even "a Sovereign Democratic State." But the term "Sovereign Democratic Republic" is apparently tautological, if not also a little slovenly. Whatever may have been the etymological[39] meaning of the term "Republic," usage has given to it a definite signification in political terminology. According to the *New English Dictionary*:[40]

> The term "Republic" means a "State in which the supreme power rests in the people and their elected representatives or officers, as opposed to one governed by a King or a similar ruler."

It is true that the term also means "the State" of "Commonwealth" simply. Presumably, this latter meaning was not intended by the authors of the Draft Constitution. If they had really done so, they might have used the word "State" or "Commonwealth" straightway. It may, therefore, be assumed that the word "Republic" was used in its usual sense. If it be so, as is very likely, then the adjective "Democratic" seems to be rather unnecessary. According to the same Dictionary, the word "Democratic" means "of the nature of, or characterised by, democracy." And the term "Democracy" has been defined by it as a "Government by the people: that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them." In view of this, the expression "Democratic Republic" appears to be an avoidable tautology, and there is not much to be gained, *speaking politically,* by inserting the adjective "Democratic" before the word "Republic."

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[33] See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Edition, pp. 30-31; also Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, Chap. III; also Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., pp. 23-24.

[34] The suffrage, according to Bryce, "was then a limited one, based on property"—See Bryce, *Op. cit.*, p. 25, foothote 2.

[35] Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, and Vindya Pradesh.

[36] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 26th November, 1949, p. 983.

[37] This Note was addressed to the President of the Constituent Assembly of India on 21st February, 1948.

[38] The exact form as shown in the text above, was 'Independent Sovereign Republic.'

[39] Etymologically speaking, the word Republic (Res-Publica) means "the public affair," "the public thing," or, even, as Thomas Paine has said, "the public good." Therefore, in a sense, any form of government which genuinely tries to promote the public good may be considered republican. This is, perhaps, the reason why Thomas Paine has said in his *Rights of Man* (Part II, Chap. III) that "what is called a *republic* is not any *particular form* of government." And Rousseau has stated in his *Social Contract* (Tozer's Edition, pp. 132-33) :

"I . . . call any State a republic which is governed by laws, under whatever form of administration it may be; for then only does the public interest predominate and the commonwealth count for something. Every legitimate government is republican."

Further :

"I do not mean by this word (*i.e.*, by the word 'republican') an aristocracy or democnacy only, but in general any government directed by the general will, which is the law. To be legitimate, the government must not be combined with the sovereign power, but must be its minister: then monarchy itself is a republic."

(It may be noted here that, according to Rousseau, that is law which 'combines the universality of the will with the universality of the object.' That is to say, it must come from the people and must look to the interests of the people. Moreover, "every law which the people in person have not ratified is invalid; it is not a law.")

What Rousseau insists on here is that the supreme power must be in the hands of the people. If that is accepted, then the form of the government is immaterial. I do not think, however, that the Drafting Committee of our Constituent Assembly or the Assembly itself used the term "Republic" either in the sense of Thomas Paine or in the sense of Rousseau. As stated in the text, it appears to have used the word in its usual sense.

[40] *New English Dictionary.*

But, perhaps, the word "Democratic" has been used not merely in its political sense but also in its social and economic sense. And this appears from the purposes of our Constitution as set forth in the Preamble. These purposes are to secure to all the citizens of India:

> (1) Justice, social, economic and political;
> (2) Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
> (3) Equality of status and of opportunity; and
> (4) To promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

The first three of the purposes practically occur in the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly referred to before. The fourth purpose was added by the Drafting Committee of the Assembly. Thus we find in the Intoductory Note[41] of Dr. Ambedkar to *Draft Constitution of India*:

> "The (Drafting) Committee has added a Clause about fraternity in the preamble, although it does not occur in the Objectives Resolution. The Committee felt that the need for fraternal concord and goodwill in India was never greater than now and that this particular aim of the new Constitution should be emphasised by special mention in the preamble."

We also find in a speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 13th December, 1946, in connexion with the Objectives Resolution moved by him:[42]

> "Some friends have raised the question: 'Why have you not put in the word 'democratic' here (*i.e.,* in the Objectives Resolution)?'[43] . . . Obviously, we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than a democracy . . . We stand for democracy . . . The House will notice that in this Resolution. although we have not used the word 'democratic,' because we thought it obvious that the word 'republic' contains the meaning of that word and we did not want to use unnecessary words and redundant words, but we have something much more than using the word have given the content of democracy in Resolution and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so, of economic democracy in this Resolution."

Indeed, democracy in the political sphere really no meaning for the common man unless accompanied by democracy both in the social and the economic sphere.

> "We must," rightly says Rabindranath in the course of his lecture on *Nationalism* in "remember whatever weakness we cherish in society will become the source of danger politics. The same inertia which leads us to idolatry of dead forms in social institutions create in our politics prison-houses with imm walls. The narrowness of sympathy which makes possible for us to impose upon a considerable portion of humanity the galling yoke of inferiority will assert itself in our politics in creating tyranny of injustice."
>
> "When our nationalists" he further observes "talk about ideals they forget that the basis nationalism is wanting. The very people who upholding these ideals are themselves the conservative in their social practice. Nationalists say, for example, look at Switzerland where, in of race differences, the peoples have solidified a nation. Yet, remember that in Switzerland races can mingle, they can intermarry, because they are of the same blood. In India, there is common birthright. And when we talk of Western Nationality we forget that the nations there not have that physical repulsion, one for the that we have between different castes."
>
> "Have we," he then asks in all seriousness "an instance in the whole world where a people are not allowed to mingle their blood shed blood for one another except by coercion or mercenary purposes? And can we ever hope these moral barriers against our race amalgama tion will not stand in the way of our political unity?"

Indeed, it is idle to hope that we can "build political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand social slavery."[47]

Nor can democracy properly function in a State if there are great disparities of wealth in it.

> "Political equality . . . is never real," observes Professor Laski,[48] "unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, otherwise. is bound to be the handmaid of economic power."

Nor, again, can we hope for peace, harmony, goodwill, and stability in a State if there are inequalities of wealth in it.

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[41] Dated 21st February, 1948. See foot-note 37 above.

[42] See *Independence and After : Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru (1946-1949)*. The Publications Division, Govt. of India, p. 349.

[43] The word "Democratic" did not occur in the Resolution.

[44] See his *Nationalism*, Macmillan, pp. 123-24.

[45] See *Ibid.*

[46] See *Ibid*, p. 124.

[47] See *Ibid*, p. 122.

[48] See his *Grammar of Politics*, p. 162.

"The most common and durable source of factions," says James Madison,[49] "has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold, and those who are without property, have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination."

Professor Laski, therefore, hardly exaggerates when he says that

"A community divided into rich and poor is, when the latter are numerous, built upon foundations of sand;"[50] that "is a society of economic unequals, gross unequalities make conflict inherent in its foundations" (*sic.*); that "the factor of consent is not likely effectively to operate in any society where there is a serious inequality of economic condition"; and that "the absence of such consent is, in the long run, fatal to social peace."[51]

Nor, further, should we ignore here the serious warning of Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Dealing, in the course of his concluding speech on the Draft Constitution of India, with what he considered to be the conditions for a successful democracy in this country, he solemnly warned[52] on 25th November, 1949, that we must not "be content with mere political democracy."

"We must," he continued, "make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy."

"We must," he further observed,[53] "begin by acknowledging the fact that there is (a) complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some a degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. On the 26th of January, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

Dr. Ambedkar laid a special stress in his speech on "the recognition of the principle of fraternity." "What does fraternity mean," he asked.

"Fraternity," he said,[54] "means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians . . . It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life . . . I remember the days when politically-minded Indians resented the expression 'the people of India.' They preferred the expression 'the Indian nation.' I am of opinion that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can (a) people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? The sooner we realize that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word, the better for us. For then only we shall realize the necessity of becoming a nation and seriously think of ways and means of realizing the goal . . . These castes are anti-national. In the first place because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint."

"These are," he stated in conclusion,[55] "my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some. But there can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are . . . only beasts of burden . . . This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed to devolve (develop ?) into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a House divided against itself cannot stand very long. Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance for (of?) its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stress on them."

The importance of these observations, their obvious sincerity, the position of their author in the Indian society, and the solemnity of the occasion on which they were made, are our justification for quoting them at length here. We may also note in this connexion that Article 38 of our Constitution has laid down that

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[49] See *The Federalist*, No. X.

[50] See Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, p. 176.

[51] See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 1948, p. 174 and pp. 186-87.

[52] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 25th Nov., 1949.

[53] See *Ibid.*

[54] See *Ibid.*

[55] See *Ibid.*

"The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life."

And under Article 36 of the Constitution, taken along with Article 12 thereof, the term "State" here "includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

Now, going back to the question of the justifiability of the use of the word "Democratic," we may say that, in view of what we have shown above, particularly with regard to the purposes of our Constitution, there may be some justification for the insertion of the word "Democratic" before the word "Republic," if, as is very likely, the word "Democratic" has, as hinted before, been used not merely in its political sense but also in its social and economic sense.

IV

I have dealt above with the main implications of the Preamble to our Constitution except with regard to one point. Before, however, I take up this point, I may say a word or two in regard to the questions of formal termination of British rule in India and inauguration of the Republic of India. As I have stated in another place,[56] at a solemn ceremony, held on 26th January, 1950, in the Durbar Hall of the Government House at New Delhi, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, India's last Governor-General, read a Proclamation announcing the birth of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India as contemplated by the Constitution of India adopted by our Constituent Assembly on 26th November, 1949, and by this very act laid down his own office as Governor-General of India and His Britannic Majesty's Representative in this country. Dr. Rajendra Prosad was then sworn in as the first President of the Indian Republic.

The Proclamation which Shri C. Rajagopalachari read as the last Governor-General of India, ran as follows:

> "Whereas the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, adopted, enacted and gave to themselves on the 26th day of November, 1949, in their Constituent Assembly the Constitution of India;
>
> "And whereas it has been declared by the said Constitution that India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States, comprising within the Union the territories which were hitherto the Governors' Provinces, the Indian States and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces;
>
> "'And whereas this, the 26th day of January, 1950' has been fixed for the commencement of the said Constitution;
>
> "Now, therefore, it is hereby proclaim on and from this, the 26th day of Janu India, that is Bharat, shall be a Sovereign cratic Republic, and the Union and its con units, the States, shall exercise all powe functions of Government and administrati accordance with the provisions of th Constitution."

Thus this Proclamation formally ended rule in India and, along with it, the office of Go General of India. Moreover, it formally inaug the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India o January, 1950, and thus snapped the link th hitherto existed between this country and the C of England. Regard being had to all this, it is to agree with those people who maintain—let us honestly—that in view of its continued mem of what is known as the Commonwealth of N India is still a Dominion within the British Co wealth. We really wonder how this view ca seriously held by anybody after the formal te tion of British rule in India and the public inau tion of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of I on 26th January, 1950! The Republican Status the Dominion Status are incompatible expre We, therefore, fully agree with those who ma that India is a Sovereign Republic in the same in which, say, France or the United States of A is a Sovereign Republic. It is completely fr determine its own foreign policy as well as its do tic policy in any way it likes. Thus, it has, a Sovereign State, "a right to live its life in its way, so long as it keeps itself rigidly to itself" does not interfere with the similar right on the of other States to live their life in their own Mr. Allen, the American Ambassador to India, been reported[57] to have said in New York on April, 1954, that Mr. Nehru's refusal to p American planes to fly over India on their wa Indo-China "did not come as any surprise be India has followed a very strict policy of pro troops or military supplies flying across her ter He (Mr. Nehru) invoked this ruling against Dutch six years ago and *against the Brit*[58] Malaya.[59] He has repeatedly said to Parliament[60] he will not permit anybody to violate I neutrality. This does not mean I condone this but I expected it." This is a proof of the sov status of India as a political entity. Moreover, *owes no allegiance* to the British Crown today; *has it anything to do* with the sovereignty of British Parliament now. And this has been the tion ever since the 26th of January, 1950, the of the commencement of the present Constitu India.

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[56] See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. LXVIII, Serial No. 131, p. 70.

[57] See *The Statesman*, Calcutta, of 1st May, 1954.

[58] The italics are ours.

[59] Pandit Nehru has officially been the Prime Mi India since the 15th of August, 1947.

[60] At New Delhi.

In this connexion I may briefly refer to the Agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London in April, 1949. In an article entitled "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," published in a previous issue[61] of this *Review*, I have dealt with what then appeared to me to be the true nature of the Agreement so far as India was concerned. I do not propose to repeat here what I have already said in that article. I should only like to say that I still adhere to my views as set forth in it. I agree that there is some difficulty in reconciling the status of India as a *sovereign* Republic with the position of the King or the Queen of England, as the case may be, as the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations of which the republican India is a member, along with others the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth has not, however, been changed by the Agreement and who, therefore, still owe allegiance to the (British) Crown. And in this respect the Agreement has created, so far as the Indian Republic is concerned, a rather anomalous position. But this does not imply that India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, purely on a voluntary basis and certainly as a matter of political expediency,[62] means that it also continues, even after it has publicly, solemnly, and unequivocally declared itself to be a *sovereign Republic,* to be a part of the *British Empire,* or that it, in effect, still remains a *Dominion.* Such a view is, to my mind, perverse and, speaking constitutionally, definitely wrong. As we have stated before,[63] the Head of the Commonwealth has, under the Agreemnt, only symbolic status and has no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned. The Agreement has no legal implications; nor is the Commonwealth a Super-State. The Headship of the Commonwealth, it has been rightly held, "is only a courtesy arrangement devoid of any constitutional significance." India can secede from the Commonwealth whenever it wants to do so. Nothing can prevent it. There is no legal, nor even a moral, bar to it. What really matters is the interest of India and nothing else. Thus the Agreement has provided for a free association, and for occasional consultation, for mutual advantages, between the sovereign Republic of India, the United Kingdom, and the Dominions, without any commitment whatsoever on the part of this country. Nor is India tied, as a result of the Agreement, to any Power Bloc or, as is often alleged by some people, to the "chariot wheel of British Imperialism." As Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru said[64] in the Constituent Assembly on 17th May, 1949, "India knows what her interests are and has the courage to pursue a policy even in opposition to that of stronger nations." This has been amply demonstrated on several occasions since the Agreement was reached in April, 1949.

Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, therefore, was perfectly right when he said[65] in the Constituent Assembly on 17th May, 1949, in connexion with Pandit Nehru's motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement:

> "India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic, both in her internal affairs and external relations. The Crown will have no place whatever either in the internal relations or in the external relations. The President of the Union will represent India both in the internal spheres and in external relations. We do not require any credentials either by or in the name of the British Crown for transacting our business with foreign countries. In matters of war, in peace, in trade relations, we will be masters of our household. There will be no economic entanglements of any kind. So far as the Dominions are concerned, both India and the Dominions are at arm's length. India will be entitled to pursue a foreign policy which is suited to the best interests of India."

Again:[66]

> "The republican status of India is in no way affected at all in the external sphere or in the internal sphere and the position of the President (of India) will in no way be affected. . . . Supposing the King of England visits India, he will not get any kind of priority or precedence over our President. Our President would be the representative of India and the King of England will have no sort of precedence over him in spite of the fact that he may be the link of the Commonwealth of Nations within the limits of India or in any other place. In other places, including the Dominions and England, the Prrsident will have the rank of an independent sovereign."

Finally:[67]

> "I am also quite clear on this point that so far as India is concerned, there is no commitment of any kind . . . The point to note is that we have no commitment to enter into any power bloc . . . Under these circumstances, I think to have friends with whom you can discuss things without any commitments is a great advantage, unless you want to live in isolation in the complicated world of the present day."

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[61] See *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.

[62] "I think," said Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru on 17th May, 1949, in connexion with Pandit Nehru's motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement, "there can be no greater mistake than imagining that because our status is equal to that of any other nation, our stature, our political position in the world, is also equal to that of the bigger and more advanced nations. It is obviously to the benefit of the Commonwealth that India should continue to be a member of it; but it is no less obvious that India's economic, defence and scientific interests require that she should remain in the Commonwealth at least for some time."—See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17h May, 1949.

Also see in this connexion. the speeches of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Mr. Frank Anthony in the Constituent Assembly on 17th May, 1949.

[63] See my article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.

[64] In connexion with Pandit Nehru's motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement, see the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th May, 1949.

[65] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th May, 1949.

[66] See *Ibid.*

[67] See *Ibid.*

Nor should we ignore in this connexion that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself stated in the Constituent Assembly on May 16th and 17th, 1949, in support of his motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement.[68] Among other things, he said:

> "India by becoming a Republic goes outside the Crown area completely . . . So far as the Republic of India is concerned, her Constitution and her working are concerned, she has nothing to do with any external authority, with any King, and none of her subjects owe any allegiance to the King or any other external authority . . . There is no law behind the Commonwealth. It has not even the formality which normally accompanies treaties. It is an agreement by free will, to be terminated by free will . . . The King has no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth itself, as such, is not a body, if I may say so; it has no organization through which to function and the King also can have no functions."

Further:

> "Apart from certain friendly approaches to one another, apart from a desire to co-operate, which will always be conditioned by each party deciding on the measure of co-operation and following its own policy, there is no obligation. There is hardly any obligation in the nature of commitments . . . the King has no functions at all . . . We join the Commonwealth, obviously because we think it beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain there, because they think it is beneficial to them, It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations of the Commonwealth and therefore they join. At the same time, it is made perfectly clear that each country is completely free to go its own way; it may be that they may go, sometimes so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. In the world today where there are so many disruptive forces at work, where we are often on the verge of war, I think it is not a safe thing to encourage the breaking up of any association that one has . . . Politically we are completely independent. Economically we are as independent as independent nations can be. Nobody can be 100 per cent independent in the sense of absolute lack of inter-dependence . . . India has to depend on the rest of the world for her trade, for her commerce and for many supplies that she needs . . . the Commonw not come in the way of our co-operati friendship with other countries."
>
> "Finally," Pandit Nehru declared, " world context, it (*i.e.*, the Commonwealt something that encourages and helps peace, to extent I do not know; and, of course, i thing which in no way binds this country to any country. It is open to this Ho Parliament at any time to break this link, i so choose. Not that I want that link brok I am merely pointing out that we have no the future down in the slightest. The future free as air and this country can go any chooses. If it finds this way is a good way, stick to it; if not, it will go some other wa we have not bound it down."

On another occasion, Pandit Nehru said:

> "The Republic of India has nothing with England constitutionally or lega course, there are normal bonds that exist be two countries that have mutual dealings i economic or cultural sphere . . . I do no our membership of the Commonwealth has our policy in the slightest . . . It is ope to be associated in an alliance with any co We have avoided alliances which might e us . . . Our association with the Commo is remarkable in that it does not bind us d any way whatsoever and, if I may repeat, not done so during the last two or three either. It has given us certain advantages w our having to accept any liabilities in return Our membership of the United Nations is greater limitation than our association wi Commonwealth of Nations. In fact, the l almost an airy association, because it i written down on paper or in any constitu anywhere else; so long as we wish to be we can remain there."

These views of Pandit Nehru as India's P Minister as well as the views of Pandit Hriday Kunzru and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar as before, are entitled to our respectful conside Notwithstanding the anomaly previously refer the nature of the Commonwealth is, as I have before,[70] that of a mere alliance, without any c ment, for mutual advantages, between the so Republic of India, the United Kingdom and Dominions. It is, to my mind, nothing else.

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[68] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 16th and 17th May, 1949; also *Independence and After*: *Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru* (1946-49), pp. 265-91; also my article "The Commonwealth Agreement and India" in *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.

[69] In the course of a speech in Parliament (the the People) on 12th June, 1952, on India's Foreign P *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, 1949-1953, pp. 218-23. (Th cations Division, Government of India).

[70] See my article in *The Modern Review* for Febr

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GUATEMALA

By Dr. H. L. SAXENA

The Eisenhower-Dulles Administration in the United States of America has just succeeded in supplanting a pro-Communist Government in Guatemala, the biggest of the five States forming Central America. Whether this change will prove to be a lasting one appears to be very doubtful, if we go into the past history of this small State, which is full of revolutions and counter-revolutions at very frequent intervals.

Central America, which is the connecting link between the two continents of North America and South America, has a very hoary past, and a great history. Like the rest of the Americas, this part of the Western Hemisphere was also inhabited by its aboriginals, now generally covered by the general term "Negro," generally used by the Whites for all dark-skinned races, from the Latin word *niger* meaning "black." It has had a sufficiently advanced culture and civilisation of its own, known as Maya, a linguistic term which included a large number of tribes speaking different dialects spread over a wide area. The high level of its culture is characterised by proficiency in architecture, stone-carving, pottery and textile arts in its earliest phases. It possessed an elaborate hieroglyphic script as well as a complicated calendar of its own.

GUATEMALA CONQUERED

Guatemala. which forms the most important State in Central America, was in its original form called Quauhtematan, a name probably of Aztec origin, meaning the "Land of the Eagle." It was ruled efficiently and well by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country for several centuries before Christ, but this rule came to an end when some adventurers from Spain under Pedro de Alvarado conquered it between 1522 and 1524 A.D., and the Spaniards uprooted the ancient Maya culture altogether within a short time. Now the religion of the people as a whole is Roman Catholic, although the population is only one per cent White. According to the preliminary figures available of the 1950 census, the total population of Guatemala was 27,87,030, of whom 66 per cent were of the original Maya descent, 33 per cent mixed Indian and Spanish blood and 1 per cent white. The official language is Spanish, though many speak their Indian dialects, numbering about 18. The total area of the State is 45,452 square miles.

DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS

Central America was discovered by Christopher Columbus while on his voyage of discovery of India. After he had discovered North America he skirted the whole of the eastern coast of Central America in the hope of thus succeeding in finding the strait to the China Seas which he believed existed just beyond the barrier of the Great Continent of America which he had only recently revealed to the people of Europe.

On this voyage, in 1502, Christopher Columbus founded Costa Rica as the first European Colony in Central America, and he left behind his brother, Bartholomew Columbus, in command ; but, soon after his departure, the people there revolted against this foreign domination and dispersed the Colony, compelling those who escaped to rejoin Christopher Columbus. But Costa Rica was reconquered in 1513 by Pedro Arias de Avila for Spain.

In 1522 Hernando Cortes led an army into Guatemala from Mexico in the north through the jungle wilderness, but it was only his lieutenant and representative named Pedro de Alvarado who could conquer this territory. He was stoutly opposed by the people of the highland and a terrible battle was fought near Quezaltenango between the local people and the Spaniard foreigners, but in this battle the local people were defeated decisively.

The conquest of the other Central American provinces was largely perfunctory, little opposition being encountered excepting on the Caribbean coast, where the Carib people were virtually exterminated by the White men from Spain. The whole region from Mexico in the north to Panama in the south was thus made part of the viceroyalty of New Spain or Mexico. It was later re-organised as a captaincy-general of Guatemala, which included the whole of the present-day Central America and a portion of Mexico.

Central America declared itself independent of Spain, with little bloodshed, on September 15, 1821, and almost immediately thereafter it came under the domination of the Emperor Iturbide of Mexico and became part of his Empire. But, the Mexican Empire was overthrown two years later, when the autonomy of Central America returned to its own people, the Mexicans retaining the former Guatemala territory now incorporated in the recognised national boundaries, long regarded as a Guatemalan "irredenta." The name Guatemala was then applied to the region formerly included in 10 of the 15 provinces, *i.e.*, Chiapas was retained by Mexico, and the provinces of Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica became separate States.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

A Central American Union was then formed on July 1, 1823, including all the five States as provinces. It was at first dominated by the conservative elements of Guatemala, including the clergy and Spanish administrators. But this Union could not last long, as a bitter struggle developed between the Guatemalan conservatives led by Rafael Carrera, who wanted his State of Guatemala to secede from the Union, and the Federalists or Liberals led by Francisco Morazan, of Honduras, who stood strongly for continuance of the Union.

Morazan became dictator of the Federation of Central America in 1832 and continued in that capacity till 1842. While in this post, he resorted to force to maintain the Union after 1838, when Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica seceded. But, in the following year, Carrera came to power in Guatemala and he withdrew his State from the Union in 1939, thus leading to its dissolution. Morazan tried to reduce Guatemala to submission, and a battle ensued between him and Carrera, in which Morazan was defeated and forced into exile. He, however, returned shortly afterwards and once again tried to revive the Union, but was captured in the attempt and exiled in Honduras in 1842.

INDEPENDENT GUATEMALA

Carrera then continued as Dictator of Guatemala until 1851, and as President thereafter till his death in 1865. During this long period, he restored the power of the Church, and suppressed Liberalism and union throughout Central America. In 1851, he defeated the Federalist forces from Honduras and Salvador at La Arada, near Chiquimula, close to the Honduras frontier. The struggle for the domination of Central America went on, with Carrera supporting the conservative and clerical forces. At one time, he was supported by Costa Rica and Nicaragua as well, and he occupied San Salvador in the course of a campaign which resulted in his becoming the dominant figure and virtual power behind the governments of all the five Central American States.

After his death in April 1865, he was succeeded by Gen. Cerna. But liberal elements of Guatemala grew in strength after Carrera's death and in May, 1871, President Cerna was deposed, followed shortly afterwards by the exile of the archbishop and the Jesuits. And, in 1873, the Liberal leader, Justo Rufino Barrios was elected President. He was a militant advocate of the Central American Union, and he revived efforts to reform the Union in 1876. He sought to impose it by arms when his peaceful overtures failed. He accordingly invaded Salvador in 1885, but was killed in battle on April 2, 1885.

He was succeeded by Gen. Manuel Barillas, who quickly made peace with Salvador and the other three Central American States. In 1892, General Jose Maria Reina Barrios was elected President, was re-elected in 1897 but was assassinated on February 8, 1898, when the Vice-President Morales assumed the Presidentship. But Manuel Estrada Cabrera was elected as President later in the same year, and he continued in office by frequent re-elections, until April 1920, when he was forced to resign in the face of a revolutionary movement which had spread to the National Assembly.

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATORS

In 1902, a move of considerable significance i tral American history took place, when represe of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvad at Corinto in Nicaragua and set up a Tribunal o tral American arbitrators for the settlement o State disputes by peaceful means.

Four years later, in 1906, Gen. Manuel B ex-President of Guatemala, invaded Guatem soon Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras were against Cabrera, with Nicaragua inactive b friendly. The situation soon assumed seriou portions, and a war between Guatemala and S appeared imminent, but the U.S. President, T Roosevelt, and the Mexican President Diaz, inte and saved the crisis.

This was followed by a fresh treaty being up, this time between Costa Rica, Honduras, S and Guatemala, according to which the Presid the United States and Mexico were accepted a pires in any future inter-State disputes. Th signed on September 15, 1906, at San Jose in Rica. But Nicaragua did not become a party t pact, and its President, Jose Santos Zelaya, d to join it.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

In 1907, President Zelaya of Nicaragua g volved in a controversy with Honduras in con with revolutionary activities in the ill-defined b land between the two States. Nicaragua was p to have arbitration by a commission of C Americans under the Corinto Plan, but H wanted arbitration by the American and M Presidents under the San Jose Plan. As no agr could be arrived at, the situation grew seriou even Salvador and Guatemala were getting i in it. The situation was ultimately saved by the intervention of the United States, following the first Central American Conference was c at Washington on November 13, 1907, when sentatives of all the five States were present. A Conference, a general treaty of peace and ami signed. This included a clause that recogni withheld from revolutionary governments u State suffering the revolution had been reorga constitutional means.

Another important decision of this Co was the creation of a Central American C Justice, consisting of one Judge from each of States. This Court came into being on May 2 and was first located at Cartago in Costa R it was later shifted to San Jose.

NAVAL BASES FOR AMERICA

This Court continued to function smooth 1916. In this year, Nicaragua entered into the Chamorro Treaty with the United States, s to which Nicaragua ceded to the United States in perpetuity the right to build an inter-oceanic canal following the channel of the San Juan river and granted to the United States the right to locate naval bases at the Corn Islands in the Caribbean and on Fonseca Bay on the Pacific.

The terms of this Treaty were objected to by Honduras and Costa Rica, the latter contending that its right to the mouth of the San Juan river had not been given due consideration and that the Fonseca Bay naval base would constitute a threat to her peace and sovereignty.

The dispute then came up before the Central American Court, when Nicaragua tried to maintain that its treaties and relations with other powers were beyond the purview of the said Court. But this contention was not accepted by the Court by a majority of four to one. Nicaragua thereupon withdrew from the Court, and it ceased to function thereafter.

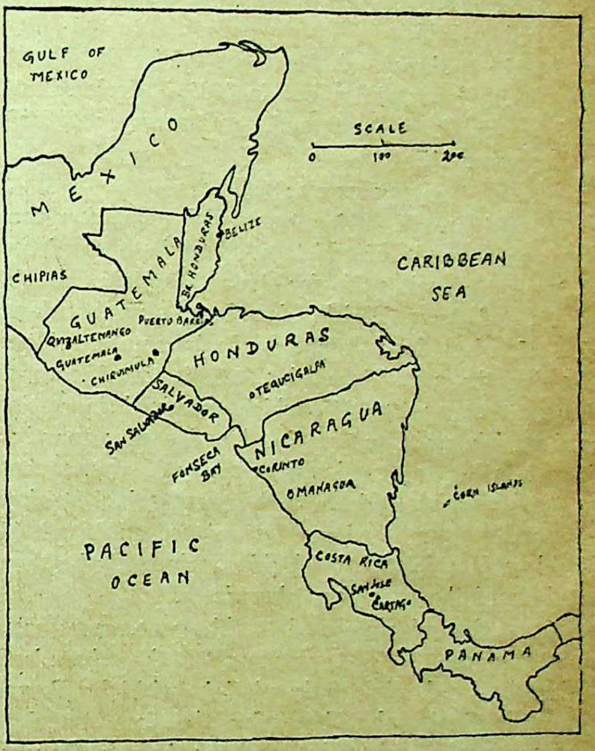
EFFORTS FOR UNION REVIVED

A revolutionary movement then grew up in Guatemala, which forced Cabrera to resign from the Presidentship of the State, as it had spread even to the National Assembly. This revolutionary upsurge led to a movement for Union and as such it became a movement against Cabrera personally, and it was confined solely to the capital. The National Assembly then elected Carlos Herrara as the new President. Being a conservative and unionist, he drew up a pact of union, to which Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras agreed to adhere, but this was immediately followed by the overthrow of the new Guatemalan Government on December 7, 1921, by the Liberals, resulting in the complete failure of the plan for Union.

In March 1922, Gen. Jose Maria Orellana was elected President. Under his able administration up to his death in October 1926, the country progressed in stability and peace. It was during his regime that another Conference of the Central American States was held in Washington in December 1922, when a series of fourteen treaties and conventions was drawn up. One of the most important of these was a general treaty of peace and amity which provided for the non-recognition of governments coming into power by revolution or *coup d'etat*. Though the United States had not signed this treaty, it announced its intention to adhere to its principles.

REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA

But serious developments took place in Nicaragua in 1924, when in the elections held under laws framed by an American expert but without the American supervision which had been planned, the Conservative leader there, Gen. Emiliano Chamorro, who stood for the presidentship, was defeated by the Coalitionists, Solorzano, an anti-Chamorro Conservative, being elected as President, and Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, leader of the Liberals, becoming Vice-President. Chamorro alleged that the elections had not been fair, and on this basis, he carried out a successful *coup d'etat* on October 24, 1925, when Loma, the fortified hill overlooking Managua, was captured, and the resignation and departure of the Vice-President Sacasa was forced, followed soon afterwards by that of the President Solorzano as well. Gentral Chamorro then assumed the Presidentship of Nicaragua, but the United States refused to recognise it. But Washington at the same time refused to recognise the claims of Dr. Sacasa also to be declared President, on the ground that neither was he in his country nor did he control power.



This brought about the criticism that with Washington's effort to eliminate the right of revolution as the escape-valve of oppressed peoples, there should go a corresponding provision by Washington of the assurance of fair elections at which the majority might express itself, and that Washington should support the legitimate succession when imperilled. But the policy of supporting legitimate governments was declared an impossible development of the situation enunciated in the case of Washington's refusal to help Vice-President Sacasa.

Following the death of President Orellana of Guatemala in October 1926, Gen. Lazaro Chacon was elected President, and the peace and prosperity of the State continued as before. But, on December 16, 1930, this government was overthrown as a result of a *coup d'etat* executed by Gen. Manuel Orellana. Being unable to secure recognition from the United

States, he had to resign and in February 1931, Gen. Jorge Ubico was elected President, and he continued in this office till 1943. Under his rule, Guatemala successfully emerged from the economic depths of the worldwide depression of 1929 and the following years and underwent many material improvements, notably in highway development, and made great advance in education. But Ubico's reign was a rigid dictatorship, characterised by repression of civil liberties.

PROBLEM OF BRITISH HONDURAS

In 1939, there was an agitation in Guatemala for the annexation of British Honduras on the ground of the British failure to comply with the boundary treaty of 1859, but the controversy was suspended for the duration of the war at that time and it was re-opened in 1945.

At the outbreak of the World War II, Guatemala declared neutrality, but in 1941 it declared war on Japan on December 8, and on Germany and Italy on December 11.

REVOLUTION AND PLOTS

On October 20, 1944, a successful revolution took place, as a result of which a triumvirate consisting of Major Francisco Xavier Arana, Captain Jacobo Arbenz and Jorge Toriello functioned until March 15, 1945, when Juan Jose Arevalo became President, following the assemblage of a constitutional convention on January 10, 1945, which remained in session until its labours were completed and a new constitution creating a semi-parliamentary government, granting women's suffrage and guaranteeing freedom of assembly, speech and press was signed on March 11. President Arevalo included in his Cabinet all the three members of the preceding triumvirate.

A number of plots against this government were reported during 1945. On January 23, the triumvirate decided to break diplomatic relations with the Franco regime in Spain, thus becoming the first American country to take such action, and the Arevalo Government granted recognition to the Spanish Republican Government-in-exile organised later in Mexico in September 1945. Soon after assuming his reins of office, the Arevalo Government establishd diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government by an exchange of notes in Washington, D.C., on April 19. On May 22, an agreement was signed between Guatemala and the United States, following which the latter sent a Military Mission to Guatemala and in August following a number of technical advisers arrived from Washington to assist in the solution of problems of price control, finance and reform of statistical methods.

PLOTS AGAINST GOVERNMENT

In connection with the plots against the Government, a large number of arrests were affected in February, 1945, while the constitutional convention was in session. Early in April following, the constitutional guarantees were suspended for 30 d arrests were made once again of members b to parties opposed to the administration. On J further activities by three opposition political p were put under ban. Constitutional guarantees w once again suspended in October, with the s siege lasting two months and about sixty p being taken into custody. A number of people c with complicity in the several plots were exiled d the year 1945, and the government also con certain property granted in previous years to t President Jorge Ubico and members of his ad tration. In September, President Arevalo f union activities and labour agitation among workers, due to the unrest which followed the p of a new labour code. A few days earlier, a L Congress had been held in August, accordi whose decision the national labour orga joined the Confederation of American w C.T.A.L.

The government passed on February 25, 19 decree according to which 75 per cent of all pay was to go to Guatemalan nationals only. An April 21, a law of economic emergency was p which penalised speculation in essential goods authorised control of rents, prices, imports and w

LEANINGS TO THE CENTRE

But leanings of the leftist Arevalo adminis towards the Centre which began later in the 1945 continued throughout 1946. In January 19 Revolutionary Action Party chief, Jorge To the formost exponent of expropriating foreign b nesses, was expelled from the Cabinet, and a pre ruling nationalising the air line Aerovias was de illegal by the Congress.

But the government continued to pres reform programme in the face of a strong co vative resistance. In July, the Congress decreed at least 85 per cent of the employees of all com be nationals, and in September, it appointed a c mittee to revise existing contracts in the inte of national sovereignty. An endorsement by Pre Arevalo of Mexico's 1938 oil expropriations dur border meeting with the Mexican chief executive to the speculation in October that the Ameri owned United Fruit Company's vast holdings w soon be expropriated, but the government of denied it, and it suppressed with a strong hand serious labour trouble in the Company's b plantations, when 15,000 workers went on strike paralysed the entire northern division of its o tions for three weeks. On October 31, the gover brought it to an end and compelled the work negotiate for a wage settlement. Constitu guarantees continued in force all through the 1946, and frequent anti-government demonstr were countered by others, participated in by l and student groups, which endorsed the government's policies and charged the disgruntled clergy with Spanish Falangist connections. A ten-day strike in the textile mills in Guatemala city secured for the workers a 40 per cent. increase.

The Government reasserted its sovereignty over the territory of British Honduras during 1946, but agreed with Great Britain to submit the dispute to the judgment of the International Court of Justice of the U.N.O., on condition that the case be judged on its equity rather than on its purely legal merits.

CABINET DISSENSIONS

The year 1947 proved to be quite a stormy one for Guatemala, specially due to Cabinet dissensions, as a result of which it had to be reorganised twice, once in January and again in June, and drastic political measures had to be adopted by the administration.

In January, the Arevalo administration secured bigger majorities in the congressional elections, which led to a big public demonstration in March protesting against the new electoral law under which the elections were held.

On March 4, the Ministry of National Defence cancelled all licences for carrying firearms. The Aliens Act was modified on March 16, giving the President greater authority to deport foreign agitators. And, a new law was enforced on April 30, which imposed stringent censorship on public expression through the press and radio. The death penalty, affecting persons attempting to overthrow the government, was abolished by the Congress on September 13. But, on September 17, constitutional liberties affecting freedom of press and assembly were suspended by Presidential decree following the discovery of an alleged plot to overthrow the government. Two soldiers and a civilian were arrested and the attempt was effectively throttled. Thenceforward all opposition was crushed with a strong hand with the help of new legislation restricting political activities considered by the government as dangerous to public security. President Arevalo denied in October the charges that the Communist Party was behind the attempt.

On May 25, 1947, a revolution took place in Nicaragua, following which the elected President, Leonardo Arguello, was removed and Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa became temporary President. This new government in Nicaragua was denied recognition by the Arevalo administration in Guatemala in June, and in July, diplomatic relations were suspended with the Trujillo administration of the Dominican Republic.

President Arevalo's left-wing administration in Guatemala continued its drive for social and economic reform during 1948, but not without the impairment of political liberties, as the rightist opposition kept the government on the alert for reactionary movements all through this year. In January, the governnment decreed that lands along the two coasts for a distance of about a mile inland were public property, subject to expropriation by the state with compensation to the title-holders. The President's attempt to suspend the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press for 30 days, on February 23, was vetoed by the Congress. In July, the labour code was amended to allow farm workers to organise unions, and legislation was introduced in the Congress to enact for the first time an income-tax law and measures for the control of housing construction and rent. To redress the country's balance of trade, the government doubled the duties on imports from countries with which Guatemala had unfavourable trade relations.

At the close of the year, a clandestine grenade factory was discovered in the capital city, along with facts relating to an armed movement intended to capture the chief harbour town of Puerto Barrios. This resulted in the suspension of all personal liberties for a month from November 30 to December 29, and Col. Marciano Casado and Manuel Orellana Cardona, the rightist party leader, were arrested and charged with conspiracy.

The diplomatic impasse between Guatemala and Great Britain regarding the sovereignty over British Honduras almost reached breaking point in February, when a British cruiser with troops abroad arrived off the coast of the disputed province. Guatemala protested against the presence of the warship, and on March, 8, it closed its border with British Honduras. The situation was, however, eased by the withdrawal of the British cruiser on March 14, but the issue of sovereignty still remained unsettled.

MORE CONSPIRACIES

In the year 1949, two more attempts at revolt again against the Arevalo administration, bringing the number of such attempts at 20 during his regime, were made, though both of them failed.

There was a slow-down strike in the United Fruit Company wharf by the workers at Puerto Barrios and banana harvesters in Tiquizate in the beginning of the year and they reached a crisis in February, when the company had to suspend its activities, resulting in unemployment for 10,000 workers as well as in paralysing shipping at the chief Pacific port for several weeks. The dispute was settled on March 7, through government mediation, when the workers were awarded higher wages and a collective contract.

Of the two uprisings of the year, the first took place on April 7, when 200 armed men seized five towns near the Mexican border and sacked the customs offices. The government described this as mere banditry, and its troops suppressed the revolt and regained the towns within two days, and the insurrectionists were almost all either killed or captured.

The other and much more important revolt began on July 18, when the Chief of the Armed Forces, Francisco Javier Arana, the most potential political rival of President Arevalo, was assassinated. It was rumoured that Col. Arana had been plotting a *coup d' etat*, but he was assassinated by reactionaries for having refused to lead an insurrection. The Guardia de Honor garrison rebelled, but was subdued within 24 hours, after a loss of 50 lives. Labour unions, student organisations and large numbers of other citizens aligned themselves with the government during the crisis, and it survived without any difficulty. In December, a military court sentenced fourteen of the accused insurgents to various terms of imprisonment ranging from two to ten years.

ANOTHER SWING TO THE RIGHT

In 1950, the administration of President Arevalo had to pass through a series of political crises, including an abortive revolt and a presidential election, as a result of a slight swing of the government to the right.

On July 20, 1950, the Conservatives organised a big demonstration to commemorate the assassination of Col. Arana, but this was broken up by military and labour elements, when three persons were killed. The suppression of this demonstration brought on another demonstration by the university students, who held the Minister of the Interior responsible and demanded his resignation. Labour, business and professional elements joined in a general strike in the capital and some of the oppositionists demanded Arevalo's resignation. On July 24, the government suspended several constitutional guarantees and imposed a state of siege, but these restrictions were removed within two weeks.

The Arevalo Government cut itself off from the Communists by banning the party's Weekly Newspaper, in the month of September, and shortly afterwards, a Communist school was closed down. About 40 students were arrested for trying to continue their classes in this school. But the Minister of the Interior, who had ordered the closure of the school, was forced to resign by the Congress, following the passage of a vote of No-Confidence against him. By October, government pressure to eliminate Communist influence was being extended to the labour unions as well.

Elections for the Presidentship of Guatemala were to be held in the second week of November. On November 5, some adversaries of the Arevalo administration attempted unsuccessfully to seize the military base of La Aurora, said to be in preparation for a
general revolt, but the movement was cru
seventeen persons being killed.

In the election, held from November 10 to
administration's Revolutionary Action Par
out successful with a wide margin, Col. Ja
benz being elected as the new President to
Arevalo. This party also secured 19 out of
seats in the Congress for which biennial
were held, thus tightening further its grip
Congress.

A NEW LEFT-WING COALITION

During 1951, labour unrest and mounting
munist influence occupied the attention of
mala. On January 23, the Communist lead
Manuel Fortuny, announced the formation of
left-wing coalition called the National D
Front, comprising the Popular Liberation Fr
National Revolutionary Party, the Workers Par
the Communist Party, while the Presid
Col. Arbenz, issued a statement on Febru
pledging continued Guatemalan friendship wi
United States, and attacking the rumours as
which said that he intended to expropriate
and domestic capital.

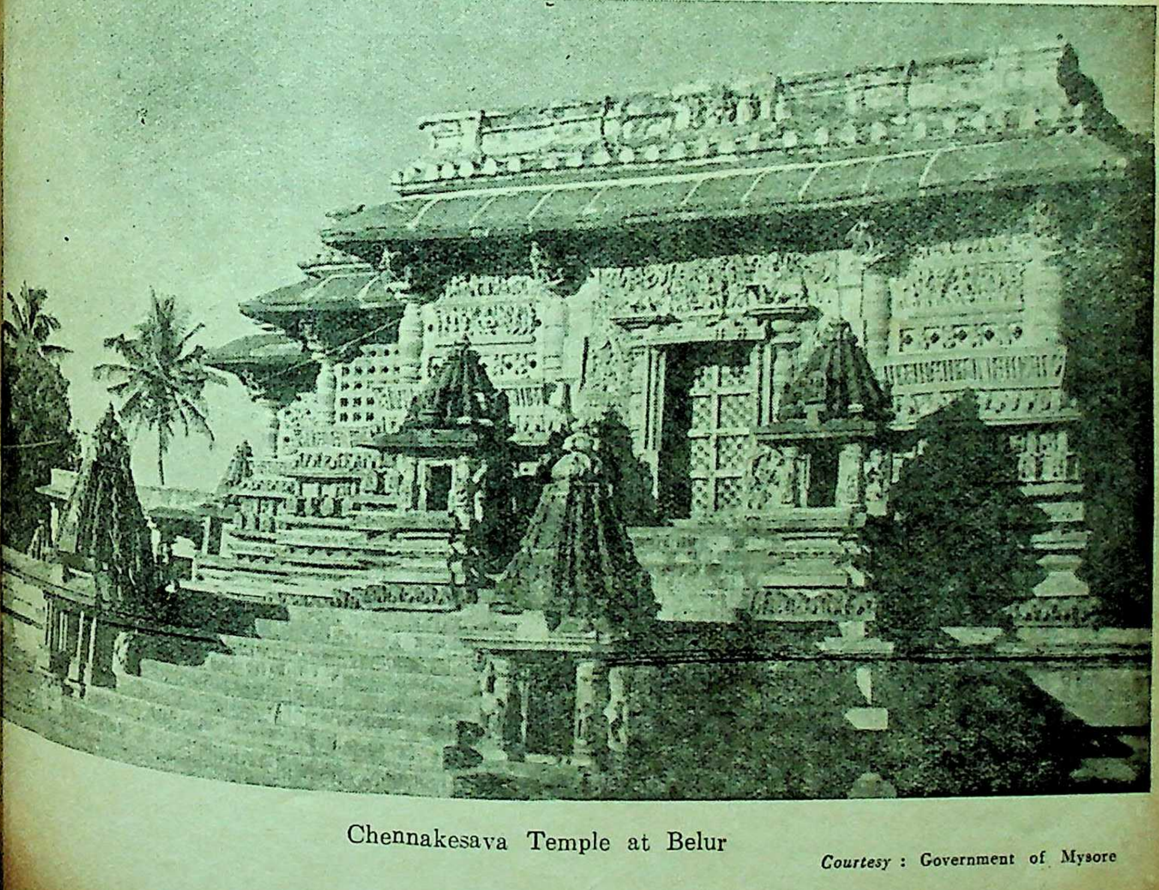
On March 15, Col. Arbenz, then only 37 ye
age, was inaugurated as the new Presid
youngest Latin-American head of a State til
Labour disorders were the first big crisis whic
the new administration. Unrest among the
resulted in April in an 11-day railway strike
ended with unions still demanding that Pre
Arbenz should press for revision of all contra
foreign firms operating in the State. On J
was observed the first anniversary of the foun
the Communist Weekly paper, the *Octubre*,
was attended by about 2,000 persons. Anti-Com
nist riots swept Guatemala city on July 11
as demonstrators called upon President Arbe
assurances of his anti-Communist position. O
Arbenz suspended the constitutional guarantees
July 12 for thirty days, as he regarded it a sch
plot under the pretext of combating Communi
vities.

On July 19, four political parties, supp
Arbenz announced the formation of a Dem
Alliance to intensify the revolutionary process
fied by the former President Arevalo. The ann
ment said that the alliance was neither pro-Com
nist nor anti-Catholic. But, on August 31, Com
nists seized control of the pro-administration N
Renovation Party, which was one of the four
the Alliance.

INCREASING COMMUNIST ORIENTATION

The year 1952 saw increased Communist o
tion of the policies of the Arbenz administra
a result of which the United States firms doi
ness in Guatemala faced new difficulties

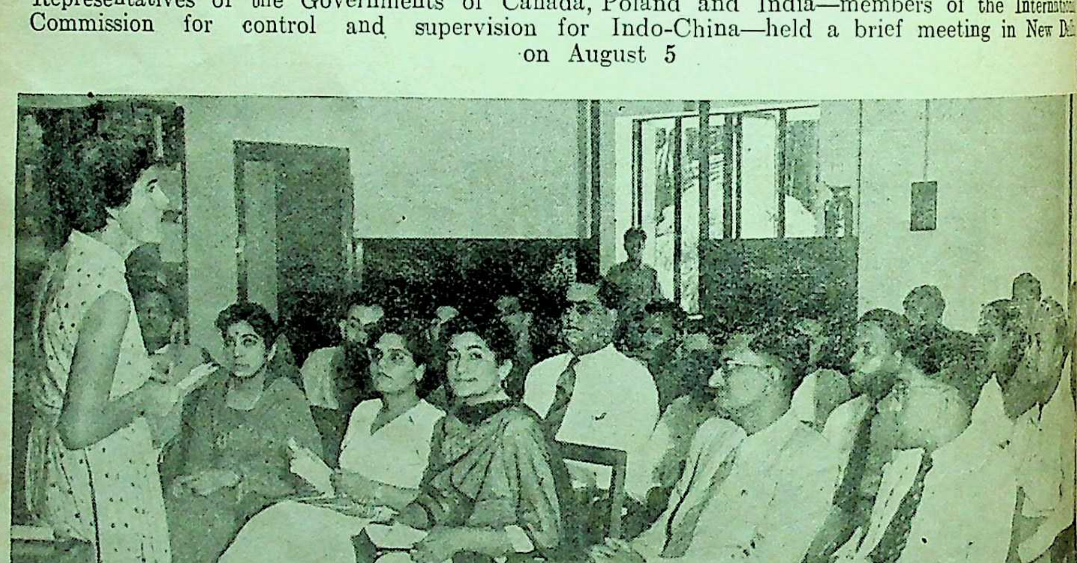
Dasara procession



Chennakesava Temple at Belur

Courtesy : Government of Mysore

Representatives of the Governments of Canada, Poland and India—members of the Internatio Commission for control and supervision for Indo-China—held a brief meeting in New D on August 5



Twenty-four scholars from throughout India left Bombay, on June 30, aboard S.S. *Strath* for the United States for a year's post-graduate study and training in U. S. Universities

United Fruit Company was ordered in January to pay 500,000 dollars in back wages to 3,700 employees who had been laid off after a hurricane had devastated the Company's Pacific coast banana plantations in September 1951, and it was stipulated in the order that the Company's 25 million dollar investments in Guatemala would be embargoed if the order was not obeyed. The Company challenged the ruling and on February 19, a labour court set March 5 as the date for auctioning off a portion of the United Fruit Company's properties in the country. On March 3, fires ravaged the banana fields at Tiquisate, virtually completing the ruin of the Company's plantations on the Pacific coast. At length, the Company agreed to pay 650,000 dollars in back wages, to extend its union contract for three years, to reinstate the laid-off workers and to rehabilitate the damaged plantations, whereupon the scheduled auction of its properties was cancelled by the Arbenz government. The Company then resumed operations in Guatemala on March 17.

A month later, the Pan-American Life Insurance Company, incorporated in New Orleans, which had been doing business in the State for the previous thirty years, had to withdraw from there, as it said it was unable to comply with the government's restrictive insurance law.

On June 18 was passed an agrarian reform law designed to sub-divide landed estates larger than 225 acres. It provided for reimbursement of dispossessed landowners during a 25-year period.

In the mean time, illegal anti-Communist demonstrations were held throughout the country on March 23, when about 30,000 persons were said to have been present in Guatemala city alone. On April 10, two trade unions, representing about 80,000 workers, announced that they would not take part in the May Day labour rally, as it would be Communist-inspired. Luis Arenas and Luis Vallardes, two anti-Communist trade union leaders, were arrested on October 29, on the charge of having insulted President Arbenz.

This Communist influence in the Arbenz administration continued to increase all through 1953 and the earlier part of 1954, making it almost impossible for the American-owned United Fruit Company to reap the huge profits it had been getting in the past. 233,973 acres of its land had already been expropriated by the administration under a land reform programme and it was facing the expropriation of 174,000 acres more in the near future. The United States had protested against the quantum of compensation offered to the Company.

AMERICA'S PLOT

Some time back, the Arbenz Government charged the United States of plotting an invasion of Guatemala through Nicaragua, and it charged the United Fruit Company with supplying arms to the plotters.

The leader of these plotters was Col. Carles Castillo Armas, who had been in opposition to the Arbenz administration since July 1949, following the assassination of Col. Arana. At the time of the Presidential election of 1950, he had been the leader of the abortive uprising against the administration on November 5, when he had attacked the base of the First Infantry Regiment on the outskirts of the capital with a force of seventy civilians. He was then arrested and imprisoned in the central penitentiary. But, in June 1951, he succeeded in tunnelling his way to freedom and took refuge in the Colombian legation, and from there he was safely conducted outside the country, and he made Honduras his headquarters.

From early this year, Col. Armas had been busy collecting forces in preparation for an invasion, calling his rebel organisation as the anti-Communist Front of Guatemalans in Exile, with headquarters in Tegucigalpa in Honduras.

To forestall this attack, the Arbenz administration proposed to the Honduras Government last month that the two States sign a treaty of amity and non-aggression, but without success. The government also purchased 10 million dollar worth of arms from Communist countries of Europe. The United States protested against this purchase, and Col. Armas charged the administration of supplying the arms not to the Guatemalan army but to a "fifth column that is soon to extend its radius of action against the democracies of this Continent."

ARMY OF LIBERATION

It was on June 17 last that reports filtered out of Guatemala that the army had called on President Arbenz to make a firm decision on his attitude towards Communism. At this time, Col. Armas was reported to have asked his followers in Guatemala to have faith in him and that he would very soon be with them. And, on June 19, reports were received from New York that an anti-Communist "army of liberation" had seized about one-third of the territory of the State within 24 hours of a powerful attack by land and sea.

The Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Senor Guillermo Toriello, at a press conference, accused the United States of an "absurd and criminal campaign" against Guatemala. He described the invasion as the culmination of a well-laid-out plan.

The Guatemalan Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Senor Alfredo Chocano, asked: "Where did 10 P-47 (Thunderbolt) and other planes of U. S. manufacture come from? These are the planes which have been bombing and strafing various places in Guatemala."

Speaking before the U. N. Security Council, the Guatemalan delegate, Dr. Eduardo Castillo Arriola, declared: "Guatemala is being invaded by international forces under the treacherous guise of exiles." He said that the invading army was "part of an illegitimate international organisation," and asserted: "We have been unjustly accused of being a threat to the other countries of the continent."

Pitted as the Arbenz administration was against the United States in reality, the resistance could not last long and it collapsed. On June 26, President Arbenz had handed over charge of his office Carlos Enrique Diaz and left the country. Col. was arrested three days later, being replaced military junta of five led by Col. Elfego And on July 8, Col. Armas was elected of the State's military junta. And, Communists being hunted wherever found.

Thus has culminated a significant revolution in Guatemala. How long this will nue it is too early to say.

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RATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

The term 'Rationalisation' in modern economic science implies modernisation, scientific management and industrial monopoly. It essentially means a rational and scientific approach to industrial problems. There is, therefore, no question of anybody being against rationalisation of industry as such. Nobody wants to plead for a mediæval and reactionary outlook. All of us desire that industrialisation in India should take full advantage of technology and scientific progress in the modern world.

It must be realised, however, that the content of rationalisation would vary from country to country and from region to region even within a country. For example, the idea of rationalisation in the United States of America, where labour is scarce and capital abundant, would be basically different from that of India where labour is abundant and capital scarce. A machine that may be of great use and advantage in America, may be completely out of place in India where the fundamental question is that of providing employment opportunities to millions of people who are without work for several months in the year. Even in India, conditions differ from region to region.

It is very wrong to think that the Gandhian School of Thought is against all mechanisation and rationalisation. Gandhiji was not against machinery as such. What he was against was the "craze" for machinery and labour-saving devices in a country like India where people suffer from "enforced idleness." We all know that Gandhiji wanted to improve the existing spinning wheel and offered substantial prizes for the improved varieties of the *charkha*. A number of new small spinning machines are now being devised in different parts of the country. In response to the recommendations of the International Planning Team, the Government of India have decided to establish four Regional Technological Institutes for the development of small-scale industries. No reasonable person can be against such improvements in organisation and technology. But I would plead for a rational approach even in our enthusiasm for rationalisation and modernisation. If we do now show discrimination in the use of nery in India and try to mechanise the small-scale and village industries indiscriminately, shall be doing more disservice than service to cause of industrial progress in the country. instance, take the *bidi* machine. If such are allowed to be introduced for the manufacture *bidis* in India, about five lakhs of workers, the total of six lakhs, will be thrown out of ment. Mechanisation in this sphere at this stage therefore, uncalled for and definitely injurious. larly, we should try to improve the village for increasing their yield and output rather establish oil-mills for the purpose. In the case hand-made paper, we may improve domestic scale manufacture by using mill-made pulp in of hand-pound pulp. It may be desirable to electric power in certain small-scale and industries. But the basic idea ought to be to per capita productivity or the productive of each worker rather than to displace human by the introduction of improved machinery. sewing machine is a typical example of useful isation in a country like India. It increases the ciency and productivity of a worker without ing his manual labour. I wish that more this type may be manufactured in India for the labour of our workmen and augmenting capacity to supplement their meagre incomes.

We are all for increasing the efficiency of and production; but our aim should be to not merely the mechanical efficiency but the efficiency as a whole. Our objective should be: employment plus maximum production. Mere duction at the cost of employment will be harmful. At the same time, attempts to employ labour without increasing productive efficiency also be suicidal. Rationalisation of industry in therefore, should mean a serious attempt to the advantages of fuller employment, and logical improvements. I am confident that both Government and the industrialists in this will follow a policy of cautious and rationalisation for the real welfare of the

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

By VICTOR S. D'SOUZA,

Reader in Sociology, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar

THE problem of minorities is a problem of adjustment and not one of securing recognition of their special status and safeguarding their interests, for, if the minorities are recognised as such and are treated differentially either by granting them special favours or by withholding their rights and privileges, it would only result in perpetuating their problem. In a nation where there are minorities, group tensions are bound to occur some time or other, disturbing the political balance and the unity in the country. In an ideal democratic state, therefore, minorities should not exist, and this is possible only in a secular state which alone can provide facilities for the merger of the minorities into the larger community that is the nation.

Lest I should be misunderstood, let me first make clear the concept of minorities. In a country or nation where there are different religions professed, different languages spoken and where there are people belonging to different races, groups of people may segregate themselves on the basis of their common religion, common language or common physical features. The segregation is accentuated by group prejudices as, for instance, when the members of a particular religious group disparage the religion of another group, or the members of one racial group regard the members of another racial group as inferior. Now the existence of differences among people and among groups of people is a normal phenomenon. As a matter of fact social life is as much dependent upon differences as on similarities between members. But when people become conscious of these differences they form themselves into groups. Sometimes the differences are of a temporary nature, as in the case of political parties, and as soon as the differences disappear, the groups which are based upon such differences also dissolve. But when group differences are permanent, when there is no possibility of the groups being merged with one another in any forseeable future, it is then that we have minorities. Such groups are called minorities, not merely because of their smaller size, but because, on the basis of their physical and cultural characteristics they are singled out for differential and unequal treatment, and because they regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.

However, any particular minority should be viewed in relation to the peculiar historical circumstances within which it has emerged. The Hindus in India are a majority group, but in Pakistan they are a minority. The Hindus of Pakistan have been reduced into a minority group literally overnight owing to the partition of the country. On the other hand, the minority status of the Muslims of India which was so much accentuated during the British regime obviously on political grounds, suddenly disappeared in Pakistan. It is therefore not the specific characteristics, whether religious or linguistic or racial, that mark a people as a minority but the relationship of that group to some other group in the society in which they live.

As I said, minority groups may crystallise out of religious, linguistic and physical differences. Sometimes groups of people may find themselves in the position of minorities owing to certain historical prejudices as in the case of the Jews. Discrimination against the Jews or Anti-semitism has a long history behind it. Although racial, linguistic and religious prejudices have contributed towards the formation of this attitude of Anti-semitism in the past, its continuance at present cannot be justified on grounds of any of these differences except on the basis of historical prejudices. However, such instances are few and far between and most minorities are formed mainly on differences based upon religious, linguistic and racial grounds.

Although differences, religious, linguistic or racial may be found in any society, whether they will result in the formation of minorities will depend upon the nature of the particular society. Some societies may provide much scope for the formation of minorities, some less, while in others minorities may not crystallise at all. Then again some societies may give rise to religious minorities, some to linguistic and some to racial, and we may also come across societies where two or all of these different types of minorities are found. On the whole the formation of minorities in any nation is dependent upon its social structure. After all the minority groups are but an aspect of social stratification. It is a fundamental principle of social life that any society will be characterised by some form of social stratification based upon status. It may be in the form of class, caste, ethnic group, minority group or a combination of some or all of these. Even the most determined efforts of the Communist countries in creating classless societies, we are told, have only resulted in the formation of a new type of classes. While the fact of social stratification is inevitable, the social stratification of the form of minorities is most harmful to the wellbeing of any society. However, it is possible to alter the structure of any society and consequently it should also be feasible to avoid the formation of minority groups and wherever there are minority groups they could be integrated or assimilated into the larger society.

For us in India, although our constitution does not recognise the minority status and rightly so, the problem of minorities is none the less real. The religious minorities such as the Muslims, the Christians and the Parsis are only too apparent. But these are not our only minorities. In the wake of the redistribution of States on a linguistic basis we will have linguistic minorities too. And under the present circumstances when the caste system is fast losing its former significance, each caste group may be considered a separate minority. So in our country any individual may be regarded as belonging to some minority group or other, and most of our social ills today may be attributed to this irksome minorities problem. If all these minorities could eventually be integrated into one large wellknit society, it would be the greatest boon our country can ever hope for. Of course, the achievement of such a result could not be so easily done as the integration of the Indian princely States into the Indian Union. I say the integration of the Indian princely States was easier, because even though this problem was in itself a stupendous one, yet in comparison with our present task it was easy enough. But certainly it is possible and even practicable to assimilate all these minorities into one compact society if only we would try to comprehend this problem and take appropriate measures.

Perhaps, we shall be better able to understand our own minorities problem on the background of the knowledge of a similar problem in the United States of America where a comprehensive study of such a problem has already been made. No other country in this world has had to face such acute group problems as the United States of America, for, practically all the people of the United States are members of different immigrant groups. And yet America has been greatly, though not fully, successful in solving its minorities problem by providing suitable conditions for the assimilation of the different ethnic groups. By the way, ethnic group is a group which regards itself or is regarded as having a foreign culture and which is segregated from the rest of the society.

Social stratification in America is based upon an open class system. The American classes are most mobile and it is possible for an individual belonging to a lower class to rise to a higher class by virtue of his natural talents and enterprise, and the aspiration of the American common man to become one day the President of the United States is not based upon mere fiction. The American society is usually divided into six classes: the lower lower, the upper lower, the lower middle, the upper middle, the lower upper and the upper upper classes. Now social classes are based upon status and the various classes are arranged on a gradation of status, the lower lower class having the lowest status and the upper upper class the highest. In America, status is usually functional. The greater the worth of a person to society the greater is his status. When status is functional, when the worth of a person or a class having a higher recognised, there is no scope for discrimination persons and between classes, for discrimination in only when equals are treated unequally. American classes are a stable system giving conflict between the classes.

In the United States, when a new ethnic immigrates it retains its group character for But gradually members of the group each to his worth, are severally assimilated different social classes and finally the group itself entirely. The integration of the ethnic easier in America because there class prejudice minimum. But ideally speaking ethnic most easily assimilated into societies in which stratification does not follow class or caste however good the conditions in a class- or society some prejudices between classes or bound to prevail. Such ideal conditions, we were obtainable in the pre-Communist China, owing to the tremendous importance the family organisation nobody cared about or caste distinctions. A person was identified and such a family and not with such and such or caste. This, coupled with the peculiar China moulded by the undogmatic and religions of Tao and Confucius made it extremely for any foreign group of people to get itself into the Chinese society. And actually conquerors, immigrants after immigrants who China mingled freely with the original became merged with the Chinese people. no other country except China can we find the phenomenon where in the same family be found following different religions—some some Confucianists, some Buddhists, some some Muhammadans, all living as brothers parents and children in the real literal sense. therefore, imagine the tremendous significance stratification for the integration of ethnic and groups.

Therefore it is clear that in order to the problem of assimilation of ethnic minorities in a particular society we must examine the lines of social stratification in In India, society is stratified castewise and based on differences determined at birth, which cannot be changed by individual whether economic, professional or political. impossible for the members of a particular caste to climb to some other caste. Thus if group is found in India it will not be possible members to become assimilated into the but the group as a whole will have to be into the Indian society. The group will be function and a status mutually acceptable both group and to the other castes and it is integrated into the whole caste system. To give you a typical example, when some Arabs, Jews and Syrian Christians came and settled down in Kerala they became an important part of the population of the region. But there was no way of assimilating them into the other castes. So the native people tried to integrate these foreigners into their society by recognisisg them as a separate caste. There were already the four principal orthodox castes and they called this new caste Anjuvarnam or the fifth caste—indeed a marvellous way of securing social unity!

So the caste system in India served a great purpose in solving the minorities problem in the past. But the caste system has long since lost its real function. The caste system is effective in maintaining unity and amity among the different groups only so long as each group accepts its rank and function, respecting the groups above it and commanding respect from the groups below it in social rank. But as soon as the lower castes perceive the irrationality of their inferior status which is determined by birth and not by function, and revolt against the caste system, the stability of the social order sustained by that very system receives a jolt. Thus the caste system loses its integrative function and hence its significance. And that is, in fact, what is actually happening in India today. The diffusion into a caste society of democratic ideals of equality have given rise to feelings of discrimination and to agitation for equalisation of rights. The hold of ceremonial and ritualistic observation which has been enforcing the observance of caste distinctions is rapidly weakening, and the persistence of the caste system today only adds to the heightening of group tensions.

Then again, the caste system in India is based on religious grounds and the people of other religions which do not advocate this system, when they become increasingly conscious of their religion would not like to be integrated into this system. Hence, so long as the caste system continues, the other religious groups will have to remain as separate minorities.

Thus, in India, the caste system, while it has rendered real service in the past, has become today the greatest source of political weakness. And the passing away of this decadent system would undoubtedly be the greatest step forward towards the assimilation of the religious and caste minorities into the Indian society and would contribute towards the unity, peace and happiness among the Indian peoples. Happily, today all forces are moving in the right direction. Educated persons of good will, no matter to which caste or religion they belong, all are one in decrying the outmoded caste system and all want that society should reorganise itself in some other suitable form. The new type of economy based on industrial and co-operative systems strengthened by the community planning projects will go a long way towards dispelling caste prejudice and minorities complex. The wisdom of our politicians in declaring India a secular State and the gesture on the part of minorities in forgoing their privileges of special protection will accelerate the process of integration of the diverse peoples into one unified society.

While the conditions are now favourable for assimilation of the different minorities, it must be borne in mind that each minority has its special limitations and each requires conditions for assimilation different from those required by the others. Let us again turn to the American society to have an idea of the special limitations of the different ethnic groups. In the United States not every one of the ethnic groups is assimilated with the same ease. It has been observed that the ethnic groups which are nearest to the common American type in point of language, religion and race are most easily assimilated and those which are farther removed with regard to these characteristics are less easily assimilated. The language of the Americans is English and the ethnic groups speaking English such as the immigrants coming from England are more easily integrated than the non-English-speaking groups *e.g.*, the Greeks. Secondly, the religion of the majority of the people is Christianity and even among Christians the Protestants predominate. So the ethnic groups professing the Christian religion are more easily assimilated than the non-Christians, and among Christians themselves the Protestants are more easily assimilated than the Roman Catholics. But when we combine religion and language, religion is a more potent factor in the valuation of the Americans. And when there are two groups one speaking English and professing a non-Protestant religion and the other professing Protestantism but speaking a non-English language, the latter group though it speaks a different language, by virtue of its favoured religion, is more easily assimilated. Thus on the basis of language and religion it has been noticed that the ease and rapidity with which the different ethnic groups are assimilated into the American society follows a definite descending order. Topmost on the scale are the English-speaking Protestant groups and lowermost the non-Christians who do not speak English.

It must, however, be pointed out that although the time taken by the various ethnic groups for complete assimilation into the American society varies, they are all eventually assimilated sooner or later, *i.e.*, in some forseeable future and they do not remain as minorities on account of their cultural characteristics alone. But the racial prejudice in America is more potent than religious or linguistic prejudices and many of the ethnic groups which may be regarded as minorities in the United States owe their misfortune to their racial characteristics.

The dominant people of the United States, the people that matter, are those of the Caucasoid or the white race, and the Ethnic groups belonging to the Caucasoid race, especially if they happen to be light Caucasoids, find it most easy to be absorbed into the American society. Racial prejudice in America is directed most against the Negroes and the American Negroes, although their culture is the same as that of the American whites, yet they are rated even below the other ethnic groups belonging to altogether different cultures. It would appear that the American Negroes will not be assimilated into the American society in any forseeable future, and today the Negroes remain the largest minority group in the United States of America.

All these conclusions which are based on scientifically observed facts show that the formation and assimilation of ethnic and minority groups in any society follow a certain set pattern. The pattern, of course, is different for different societies and it is based upon several other factors also, too numerous to be mentioned here. In India, where social, political and economic conditions are very much different from those in America the situation with regard to the minorities is also different. Whereas, in America, minorities are based mainly upon racial differences and not on cultural characteristics, here in India the situation is the other way round. We have mostly religious and linguistic minorities. The racial prejudice somehow has not become our obsession. But this may be due to centuries of race inter-mixture that has been going on in India, and not to any of our special virtues. As a matter of fact when we ponder over the term Varna which is applied to caste in India we are inclined to think that the caste system might have first arisen in India owing to race prejudice itself. And even today where there are opportunities for contact with people of altogether different physical features, we may come across group segregation on the basis of physical characteristics. If you care to go a few miles into the interior of the jungles of the North Canara district (Bombay State) you will find there a group of people called Siddis. They are supposed to be the progeny of Negro soldiers through local women. Anyway there is no mistaking about their Negro features—the kinky hair and the thick lips. Their black colour of course is a little diluted by local blood. Now, among the Siddis there are people following three different religions. There are the Maratha Siddis (Hindus), the Muslim Siddis and the Christian Siddis. But the Siddis as a whole are a group by themselves. For, the other Marathas do not mix with the Maratha Siddis, the other Muslims do not mix with the Muslim Siddis and the other Christians do not mix with the Christian Siddis. On the other hand, on all social functions the Siddis of different religions mingle with one another very freely. Here we truly have a minority, a miniature minority based upon physical tics. For after all, however, broadminded we difference in physical characteristics is a reckoned with. However, the problem of rities does not loom large upon the political of India and that is why perhaps we are prone to talk complacently about the racial prejudices in other countries.

Whatever that may be, it is here us to realize that the problems of each group have to be studied separately. Let us a typical example, the Muslim commun largest minority group in India. In Ameri been observed that one of the factors accelerating the rate of assimilation is the members constituting the ethnic group. Wh numbers are many the group finds it diffic up its identity. The same difficulty is encou the Muslims of India who constitute four the total Indian population. They have also psychological difficulty in that there is a State bordering India. Again—and this is very tant—the Muslims of India speak the Urdu which is for the most part peculiar to the alone, and this is further complicated by the Urdu is also the National language of Pak am not quite conversant with the situation in India but in South India Urdu is spoken only Muslims and as a matter of fact Urdu is known as Musulmani language in the south Muslims of India are at the risk of being not only a religious minority but a linguis rity as well.

Under these circumstances, if I may ex humble opinion, there are two possible ways milating the Muslims so far as their language cerned. In India it has already been decided Hindi as the official language, which also bids become the national language. But exc their scripts the difference between Urdu and is a matter of degree. If therefore this diff tried to be minimised the group prejudice Urdu will be lessened to that extent and more, it may also ultimately induce the Mu change their script. Unfortunately on the other there is a section of Sanskrit Pandits which is vouring to Sanskritise Hindi more and more widening the gulf between Urdu and Hindi minably. And let me tell you, the efforts section are not at all calculated towards interests of our country. It is not for no even Mahatma Gandhi than whom no man interests of our country more at heart, advocated that the official language of India be written both in the Devanagri and the scripts; and just the other day in conne the Devanagri Script Conference held at beloved Prime Minister made a fervent plea for retention of the Persian script which he said, ides serving as a link with western Asia, was part parcel of our life.

The other way is for the Muslims themselves to andon their Urdu language, *i.e.*, the Persian and abic influence in their language together with its ript and make Hindi their mother-tongue. But may sk you, could such a course be practicable? All religious literature of the Muslims of India is tten in the Urdu language. Although an Indian slim reads his Quran and recites his prayers in bic, he understands his religion in Urdu, and just Arabic is sacred to Muslims in general, Urdu is portant for the Muslims of India. Even those slims of India who speak a different language gnise Urdu as their religious language. Thus the slims will not be able to give up their Urdu language at least for some time to come and therefore second course is impracticable.

Thus every minority has its own special problems but the larger interests of our country demand that all group prejudices should disappear. But I do not in the least mean to say that the differences upon which the minorities are based should be eliminated. The solidarity of our nation does not demand uniformity. What is required is that conditions should be created and maintained under which the different minorities should feel themselves at home in the whole society and participate freely and spontaneously in the social life of the country. All kinds of coercion, whether physical, social or economic, of one group by another should cease, and the minorities should come out of their physical and cultural aloofness and expand their community sentiment. That way and that way alone the progress of our nation would seem to lie.*

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* Speech delivered at the Rotary Club, Dharwar, on the 6th December, 1953.

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BHUDEB MUKHERJI

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

fellow-students, Bhudeb Mukherji, Madhusudan t and Abdul Latif, were talking of what they ld like to do in the future. The last-named said he would like to be a high Government official; second said that he would like to be a poet, and first said that he would like to be a teacher, and his people by bringing to them the light of new wledge, consequent on British connection, and ence their conduct.

Their ambitions were fulfilled. Abdul Latif me a Deputy Magistrate, rose to be the Prime ister of Bhopal, and after retirement founded the ral Mahomedan Association at Calcutta, which ded for "special" consideration of Muslim feelings interests. Madhusudan became one of the test poets of modern Bengal; and Bhudeb started as a teacher in the Calcutta Madrasa; became d Master of the Hooghly Normal School that pared boys for getting into the Education Department as "trained" teachers; he became Inspector of ols and his services were so much valued that was a chance of his acting as the Director of ic Instruction in the Presidency (1877); but to the opposition of European Inspectors of ols and Professors, this could not happen as rd Croft was persuaded to withdraw his application for leave (sick leave). When Bhudeb became spector of Schools in the Presidency of Bengal which then comprised Bihar, Orissa and Assam, he initiated measures for the revival of local languages—Bengali, Bihari (Hindi), Oriya and Assamese, as the case might be. These efforts were the result of deep thinking since the days of his Madrasah experience (1849). He became intimate with Muslim thought and culture; he appreciated the values of Islamic society, as he valued his own. He was as appreciative of Christian thought.

He never subscribed to the popular belief that Muslim rulers had been all and always oppressors of their Hindu subjects trying to suppress the latter. In a biography of his I find the following:

> "It was because they (the Muslims) came to rule over India that India had an all-India language—Hindi, that there had developed a special kind of architecture, and manners and social amenities had been improved and enlarged." —pp. 15-16.

In 1862, he worked hard to give shape to the purposes of the then Secretary of State for India with regard to the enlargement of primary education in certain districts of the Presidency. In 1869, he was deputed to report on the state of primary education in the North-West Province (now the United Provinces). About his report, Sir Ashley Eden spoke very highly calling it "a gem of a Report."

In 1877, he was put in charge of 11 districts in Bihar and Orissa to re-organize their primary education. At this time he suggested to the authorities that the Persian script should not be required by Hindu boys in Bihar and the Nagri put in its place. The Government accepted this suggestion. Even some of the Kayasthas were opposed to this change. His arguments were elaborated thus:

> "The Muslim boys should learn Hindi as the language of common education; Urdu as the language of their religion; and English as the language of the State. Why should a Bihari boy be compelled to learn and use Urdu? Once a State-language it had been, and with the fall of Muslim power, it should change. In the near or distant future English rule will be withdrawn from India. Would it be possible or politic to continue the same high place for English?"

This change was hailed by Bihari Hindus, and one of them, Ambika Dutt Vyasji, broke out into song which is translated below:

"Glory to Government! May it prosper!
It has driven the *Javanic* script:
And allowed the introduction of Nagri.
I worship Bhuban Dev (Bhudeb)
He went to the *Lat* and helped to remove a
great grievance,
Glory to his intelligence, glory to his arguments;
The people will sing his praises as long as the
sun and the moon shine."

Bhudeb had very high hopes of the future of Hindi. In his essay on "Social Matters with Special Reference to Language" he had written:

> "With the increase in the cultivation of knowledge, it will be a special feature of the local languages adopting words from Sanskrit and adapting these to their special needs. As this went on, our local languages will be coming nearer to one another, and an all-India unity will be developed in the near future."

This idea of quickening all-India unity was the inspiring motive of the activities of Bhudeb's long life. The Hindus formed the majority community in India, and their culture and civilization have made India what she is. Islam and Christianity having established themselves in India, the action and reaction of these three cultures enabled Bhudeb to build up a synthesis of immense value. His contemporaries had by 1850 regained their balance, and from that time on, the awakening in India's self-respect progressed, and during the last quarter of the 19th century, the cultural awakening coincided with the quickening of political consciousness. Bhudeb lived to see his people making steady progress on lines he had indicated in his various writings.

Bhudeb's life-long efforts to recreate an *elite* in Indian society who would by their conduct be able to lead the masses to re-capture their political and social self-respect which was Swaraj was this noble ideal. The foundation of the Fund (1894) occupied the last years of his retirement from service in July, 1883. Th enabled *pundits* to complete their studies various Shastras.

Bhudeb left this mundane world on the May, 1894, surrounded by his dear and near had personally given directions how his remains should be carried to the Ganges; funeral rites were to be performed; and apart a sum of Rs. 5,000 for his *sraddha* cere

Bhudeb was born on the 12th of February at 57, Hartuqi Bagan Lane in North Calcu father Visvanath Tarkabhusan was a schol reminded his contemporaries of one of the Rishis.

Bhudeb was born at a time when education through the English language had firm root in Bengal and threatened to preve special values of Eastern society—Hindu and lim. The first generation, known as "Young repudiated their culture, took to foreign ways. environment Bhudeb grew up. But he was from scepticism by the example of his father saintly mother. Their training bore fruit as from the volumes that Bhudeb wrote on Sociology, Hindu Family Life and Indian Therein we find words of ripe wisdom, bal enriched by his wide knowledge of Islam Christian thought.

By ordinary standards, Bhudeb was an Hindu following the traditional ways of his But he consciously felt that all was not wel Hindu society. In his *History of India R from a Dream,* he gave expression to his If the caste system was modified and the the people outside the pale of Hindu society purified by proper education, and water them was taken by all, a great Hindu society develop. By following this system, the under Sivaji transformed the sweepers (the of the Holkars), the shepherds (the caste Gaekwads) and the Kahars (the caste Sindhias) into Kshatriyas and rulers of Brahmins as Ministers.

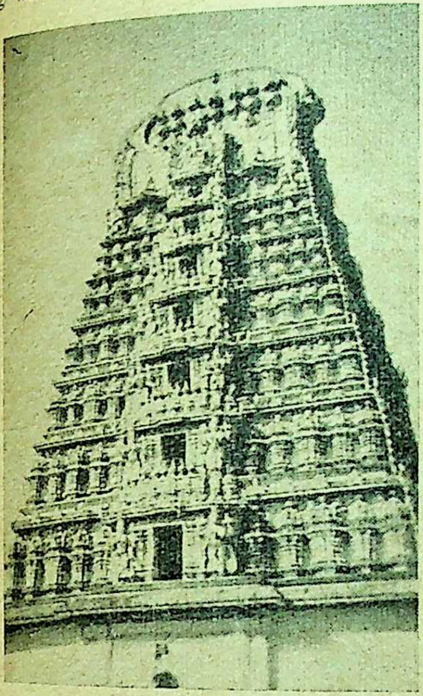
For the best testimonial to the me Bhudeb Mukherji, I quote Sir Roper Let

> "Vidyasagar was the very ideal of minded, benevolent and intellectual Brahm old school; Kristodas (Pal) the model kindly, clever, versatile man of the Babu Bhudeb in his later years seem to combine some of the best qualities these great men."

MYSORE—THE CITY OF EASTERN SPLENDOUR

BY G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

SITUATED in the proximity of the Chamundi Hills and blessed by the bounty of gracious Cauvery river, enjoying a lovable climate and a great cultural heritage, Mysore is a little city of endless charms with its gardens and beauty spots, institutions and industries, and is flooded with historical monuments which bring inspiration to its inhabitants and visitors from all parts of the breathing world.



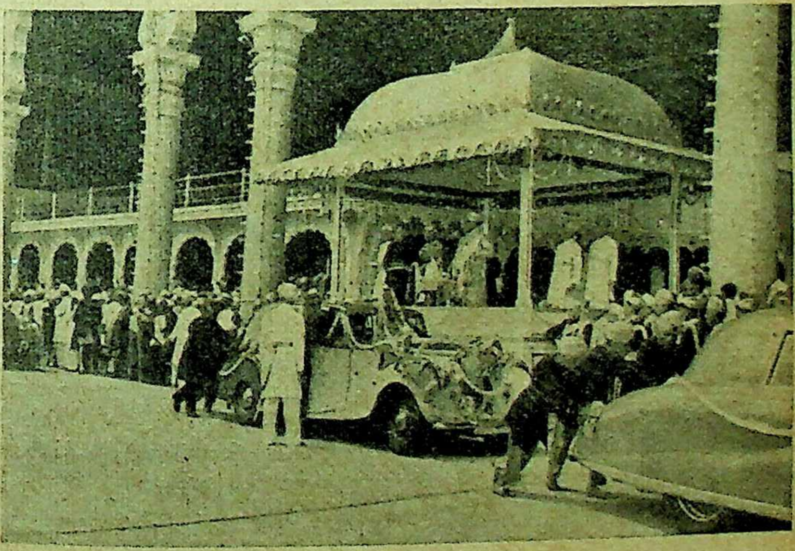
Upper portion of Chamundeswari Temple

Mysore has had an eventful history with many legends attached to it. Having found its traces in the reign of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., it has seen the rise and fall of three leading dynasties of the south : the Kadambas, the Hoysalas and the illustrious kings of Vijayanagara. It later became a play-thing in the hands of the power-crazy Hindu and Muslim monarchs whose fortunes were linked with it. Since the defeat of Tippu Sultan in the year 1700, it has once again seen a Hindu dynasty with benevolent rulers who continued their reign till the dawn of India's independence. In spite of this constant political transformation through the ages, Mysore has been fortunate to possess several great works of art and sculpture.

Lying 2530 ft. above sea-level, the city offers all the charms of the tropics to its population of 2 lakhs. The never-failing monsoon rains enrich the land which produces all kinds of crops and fruits. Outside the city there are thick forests of sandal-wood and timber which provide excellent opportunities of big game-hunting. The gold mines and mines of other minerals, plantations and food crops have all added to the prosperity and economic stability of the region.

Unlike Bangalore, the city of Mysore is less crowded with imposing buildings, beautiful roads and busy traffic. It is the home of schools and colleges and large and small scale industries. The Chamarajendra Technical Institute, the Maharaja's and Maharani's Colleges and the Good Shepherd Convent are some of the many "temples of education" drawing huge crowds of students from far and near. The University and Oriental libraries have a good collection of books for the

The great Nandi at Chamundi Hills

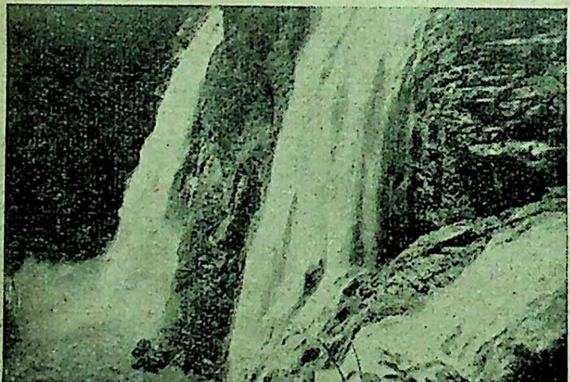


H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore performing the Pooja during Dasara celebrations Courtesy : Government of Mysore.

illumination and recreation of the brain. The sandalwood and the silk factories are located right in the city and are bringing out excellent products while giving employment to thousands of people. The general all-round improvement in the fields of education and industry is due to the keen interest evinced by the State Government and the untiring efforts of Sri M. Visvesvaraya, the Grand Old Man of Mysore.

Sivasamudram Falls

A typical characteristic of the ancient Indian cities is the possession of a number of temples erected by the art-loving kings of the past. Mysore is no exception to this general rule and has some of the finest shrines displaying the creative genius of the master-builders. The floral decorations and the Nandi at the great temple on the Chamundi Hills are decidedly the most wonderful. Proceeding a little further from



Gersappa Falls

the city, the Chenna Kesava Temple at Belur, with its delicate carvings on the outer walls and figures of smiling girls laden with ornaments, is easily one of the best-known shrines in the whole of India. The 58 feet tall statue of Sri Gomateshwara at Sravanabelgola is striking for its "magnificent proportions and marvellous serenity," and is the largest colossus in the whole world. Bopanna, the great bard, has praised it in these words: "Maya, Indra and the lord of serpents are unable to draw a likeness, to take a full view this matchless form of wondrous beauty . . . O shwara Deva! How fortunate are those who your lotus feet with fresh wild flowers!"

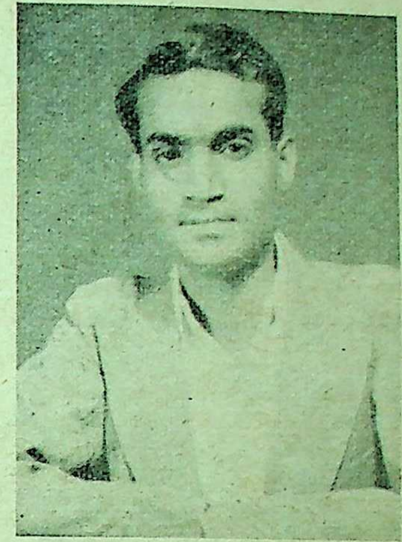
A typical Mysore girl
Courtesy : Government of

Among the grand constructions of the recent the Maharaja's palace should be named first. tructed in Indo-Saracenic style, with many tals, frescoes and the richly decorated pillars, been acknowledged as one of the best palaces in Similarly the Jaganmohan palace and the Mahal are some of the chief points of interest.

Hailed as India's "Garden City," Mysore land of fairy parks. Who on earth can ever serenity and lasting charms of the Brindavan Lying at the foot of Krishnaraja Sagara, known Kannambadi, perhaps the second largest artificial in the world, this garden is indeed a "paradise and unfolds the mysteries of the Invincible. nated on all Saturdays and Sundays and during occasions like Dasara and Christmas, it be haunting ground of the people who are lulled the spray of waterfalls and fountains reflecting sand colours. Stretched at ease on the flower ile gently caressed by the mischievous breeze, one en feels if one is really breathing on the face of this rth with so many uncouth and prosaic objects all round! Even the great bards cannot vividly describe r do justice to the irresistible charms of the Brindavan Garden.

An account of the Mysore Dasara Celebration seems ecessary since it has achieved a world-wide reputation. During this time of the year the city is overcrowded ith visitors who face the serious problem of commodation. But they are happy going round the ll-decorated city and visiting the Exhibition which rveys the progress of the state as a whole. The happy nnadigas, the colourful Coorgs from the adjacent ate and several others from elsewhere can be seen re displaying the latest fashions to which they have tely been susceptible. The Dasara procession, which sses through the main streets with the Maharaja ated in a golden "howda" on the elephant, is a witching spectacle of pomp and eastern splendour. The whole city is illuminated and looks enchanting with ndsomely dressed people whose faces are radiating y.

The ambitious policy and proposals of the Government of Mysore and the motherly attitude of the Central Government are striving hard to add much more to the fortunes of the city. In the course of years yet to be born, Mysore may become more wonderful and the very idea of visiting it may be a fascinating and happy embarrassment.



The writer

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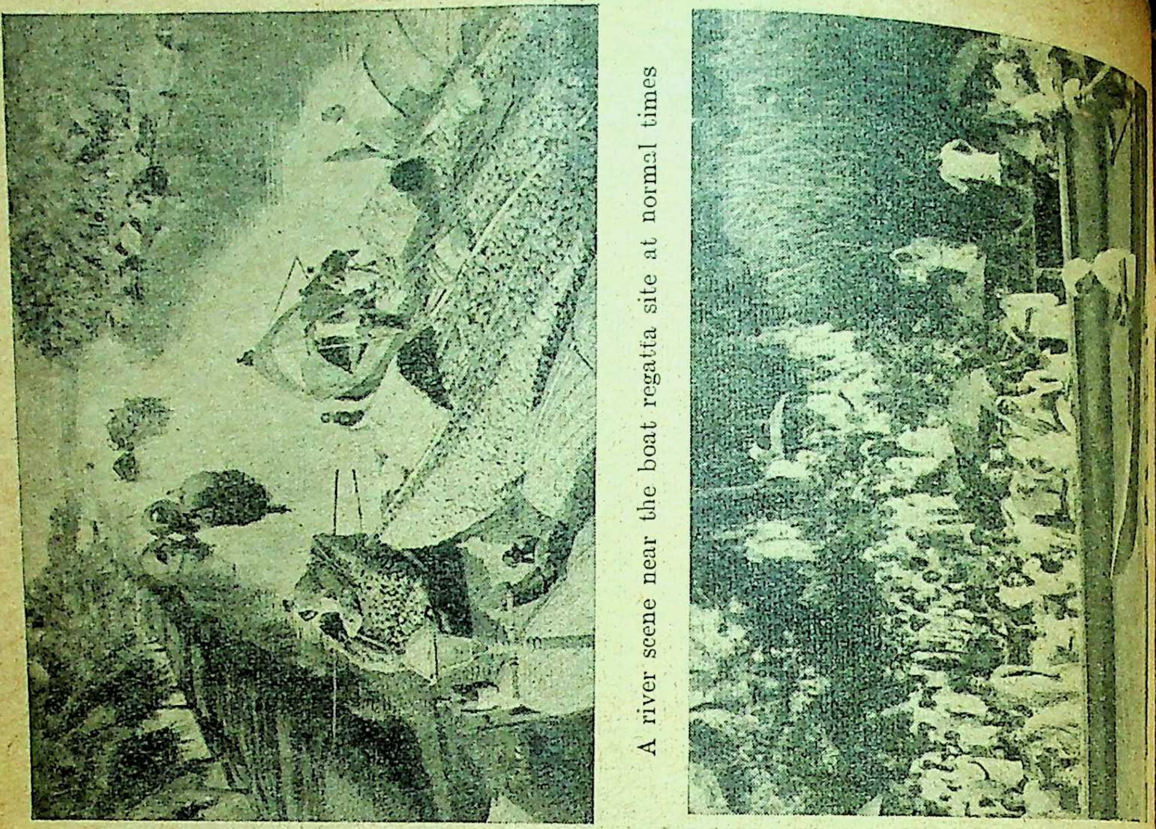
BOAT FESTIVALS OF KERALA

BY K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

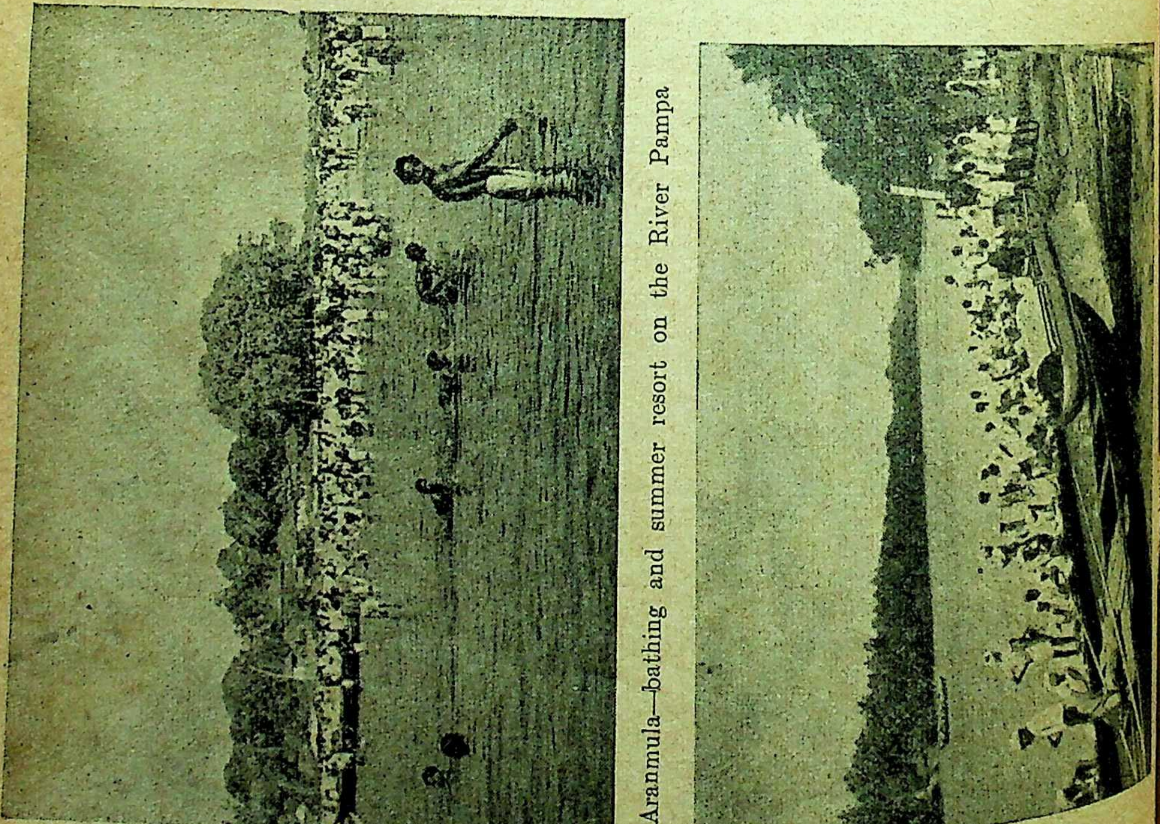
HE most outstanding and truly national aquatic stivals in Kerala, the land of several navigable streams d picturesque backwaters, are the Annual Boat Races ld on the broad waters of the principal rivers in ntral Travancore. Though in honour, and for the nvenience, of distinguished personages who visit the ate, boat races are conducted with great eclat on e Vembanad and Ashtamudi lagoons, these made-to-der regattas betray the absence of the genuine feeling d true atmosphere of the real boat festivals. To tness in full the real grandeur and feel the overwhelming national importance of the boat races they must be en in their natural and picturesque environment in he waterlogged areas in central Travancore. Boat races orm the most colourful and significant of the pastimes nd sports during the *Onam* festival, the festival of pring and plenty, in parts of the State lying close to vers. During the *Onam*, the festival *par excellence* in erala, in the month of August-September, when, close on the harvest, peace and plenty permeate all over the nd, majestic, spectacular boat regattas are held as the sible and moving expressions of consummate joy. The nam is a season of sumptuous eating, and drinking too hen prohibition does not hold sway, of hilarious playing, f warm days and pleasant nights. National festivals of eat importance and popular appeal, the picturesque boat races held during the merry *Onam* season are thrilling sights, in which the art, music, culture and literature of a great nation combine to form a lovely and unique form of enjoyment wherein more is meant than that which meets the eye.

The annual boat races, held at Aranmula, and Champakulam in Central Travancore, are the pre-eminent and typical of the boat festivals in Kerala. On the river front of the Vaishnava Temple at Aranmula, ninety miles to the north of Trivandrum, idyllically situated on the left bank of the River Pampa in Central Travancore, the famous Aranmula boat race is held every year on the *Uttratathi*, the fourth day after the Thiru Onam. The Aranmula boat race is, in fact, a part of the *Onam* festival. A health and bathing resort during summer months, Aranmula is famous for its temple, boat race and Aranmula metal mirror. On the *Uttratathi* asterism, the colourful regatta is held at Aranmula, amidst all-pervading mirth and nature's splendour. It is at once the oldest and most celebrated boat festival in Kerala which continues to attract spectators from far and near. Kith and kin separated by distance and various preoccupations join at old family houses during the festival season. Friends meet to exchange gay and grave thoughts and join in merry-making.

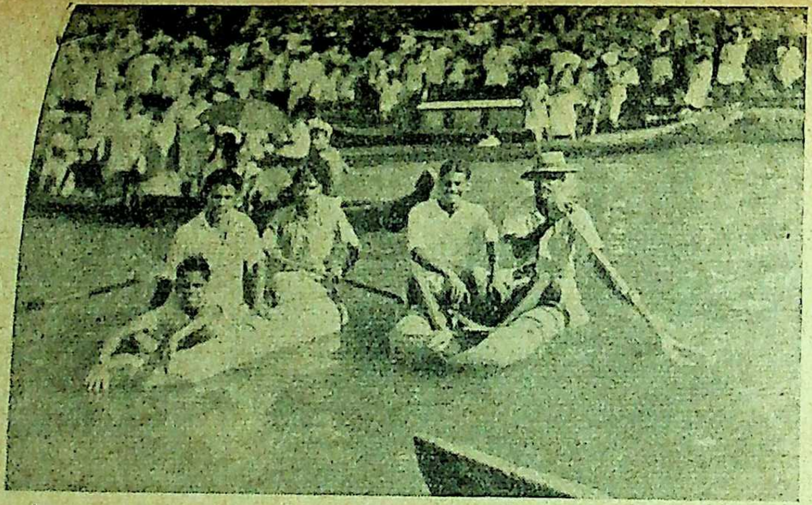
Tradition says that the boat regatta at Aranmula



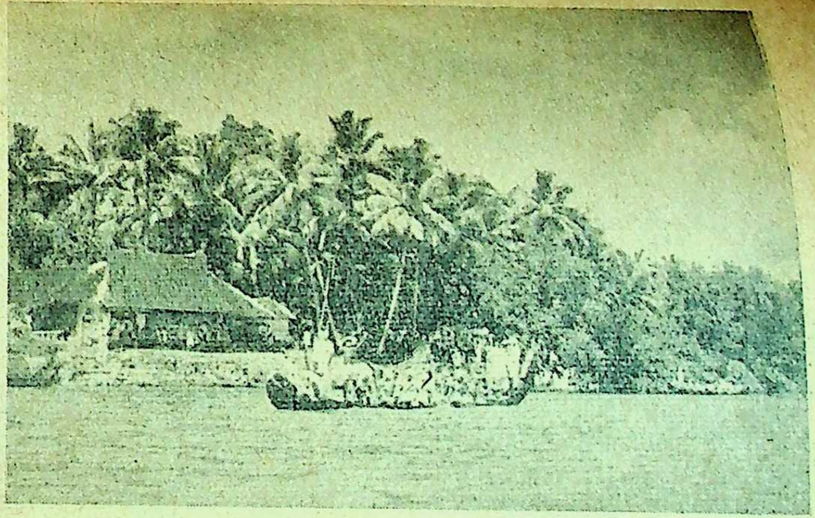
A river scene near the boat regatta site at normal times



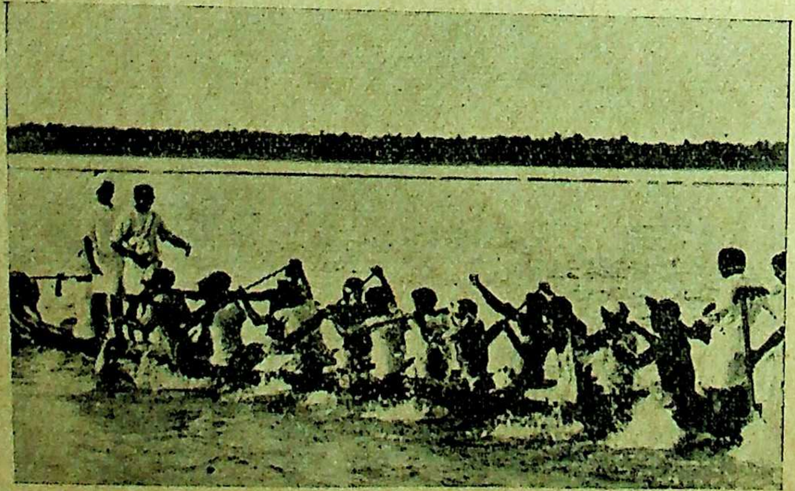
Aranmula—bathing and summer resort on the River Pampa



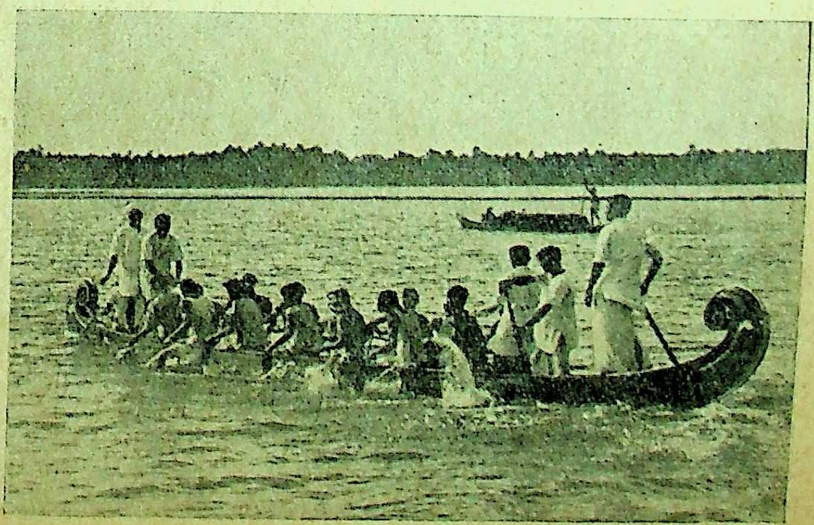
Youthful visitors going about in small rubber boats and cheering the crew



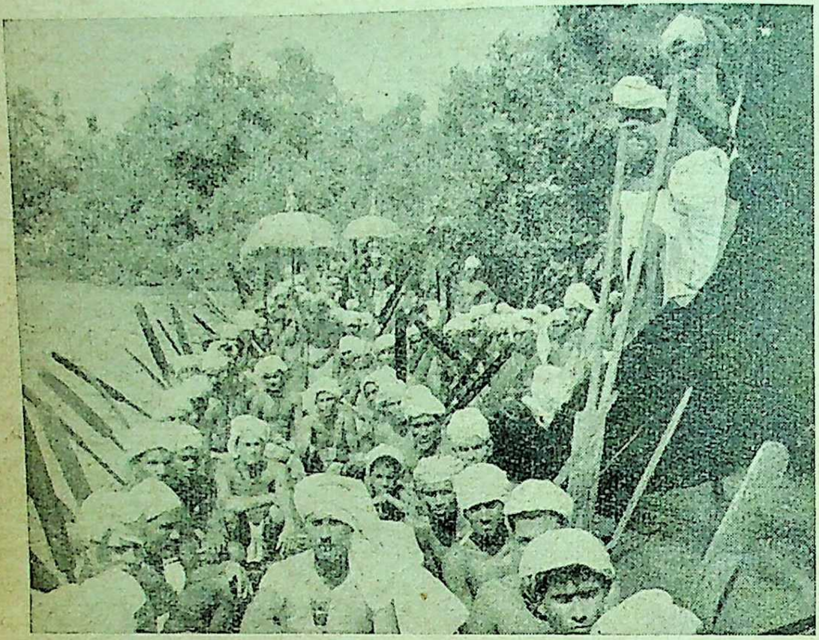
A snake boat (*Chundan*) nearing the goal



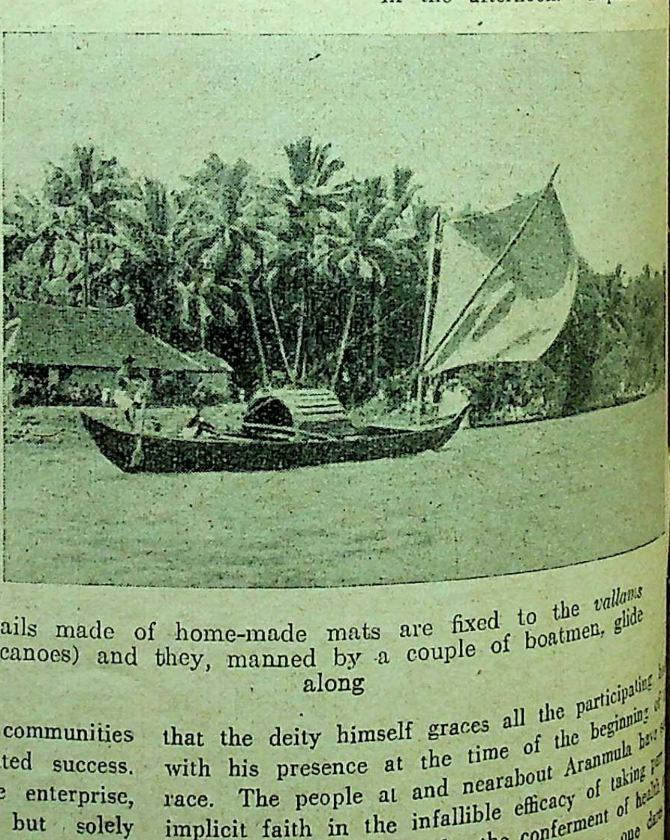
One of the race boats in action



One of the winning boats nearing the goal. A typical *Churulan* boat is seen in this picture is held every year in commemoration of the crossing of the Pampa river by Arjuna, one of the Pandava brothers. The story goes that following a long period of penance and austerity, Arjuna was on his way back to his native city with the image of Sri Krishna. When he reached the northern bank of the river Pampa, he found it in high floods. The great warrior stood aghast. A low-caste, poverty-stricken Hindu offered to ferry Arjuna across the swelling river in a fragile canoe. Arjuna was all joy and thankfulness. On crossing the river Arjuna installed the image of Sri Krishna (Sri Parthasarathi) he was carrying, at the spot where the present temple stands. To honour the timely service rendered to Arjuna by the lowly boatman, boat races have ever since been conducted on the river in front of the temple. The truly national character of the boat race is witnessed in the joy-imparting fact that though the Aranmula boat race originated as a purely Hindu festival, and is associated with temple, the participants in the regatta include members of all classes and communities inhabiting the neighbourhood of Aranmula. A healthy and loving rivalry exists between the different communities towards making the regatta an unprecedented success. Here is the finest flowering of co-operative enterprise, actuated not by profit-making motives, but solely inspired by warm human understanding and love of sport.



A close-up of one of the prize-winning snake boats



Sails made of home-made mats are fixed to the *vallams* (canoes) and they, manned by a couple of boatmen, glide along

During the Aranmula boat race, the banks river for a distance of about three miles would seething mass of humanity. Visitors who have small canoes and boats, will be clustering round the boats. Elaborate police arrangements are called maintain peace and order, for occasionally in the restricted mirth and enth characteristic of such occasions enlivened by intoxicating bev rivalry between the crews of diff racing boats might, with the provocation, assume an alarming Passions mount up and cool with amazing quickness during jubilant occasions. Not infreq old feuds and rivalries are re The boat race at Aranmula is conducted for any prize or but the crews consider the re as a fitting and grand occasi enjoyment, and also as an adoration to *Thiruaranmula App* presiding deity in the temple the rowers of the different va of boats are sumptuously fed by temple authorities before the mencement of the race. At the of the race handsome rewards also awarded. The race com in the afternoon. Popular bel that the deity himself graces all the participating with his presence at the time of the beginning of race. The people at and nearabout Aranmula have implicit faith in the infallible efficacy of taking the regatta as a means for the conferment of health wealth for the rest of the year that no one belittle the importance of the festival. The pious folk believe that the god never fails to inflict condign punishment on doubters and detractors who pooh pooh at the religious significance of the boat race.

Associated with an act of gratitude and divine worship, sanctified by national custom, adored by popular will, and lovingly fostered by successive generations, the Aranmula boat race, the most spectacular boat festival in Kerala, forms the subject-matter of two poetical works in Malayalam language, namey, Vilvattathu Raghavan Nambiyar's *Aranmula Vilasam,* and Perumpara Vasudeva Bhattathiri's *Uttarittathi Charitham.* Kunchan Nambiyar, the greatest poetic wit of Kerala, has put it tersely that the charm and majesty of the boat race at Aranmula on the lovely Pampa River defy description.

Rev. W. J. Richards, one of the earliest Westerners to witness the Aranmula Boat Race, has described the scene, as follows, in his book *Native Life in Travancore* :

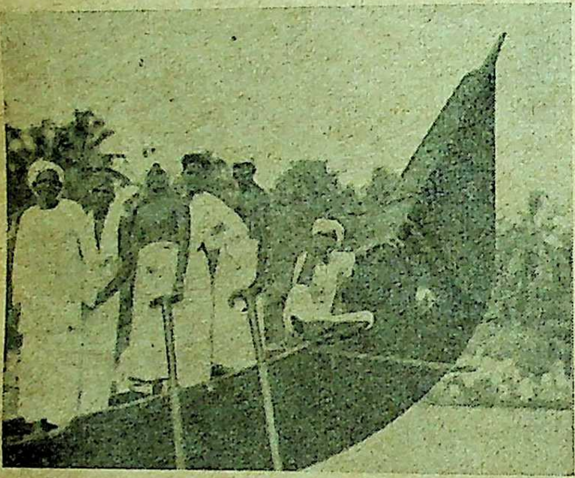
> "Aranmula, 18th August at 5 A.M., finds us opposite the great temple steps, on which an immense and excited crowd stands, some holding long lighted cressets which are reflected in the water making a weird appearance in the grey light of morning. The river is alive with canoes, big and little, which are objects of great interest to those on the bank. There goes a stately racing boat with its prow nine feet out of the water and manned by a hundred rowers, besides a large number of singers, standing up, and keeping time with hands and feet to the plash of the oars. These boats are reported, when full, to contain 200 persons each. How proudly they stand, how exultingly they sing, how gracefully they sway to and fro! Mark the feathering of the oars, and the musical motion of the paddles stretched far from the boats and brought to the water at the end of a circular sweep. How fine the boat looks ornamented at head and stern by plates of burnished brass and large silver-headed nails, which they call 'bubbles'! This is Onam, the great festival season of Travancore, and these are high caste people performing their national boat game. These five great boats abreast make the air ring with their songs as they glide in state down the river. If we could but wait till next Monday, the 23rd, we should see twenty-five together."

Various types of boats, all home-made out of indigenous materials, are used in the boat races, ranging from the magnificent snake boat (*Chundan*) nearly a hundred feet long and with 150 rowers, to the smallest one which measures 16 feet and accommodates a dozen crew. The boats are scooped out of single tree trunks, usually *Kadampu* and *Anjili* (Artocarpus hirsuta). A lot of skill, labour, time and money, go into the making of these boats which are objects of envy and wonder from ages past. The most popular varieties of racing boats are called *Chundan, Churulan, Odi, Paranthuvalan,* and *Iruttukuthi*, and each differs from the other in the shape of the helm and prow and capacity to accommodate crew. The differences in the construction of the remaining parts of the boats are not, however, very pronouned, though the build naturally varies with the boats intended for the placid waters of rivers and lakes, and the vessels which have to ply over the open backwaters where waves and currents have to be encountered. Easy and swift manouverability is the principal concern with the making of boats which race over rivers and lakes. The cut water is reduced to the minimum in these boats. Their prows and helms are raised considerably high and the streamlining is equally horizontal as well as vertical. The *Chundan* and *Odi* are such racing boats. In the construction of boats intended to negotiate open back-waters, care is taken to see that the cut water descends almost to the keel and top-heaviness is avoided by keeping the helm and prow quite low. At either end, the gunwale is curved up to prevent waves dashing in, as in the *Churulan* type of boats. The prow and helm of these boats are of identical build to facilitate easy manouvering.

One of the Kara Pramanis photographed in a moment of tense anxiety during the boat race

The *Chundan* (snake boat) variety of race boats is usually 38½ to 48½ *koles* (one *kole* being equivalent to 24 inches) long and accommodates 100 to 150 persons. The *Churulan* boats vary in length from 12½ *koles* to 20½ *koles,* and their crew ranges from 10 to 36. The *Odi,* also called *Cheru Chundan* has a length of 28½ to 32½ *koles,* and have 40 to 60 rowers. The length of *Parunthuvalan* varies from 28½ to 32½ *koles* and accommodates 28 to 36 rowers. The *Iruttukuthi* has also the same length as that of *Parunthuvalan* but it could take in sixty persons. Small variations in the length and capacity of the different types of race boats are met with in the boats constructed in various localities.

Of all the race boats the most imposing, picturesque, and costly is the *Chundan*, snake boat. The stern of the snake boat rises about 15 feet from the water level, and is embellished with exquisite ornamental designs in burnished brass and wood. The extent of elaborate and expensive ornamentation indicates the wealth and eminence of the owner of the boat. Long and narrow, the snake boats cut across the waters with majesty and grace. Only a few individuals, only the wealthiest landlords, own snake boats for they are very expensive, costing a few thousands. The majority of snake boats are owned by *Karas* (part of a village), the cost of construction and maintenance of the boats being met by the *Karakkars*, people of the locality. In the regattas, the different *Karas* owning arce boats enter, and with determination, strive their best to knock off the prize. The competition is austere and keen, in spite of the mirth and revelry enveloping it.



At the helm of a snake boat

The race boats in use in Kerala have much in common with the war canoes of the old American Indians, the Maoris of New Zealand, and some of the aboriginal tribes of the tropical countries, especially in regard to the shape and build and the manner and contrivances of propulsion. The striking similarity of these country crafts of different types of non-white races, is an intringuing subject of study, so full of historical and ethnological interest. It seems certain that originally the race boats served as war canoes of local chieftains. The ancestors of the present race boats must have played important roles in the territorial expansions of, and maintenance of peace by, the old chieftains of the principalities of Chempakasserry (Ambalapuzha), Kayamcolam, Thekkumkoor (Changanacherry) and Vadakkumkoor (Kottayam). It may be that the present annual boat races had their glorious origin in the annual fleet reviews, with which in course of time traditional secular and religious associations came to be linked; and that with the disappearance of maritime warfare, and consequent on the liquidation of the petty principalities and their absorption into the State of Travancore, the grand, imposing flee took on the role of picturesque, national reminding past glories and achievements.

Dressed in spotless white cloth, with whi gear gracefully tied, the leading men of the Kar their places in the race boats. The helmsm experienced and confident, stand on the tall stern boats, with paddles in their hands. It is as to watch how these veterans nonchalantly perch the high stern, without losing balance, when the boats gleam across the waters throwing silver The long, graceful snake boats are launched by into the broad river amidst songs and loud cheer and green silk umbrellas, resplendent with go silver brocade, and bringhtly coloured flags merrily in the breeze, are carried by some of the *Pramanis* (leading men of the locality) who tak places of honour in the boat. In rows, one beh other, sit the rowers with paddles. Songsters, and other folk occupy every available inch of within the boat and lustily cheer the rowers. oarsmen putting every ounce of their energy in deft strokes which splash gleaming spray, the boats shoot forward like foaming horses, while the crowds of spectators from either bank send up a of loud and continuous cheers. The voice of the too breaks out in spirited songs. Heard in a true atmosphere, these songs assume a military chara spite of the normally peaceful dispositions of the and other participants.

Several boat songs of high literary and charm have been specially composed for bein during boat races. The loud singing of the boat by groups of people, each knowing his part pe joining in just at the proper moment, without any provides delight and encouragement to the rowe lookers-on. The best known *vanchipattu* (boat a classic in Malayalam literature, so full of lyrical and high poetry, is Ramapurathu Variar's *Vritham*. Interesting and intriguing are the stances in which this boat song came to be by a povery-stricken poet and sung before a Ramapurathu Variar, a poet liberally favoured Muse, but emaciated by poverty, was advised friends to pay his respects to the then Ruler of core, who had come to the Vaikkam temple for When the poet reached Vaikkam on foot, gre and actually starving, to his absolute disappoint agony, he saw that the Maharaja was about to on the royal boat on the return journey to the The haggard and pity-evoking appearance of caught the searching eye of the Ruler, a patro and letters. The Royal Master summoned Varia into the boat which the poet did with ala being told that Ramapurathu Variar was an but devoted scholar poet, the Maharaja co him to sing a suitable boat song to the acco of which the oarsmen could row, without feelin

The poet began to sing the story of *Kuchela Vritham*, Kuchela's visit to Sri Krishna. The story was, indeed, most appropriate, for Variar like Kuchela was the poorest and neediest human being, and the Maharaja, like Lord Krishna, was blessed with all wealth, pomp, and power. The story goes that the song *Kuchela Vritham* which began to be sung at Vaikkam, ended when the royal boat reached the Trivandrum landing ghat. The Maharaja realised the plight of his subject, the modern Kuchela, and proved himself to be a veritable Sri Krishna by honouring the poet with riches and awards. *Kuchela Vritham*, a short, exquisite narrative lyrical poem, sung in the row boat tune, is the most popular and heart-touching of the boat songs in vogue. With 32 *matras* in each line, this boat tune conforms to the metre of the other popular paddle boat tunes which too have 32 *matras* to the line. The tune is full of life and vigour and well suited for the purpose. *Kuchela Vritham* was composed in the first half of the tenth Century M.E.

People of Kerala are by nature fond of festivals. Witty and humorous, the Malayalis react with rare calm philosophic outlook and fortitude to changing vicissitudes of fortune. Their national festivals wield considerable energising, integrating and entertaining influence. In their festivals, so full of colour and charm, and abounding human appeal, Kerala art and culture live and speak a direct and popular language. "Festivals, when duly observed, attach men to the civil and religious institutions of their country, it is an evil therefore when they fall into disuse." Bearing in mind these words of Southey, it is the duty of every Malayali to keep alive the national festivals of Kerala among which boat race is the top-ranking one.

(*Talk broadcast from All India Radio, Trivandrum*)

Photographs by K. P. P. Tampy

:O:

RELICS OF JAHANGIR'S REIGN

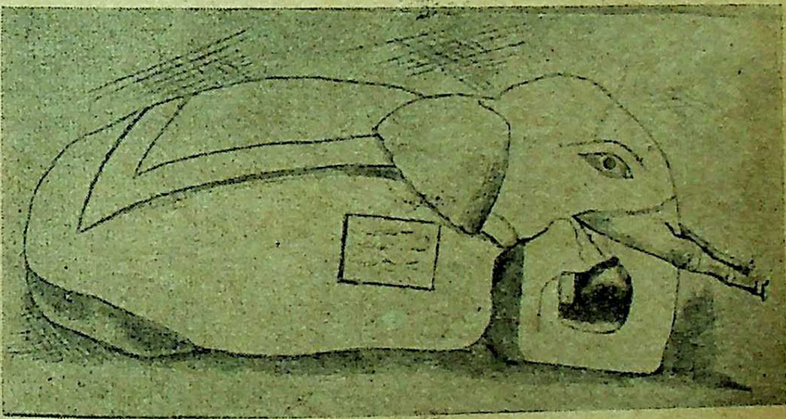
By U. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.,
Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer

NEAR beside Ajmer to Kishangarh road there is an old *baori* (stepped well) in the Gangwana village (District Ajmer) at a distance of about 8 miles from the city of Ajmer. Some years ago I discovered in that well, attached to a side wall, an important and hitherto unknown Persian Inscription in course of my exploratory tours as Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Gangwana which is so much associated with the Mughal Period of Indian History possesses also other relics of antiquarian interest.

The inscription under consideration is incised on a long stone slab measuring about 6 feet in length and 15½ inches in width. It has 12 lines of writing. At the end of this epigraph there is an effigy of an elephant nicely executed. The date can be clearly found out from the last line as A.H. 1024 (=1615 A.D.). From this date it seems that this stepped well is of the time when the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) was reigning.

The object of this new inscription from Gangwana is to record the construction of a *Sardaba* by one Gaj . . . Khan. The following reading of lines 1-3 and 11-12, though imperfect in many respects, may be of interest to some scholars of Persian who may like to take up this hitherto unknown Persian epigraph for proper editing in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica:

SEE TEXT



Hati-Bhata
(Jahangir's Elephant, Ajmer)

A word regarding figures of elephants assignable to the time of Akbar and Jahangir. Both these Emperors are credited with carving elephants "with masterly skill and true to nature." In Rajasthan "nearly every stronghold of importance had its Elephant Gate ('*Hatipol*')". Even at Ajmer there stands one such colossal elephant made of black marble bearing the date A.H. 1022 (=1613 A.D.). Tradition had it that due to his really artistic taste Jahangir had shaped out of a huge natural rock at Ajmer (jutting out of earth)

TEXT

الله اکبر جل جلاله -
چو گیتی ... خان محفل خیرات و احسان -
شده شهره در دهر از لطف باری -

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گفته تاریخ سهر دایه شهر خیر باری -
۱۰۲۷

this couchant elephant with skill and extreme care (Fig. at Plate). From this interesting elephant of the Mughal period has originated the name of a locality in Ajmer city called *Hatibhata* (Elephant Stone). On the body of this animal (right side) two lines in Persian are there which have been read by some people as:

تاریخ فیل سنگ شد از حکم اله
ایکه بوده یاره فیل جهانگیر بادشاه

We come across various other similar inte relics in the State of Ajmer which are associated Jahangir.*

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* Being requested by me, the Archaeol Superintendent in charge of Muslim Epigraphy, Delhi, has inspected this unique inscription at Gangw and prepared proper estampages.

M. Gupta
20.2.53

RELIGION AND HUMAN PROGRESS

By Dr. SATKARI MOOKHERJI, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head of thè Department of Sanskrit, Calcutta University

The subject of our discourse is calculated to have a profound interest in these days of fast movements in ideology and faster achievements of science. But the subject can be successfully tackled if we have a clear conception of the true connotation of religion and of progress. I shall not attempt to define progress—which is bound to baffle exact analysis. Let us understand that progress means movement to a higher and better level and condition of existence than the *status quo* and this level may have reference to physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual status of man. The modern age of science has undoubtedly brought large additions to the comforts and amenities of our physical existence. It has made intercourse among nations and countries and their mutual understanding easier, cheaper and quicker than dreamt of in the past. Space and time have undergone enormous shrinkage and the whole world seems to be reduced to a geographical unity which is greater than was possible even for a single nation or a small province. Of course all the countries are not equally developed—some of them still clinging to primitive conditions and suffering from the struggle for existence which was the fate of the whole world. Let us hope that all the units of the world, the diverse peoples and races, will one day reach the consummation, which science holds out as the ultimate prospect.

Intellectually also the world has advanced at least in parts. The printing press and paper have multiplied books and the thoughts of the best men are now available to one who elects to equip himself for it. The question of paramount interest and importance in this connection is: "Has religion made any contribution to this progress? Has it helped or hindered this advance?" I understand that our subject of discourse has pointed reference to this burning question and it is essential that in approaching the problem we must not allow ourselves to be swayed by passions, emotions and sectarian or propagandist interests, which will upset our intellectual equilibrium and warp our judgement.

It must be admitted that Science, in spite of its startling discoveries and achievements, has not succeeded in submerging religion even in the professional meaning of the term. Christianity, in so far as its dogmas were derived from the literal meaning of the Old Testament, was shaken by the biological and geological discoveries and the theories based upon these data. The theory of creation was overthrown. But the better minds revised their religious notions and brought them into harmony with the new knowledge. It is undeniable that the attitude of the custodians of official religion in Europe in the past were sceptical of the scientific experiments and they adopted a hostile attitude towards science. In this respect religion, institutional and official, tried to exercise a deterrent influence upon the advancement of human knowledge. It is symptomatic of a profound truth that the advocates of the dogmatic faiths have failed to curb, far less to eradicate, the impulse to acquisition of fresh knowledge irrespective of its reaction on the professed creed. Dogmatism has failed and science has triumphed. But unfortunately the reaction produced by the hostility of the Christian Church was also not healthy in the beginning. Religion came to be suspect in the scientists' camp as much as science was in the eyes of the vested interests that the Church created. We cannot resile from the truth, however unpalatable, that religion in so far as it was based upon the literal interpretation of the old scriptures, was noted for its undisguised opposition to cultivation of knowledge. Unfortunately the record in some countries of the East was not less unenviable. In Tibet, the monks opposed the installation of electric plant and dynamos in Lhasa, though Buddhist dogmas have no conflict with modernization. There was a strong aversion to gold mining as they thought that this meant disembowelment of the Mother Earth. The boycott of English schools and colleges by the Muslims of India and the protest of the orthodox Hindus to dissection of dead bodies in the early years of British rule were inspired by a religious bias. Instances may be multiplied to show the obsecurantism and abhorrence of knowledge which were directly or indirectly fostered by religion, so far as its professional custodians and agents were concerned. It will be incompatible with our regard for truth if we seek to extenuate or gloss over the manifestly irrational and misologous role that was played by these defenders of the traditional faiths. Love of truth was not a strong passion with these agents of God. If religion be the monopoly of the professional purveyors of divine knowledge, I am afraid that all dogmatic religions, I mean, the faiths ruled by the dogmas and approved interpretation of tradition, cannot but entertain unfriendly disposition towards the expansion of the frontiers of knowledge. Credal religions, which derive from a person, historical or mythical, will be chary to hail the progress of knowledge.

But I am deliberately of the persuasion that institutional religion is only an external vesture of the true religion and however useful and necessary the observances and ceremonies may be, they forfeit their spiritual value when they are divorced from the spirit. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the Vedic religion and Buddhism, the two great religions that India produced, were noted for the freedom of thought, that is yet in a nascent state in Europe. Read the Upanishads and you will be surprised to see a bewildering variety of tenets, theories and practices. But this difference did not lead to religious feud, state control, censorship or persecution by the rulers. However deep and wide the divergence of the creeds and practices might have been they were allowed to flourish side by side. The Buddha appeared in a time noted for the emergence of various prophets and exponents of religious and ethical dogmas which were sharply opposed to one another, and the rivalry among them and their followers was too keen and pronounced. But they did not receive opposition either from the rulers or from the leading sections of society. About one thing the State and legislators were adamant in their attitude. They would not allow any faddist to upset the social order, laws of the State and established usage and custom, unless they were found to be obnoxious and detrimental to the well-being of the nation. The overall effect was not insalutary, as the theories which were morally and intellectually weak were superseded by stronger ones and the intellectual progress of the people of India registered a high water-mark. As the legacy of the past intellectual fermentation we have got the six major schools of philosophy on the side of orthodoxy and the Buddhist and Jaina schools of thought, which still arouse our admiration and stimulate our logical faculties. The differences of philosophers and of the followers of diverse religious persuasions have not spelt a disaster, because in India these have remained purely spiritual forces without any political affiliation or socio-economic repercussion. Religion becomes a prolific source of danger when it becomes an instrument of political self-aggrandisement and economic exploitation. We have had the bitter taste of the baneful effects of religious differences harnessed to power politics and of the propagation of alien creeds.

It cannot be denied that in the history of mankind professional religion frequently allied itself with powerful sovereigns or political confederacies and became an engine of persecution of the opponents. Political jealousies, rivalries, greed, vanity and self-love are the perpetual weaknesses of men and nations and they have been responsible for the untold sufferings of mankind in the past. But when they succeed in securing the support of religion and thus the alliance of God in the prosecution of their nefarious plans, they become a thousand times more dangerous. Religion then opens the gates of hells and by deadening the conscience of the tyrants and spiritual veneer upon their base brutal induces the moral degeneration of the persecu by depriving the victims of the necessary of life and freedom of expression hastens the of the latter. It becomes a terrible scourge, it is apt to rouse the perversest form of which deprives greater and greater gratificat more horrible the injury it succeeds in inflicting the weaker and less organized peoples and If religion be summed up in these creeds, the it is abjured and condemned, the better for the and the future development of mankind.

Is it then our conclusion to place a univer upon religion and banish it to the limbo? Ru been making an experiment in this line and yet to know whether it has succeeded or the have been such as to justify the enterpris attempts in the past to demolish God have ended in the installation of a new divinity place of the older ones. Buddhism and Jain not believe in a personal God as the creator world or dispenser of justice. They believe natural efficacy of the moral law to produce consequences and no intervention of a spiritual is deemed necessary for the purpose. So wors God is only waste of time and labour. But wh been the result? The promulgators of these have been deified and are worshipped by the The instinct to worship is as primal and as able as the animal instincts which make for preservation and race-preservation. So there escape from it. It is there and the more we abolish its sway the more powerfully it comes putting on a disguise which will not deceive casual observer. There is every likelihood that and Lenin will be worshipped as gods in the future. So mere denunciation of religion will The catalogue of the sins of religion may be beyond calculation, but ultimately it leaves human mind cold and unaffected. You may gods but cannot do without one or the other. *Maya*, Superstition, Original Sin and what not one cannot be rid of it. Cheap condemnati defeat itself. The source of religion is to be to the inherent constitution of the human

The irrepressible impulse and urge of the mind for self-improvement and dissatisfaction the *status quo* and conquests over ignorance augury and guarantee for infinite perfection, short of which will satisfy man. The ambition is infinite. It cannot be dismissed as a delusion mockery. The progress in knowledge achieved date and the continuous recession of the past of knowledge afford an assurance that the human intellectual advance are neither station insurmountable. The better and nobler minds prepared to own defeat. In every field man is not satisfied with his achievements or the legacy of his ancestors. In the ethical plane the overall progress of mankind has not perhaps been commensurate with the intellectual strides. But here also he will not bow to the inevitable. The goal is yet distant, but distance lends enchantment to the view and will not stifle man's aspiration and will to conquer. Our ambition, though not consciously articulated, is to be perfect in every plane and this gives the assurance and hope, if not logical or mathematical demonstration of immortality and after-life. The croakers and philistines in every age have poured ridicule upon man for his foolhardiness and folly in his chase after the will-o-the-wisp. But they have failed and will fail. Man is not satisfied with bread and butter and creature comforts. In these days of food problem and the mounting prices of essential commodities, which have made our existence a continuous source of vexation and dishonour, the slogans and seductive addresses of the advocates of the new cult of materialism may have a temporary success with the poor and the down-trodden. They exploit the social injustice and the ineptitude, engendered by inexperience and sudden accession of power of the rulers, which are the stumbling blocks in our country. But the basic immoralism and impiety of the new creed are its clay feet and it will crumble to pieces, as soon as a new adjustment of socio-economic forces will liberate the people from the thraldom of economic misery. But we must not sit idle and follow the policy of drift trusting to a natural turn of the scale in the opposite direction. The scale has to be turned only by the collective goodwill and persistent efforts of the progressive sections of mankind. We must be on the alert at home and in schools and colleges so that our boys and girls may not fall an easy prey to the meretricious propaganda of the agents and evangelists of the dangerous creed. Self-complacence will only add to the strength of the enemy.

The victories of our ancestors over the materialists in the past are no guarantee of an easy success in the present struggle. The opposite forces are more organized and the technique they follow is far more effective and powerful than in the past. Besides the alliance of materialism with the economic forces and the frayed temper caused by social injustice with the apparent sanction or inaction of the professional custodians of religion has made it a formidable force. The wages of our past sins are coming home to roost. We must make amends for the past delinquencies which we have inherited together with their wealth from our ancestors.

What should be our *modus vivendi*? Neither by preaching the mildewed dogmas, nor by pandering to the baser instincts of the people, nor by appeal to the prophets of the old can we hope to survive the onslaughts. We shall fail to save religion by the old tactics, which succeeded with the intellectually backward peoples in the past. The rivalries of religions must cease. I cannot understand why there should be this overpowering zeal for seeking converts? Proselytizing religions have been the worst criminals in the past. If you have a good idea, a more efficacious way of regenerating the weak souls, give it freely to all. You are all welcome in this holy mission. Enlighten the ignorant, help them in ameliorating their conception of godhead and elevate them to a better and higher moral level. But that does not necessiate the change of name, dress, mode of living and eating and the consequent uprooting of the beneficiary from the national *milieu* and social moorings. What is necessary is the spiritual upliftment of the less fortunate and not his metamorphosis into an alien pattern. What we need is saints and spiritual giants, whose holy life and teachings will stimulate our love for holiness and not paid or professional missionaries, who by conversion of the masses by physical force or economic temptation will create inseparable cleavage between the new proselytes and the followers of the traditional mode of life.

Our experiences are too bitter in this regard. The Karens and the Buddhists in Burma cannot unite into a nation because religion stands in the way. The Muslim converts from among the Hindus have been hypnotized into the belief that they are a nation apart and have nothing in common with the Hindus. Religion has been a source of dissension and disunity and its baneful influence is not at an end. The reason of this woeful state of things lies in the vanity and the megalomania of the *soi-disant* prophets and their followers. Instead of scattering blessings they have showered curses and the escape from their clutches is now sought in the cap of no-religion, which is born under extremely powerful auspices and is manifesting the fanaticism far more ruthless and unscrupulous and uncompromising than all past religious movements. Religion, if it is to be a source of happiness and blessing, must renounce all political affiliations and alliances and must not aim at sabotage of social heredity. If there are problems of society, state or economic organization, the solution must be the task of social reformers, political thinkers and professional economists. Religion must stand aloof and avoid entanglement in the turmoils of controversies and bickerings, which are bound to be passing phases. Social conditions will change, and if religion be committed to a particular socio-economic pattern it will become an obsolete force, or what is worse, will seek to perpetuate the pattern which has become a misfit.

There is no doubt that religion will have its repercussion on the social consciousness because the human mind does not live in watertight compartments. But let the influence be free and spontaneous and not engineered. For God's sake let us desist from the fatal and futile course of action, which may have been followed by the past generations, of confounding the things of God with the things of Caeser. *Religion is the pursuit of spiritual values* and reaches its consummation in the realization of Truth. *God is Truth* and our innate love of truth and allegiance to truth and goodness are our true worship of God. If any particular religious denomination discovers a new truth or a new approach to truth, let it make a free gift of it without stint or reserve and without exacting the price of national humiliation, wh [illegible] monial conversion entails. Let the holy sain [illegible] countries and nations seek to convert the [illegible] follow the example of the scientists and phil [illegible] whose life is a dedication to the pursuit of tr [illegible] who impart their discoveries without stipula [illegible] cruel departure of the beneficiary from his [illegible] *status quo*. It is in this way alone religion ca [illegible] perpetual incentive to progress and the goal [illegible] reached when man will attain the full stature [illegible] divine which is his ultimate destiny.

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AUSTRIA—THE LAND OF MUSIC

By Dr. MISS INDIRA SARKAR, M.A. (Cal.), D. Litt. (Paris)

THE music of Austria is born out of its landscape, it is deeply rooted in the hearts of its people. There is a special magic in the air, which bewitches the musician as well as the poet. Several hundred years of development have prepared the way for Austrian music. Already in the twelfth century, we find Reimar von Hagenau stating that all the people of Austria, rich and poor alike, are fond of dancing and playing the fiddle. Walther von der Vogelweide, a very famous ministrel, sang his loveliest songs at the court, and Neidhart von Reuenthal played for the common people and urged them on to dance.

In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find the Austrians building up the musical life of Europe and the best composers played at the Austrian court. The establishment of the Viennese Court Chapel for Music, under the patronge of Maximilian the First, enabled Austria to occupy the central position in the musical creativities of the times. Important men like Heinrich Isaac," Ludwig Senfl, Paul Hofhaimer, the greatest organist of the day, brought glory to Vienna and helped in the development of spiritual music in Austria which budded forth the finest blossoms in the whole world.

Both the nobility and the common people took delight in religious musical works and its maintenance was encouraged very warmly even to this day. All great men, working in the realm of tones, in the Catholic country of Austria served the "Musica Sacra." The instrumental Church-music was a real product of Austrian talent.

During the seventeenth century, we find that the operas, the oratorios and the cantatas were introduced, and in this domain, the Italian composers like Cesti, Coldara and Bertali carried away laurels at the Austrian court. It laid special importance on luxurious settings of opera pieces. The Habsburg kings like Ferdinand III, Leopold I, Joseph I and Karl VI were kn [illegible] be lovers of art and music. The masterly achie [illegible] of many talented composers and musicians, which [illegible] an important part in the history of Baroque [illegible] took place during their rule. Among the well [illegible] musicians, during the time of Leopold I, mention [illegible] be made of Johann Joseph Fux, who composed [illegible] than 18 operas, 10 oratorios and many religious w [illegible] He paved the way for Gluck and the followers of [illegible] Viennese classical school of music.

Along with the Baroque drama, which was [illegible] appreciated by the upper circles, we find popula [illegible] ments, like ballets and singing comedies being [illegible] duced, for the enjoyment of the masses.

With the death of Karl VI. a turning point took [illegible] in the history of Austrian music. Maria Teresia as [illegible] the throne, after the death of her father, and h [illegible] face many financial burdens, She introduced sim [illegible] and austerity in court-life. This brought abo [illegible] disappearance of the luxury and pomp of the Ba [illegible] opera in Vienna. The Court Theatre was converted [illegible] a National Theatre. It was directed by a private [illegible] and gave access to everybody, be he rich or [illegible] Italian and German operas were performed in it [illegible] nately, as well as French singing plays and ballets [illegible]

At this period, the spiritual tendency in [illegible] turned towards the popular and the simple in [illegible] music and art. The Italian and Austrian com [illegible] had to adapt themselves gradually to the new in [illegible] Italian musicians, like Scarlatti and Salieri, and Au [illegible] like Gassmann and Dittersdorf worked in the [illegible] light and laid the foundation for the Sonata a [illegible] Symphony form of music. This eventually reached [illegible] high-water mark in Viennese classical music.

The composer, who bridges the transitional [illegible] in the opera, between the Baroque spirit and the [illegible] tendency in classical music, is Christoph Willibald [illegible]

He was of the opinion, that the musical and the dramatic were inseparable in works of art and were to form one complete unity. Gluck, as conductor of musical programs, toured all over Europe. In London, he met Handel and in Paris Rameau. Here he studied the happy combination of ballet and choir. These foreign contacts stimulated his spirit. The Viennese Court had already recognised him as a composer for the theatre and chamber-music pieces. The Pope had presented him with a medal. At this stage, Gluck wanted to introduce a classical reform in music. To this period belonged his works like "Orpheus," "Alceste," "Paris and Helena," "Iphigenie auf Tauris." He was crowned with success in Austria and Paris. At the end of his rich creative life, we find three great masters, *viz.*, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven coming into the lime-light. They proclaimed a new epoch in music and Austria finds herself again the olympic champion in the art of tone and music.

At about this time, we find Joseph Haydn, the oldest Viennese classicist, working at the court of a prince. He came to Vienna at the age of eight, as a choir boy. He had already learnt to play the piano and the violin at that tender age. He began to compose early in life, to the great anger of his music teacher, who turned him out into the street. One cold November morning, he was picked up by a Church singer, half-frozen and half-famished. He had lost his voice and had to struggle for eight long years, giving tuition to young boys, and thus earned his daily bread. He, however, feverishly sat down to compose with great enthusiasm. It was in the house of Count Furnberg, where some musical soirees used to be held, that the string-quartet of Haydn came into existence. At the age of thirty, Haydn was confided with the task of conducting the princely orchestra in Eisenstadt. He was connected with this work for more than thirty years and during this time, his musical talent rose to great heights. He became the creator of the classical string-quartet and the early form of the classical symphony. After the closing down of the orchestra in Eisenstadt, he returned to Vienna. He made two interesting trips to England. For this tour, he specially composed twelve princely symphonies. In Oxford, he was bestowed with an honorary doctor title. Thanks to his stay in England, he composed there "Die Schopfung" (The Creation) and "Die Jahreszeiten" (The Seasons). Five days before his death in 1809 he played the national hymn of Austria once more, which he had composed himself. Haydn's great urge to create gave to the world one hundred symphonies, numberless chamber-music pieces, piano concertos and sonatas, twenty-four operas and many pieces to be played during Mass Service in churches, which are of great merit, due to their popular spirit and their simplicity. It may be said that sonatas and symphonies are the creations of Haydn. A musical world had been created. Through instrumental music, Haydn became the inventor of the classical style in music, which was to be perfected fully later on by Mozart and Beethoven.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born in Salzburg in 1756. Wonders are always happening in the world, though the cases are few. At the age of four, Mozart first wrote his piano concert and at five, he composed menuettes. All on a sudden, he also started to play on the violin and no one ever knew, when he first started playing that instrument. His father organised concert tours with his son and gifted daughter, Nannerl, and both children toured the whole of Germany, England, Austria and Italy giving performances. Everywhere Mozart was received with the same enthusiasm and was proclaimed the "wonder-child"! At the age of seven, he printed his first sonata, which was published in Paris and soon after, his first symphony followed suit. Joseph II ordered him to compose an opera, which turned out to be "Bastien and Bastienne." With fourteen years of age, Mozart became concert-master at the orchestra of the Archbishop of Salzburg. The Pope gave him a medal. He was showered with honours from all sides. His operas increased, only his financial position never improved. Again at the age of fourteen, Mozart became a member of the Philharmonic Association of Bologna. He mastered the violin, the piano and the organ. Mozart followed his first visit to Vienna by a second one and this time he cut off all connections with the princes and the courts and accepted no more help from them. He wanted to be a free composer and not a slave of courtly whims and fancies. This stage marked a turning point in the life of Mozart. He now wrote his immortal masterpieces, *viz.*, "Die Entfuhrung aus dem Serail" (The Abduction from the Seraglio), "Die Hochzeit des Figaro" (The Marriage of Figaro), "Don Giovanni" and "Die Zauberflote" (The Enchanted Flute), etc., But his pecuniary position remained as miserable as before. In 1788, he wrote his three great symphonies one with its strong differences in theme, the other known as the tragic symphony of Mozart and the third, commonly called the Jupiter Symphony, full of glory and victorious power. This hard work brought Mozart's life to an end. Before his death, he wanted to hear once more his "Enchanted Flute." After his death, very few friends attended his funeral. He was buried in a collective grave. Once, an old woman wanted to visit the grave of Mozart and the grave-digger was unable to say, where it was to be found in the huge cemetery. So little was taken note of this great genius. One really has to wonder, if later generations can ever make good that which contemporaries have overlooked, in the way of celebrating and recognising the merit of their great men. Mozart is now immortalised all over the world and especially in his homeland—Austria.

The way was now being prepared for the rise of Ludwig van Beethoven. At the age of sixteen, he came to Vienna, in order to become a pupil of Mozart. The latter noted the talent of the boy and remarked that Beethoven would one day make the whole world speak about him. He was the son of a drunkard and was born in 1770. His childhood was spent in great distress and misery. At the age of twelve, he composed his first piano variations and sonatas. His mother died of tuberculosis and thus early in life, Beethoven was faced with great hardships but he was determined to stand the struggle of life boldly and not be totally overpowered by it.

At the age of twenty-two, Beethoven again came to Vienna. The landscape and atmosphere of Vienna were responsible for inspiring this titanic giant of music, with melodies and tunes, throughout his life. The Vienna woods, the vineyards of the neighbouring villages and the pastoral greenness of the country-side were sources of inspiration to him. About Beethoven's work must be said, that his music was a unique realisation and a unique confession. It was a transitional movement from hell to heaven. It was harmony in the midst of chaos.

His work, "Eroica," was an heroic piece of music. The dark, unearthly and powerful element can be traced in the fifth symphony. The sixth symphony known as the "Symphony Pastoral" was filled with a note of sweetness. In the ninth symphony, we find the note of joy expressed, at the conquest of obstacles. No other man has composed works similar to those of Beethoven. Some pieces like "Cariolan," "Egmont", "The third Ouverture of Leonore," "Fidelio" and the "Missa Solemnis," which is the crowning piece of all Church-music ever written, remain unparalleled in beauty and grandeur in the world of music. Beethoven was sought for by many publishers and was paid handsomely for his compositions.

But already at the tender age of twenty-six, Beethoven noticed that he could hear a buzzing sound in his ears. A shrinking of the ear-nerves had set in, which ultimately led to complete deafness in later years. What could be more tragic in life, than for a great musician, not to be able to hear his own music? In his writing entitled "Holy Cities Testament" we get an insight into the agony of his soul. He writes: "Oh you people, you think that I am violent and ironical, you do me wrong. You do not know the secret which makes me appear to you so. My heart and soul are always filled with gentle feelings of friendship. I am always ready to face difficulties. But just remember that since six years an incurable sickness has befallen me . . . . Born with a fiery and lively temperament, I have to withdraw from society early in life and lead a lonely existence. What a humiliation it is for me, when others hear a flute from afar and I cannot hear it, or some one hears shepherds singing in the meadows and I cannot hear anything! Such experiences almost drive me to despair, very little remains for me in order to put this miserable life to an end. Only she—Art holds me back."

Soon Beethoven could not hear anything and everyone was compelled to make him understand by writing. He was too proud to admit his sickness. He could not hear a single tone and yet he wanted the performance of his ninth symphony in was unable to hear a single sound and the was obliged to follow the signs of his baton was the applause after the second movement could not hear the cheers of the people. The on the stage made signs to Beethoven, that he turn round and bow before the audience, roaring with enthusiasm. In the year 1827, breathed his last on a stormy night and left ing world around him to lament his loss and departure.

Among the great crowd, that took burial of Beethoven was also Franz Schubert the burial Schubert went into an inn and toast to Beethoven. A second toast was drunk successor of Beethoven. Little did Schubert he himself would follow into the glorious his illustrious predecessor. Some nineteen he died,—the great prince of songs,—hardly years old. Schubert was a dreamer. He had span of life and Vienna was the place, composed songs of all kinds, many Mass music and symphonies.

Schubert was born in 1797. He learnt when quite a little boy and was introduced boy-choir at the age of eleven. At this age, to write his first music pieces, against the his father. At the age of twenty-one, up his post as a teacher and devoted himself to the writing of music. His friends looked in a touching manner and introduced him to his pieces printed and found him a dwelling Many musical soirees were organised and composed new items and played them enchanted audience. The Biedermeier form found its perfection in the music of Schubert. written more than six hundred songs, six thirty pieces of chamber-music, four hundred pieces, seventeen stage compositions and nine Next to Beethoven, this instrumental found himself to be an instrumental lyricist. pieces breathe the atmosphere of his among them are "Erlkonig" (Erl King), Spinnrad" (Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel), lenquintett" (Trout Qunitett) and "Wanderer (The Phantasy of a Wanderer).

At the age of twenty-six his health began rate, without any hope of improvement. He himself to his lot. He gave his first concert, in 1826 and that year was also marked, by his caused by typhus. His "Unvollendete (Unfinished Symphony) remained untraced for a century. It was the music of sorrow and Unfinished is also the appropriate word for the death of Schubert. Schubert is very popular. pieces are played, then every one recalls the great musician, who dedicated himself at the music. Austria is rich in brilliant sons, who devoted their lives to the glory of music.

With the death of Beethoven and Schubert, we find the period of transition, between aristocratic and popular music completed. Many academies were founded in Vienna, in the domain of song and music, in order to awake and expand the desire in the hearts of the people, to sing and compose music.

A new period is now ushered in, with the appearance of Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss. They are the fathers of popular and gay music in Austria. Their waltzes and menuettes, polkas and marches, thrilled all music-lovers of Vienna and their melodies were hailed by people in all corners of the globe. In 1825, Johann Strauss junior was born to Johann Strauss senior. Both the father and the son were great composers. But the son became more famous than the father and got the title of "Walzerkoning" (The King of Waltzes). Although, forced by his father to learn book-binding, Strauss junior ran away from home at the age of fifteen. He played the violin in the famous Lanner quartet. At the age of nineteen, he conducted his own orchestra, playing his own compositions. He became an open rival to his father and surpassed him with sparkling success. His waltzes like "Morgenblatter" (Morning Leaves), "Wiener Blut" (Viennese Blood), "An der Schonen Blauen Donau" (On the Beautiful Blue Danube) and the "Kaizer Walzer" (The Emperor's Waltz) are all world famous. He travelled extensively all over Europe and America, conducting his music. In Vienna, Strauss junior conducted his orchestra, consisting of more than three hundred men. Sometimes, he even gave more than ten performances, in one single day. He wrote five hundred pieces, among them fourteen operettes including "Eine Nacht in Veneding" (One Night in Venice) and the "Ziguenenbaron" (The Gipsy Baron). His music too belonged to Viennese Biedermeier art. No other land can claim to have given so much joy to lovers of music like Austria.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, three new stars appear in the musical horizon of Austria, viz., Brahms, Bruckner and Wolf. Johannes Brahms was born in 1833. He came to Vienna in 1852, where the charm and atmosphere of the place kept him rooted until the end of his life. He followed into the footsteps of Beethoven. His admiration of the Austrian scenery, inspired him to works, which were composed on the shores of the Kartner lakes, in Styrmark, in Salzkammergut and in the surroundings of the Vienna woods. Viennese popular songs and Viennese waltzes inspired his own creations, which include four symphonies, over two hundred songs, many pieces for chamber-music and orchestra-pieces. He died in 1897 and left a vacuum in the music life of Austria.

Anton Bruckner was born in 1824 as the son of a village school-teacher. He too began his life as a choir-boy and finally became a teacher of music in Linz, where he taught for twelve years. His compositions were so highly appreciated, that he was called to the Conservatory of Music in Vienna and was awarded the title of Doctor of Music, from the University of Vienna. He did not try to philosophize or express some ideas in his music. He composed music for the sake of music, art for art's sake, as we may say. His music came from the heart of his deep, religious temperament. His music resembles the festivity and the mystery of the Catholic Church. He came into contact with the works of Richard Wagner. Bruckner formed the transition between the classical and the romantic period of musical compositions. He died in the year 1896, and he had to his credit nine symphonies, theree great Masses and numerous pieces for Church-choir.

Hugo Wolf was the creator of numberless songs filled with a unique sensitiveness. He was always in great tension and his emotions swayed from joy to sorrow. His music too expressed these sentiments. In less then half a year, he had put more than three hundred and fifty poems to music. His opera "Corregio" is well known as also his poetic symphony "Penthesilea." Being of a nervous temperament, he found himself in an asylum at the age of theirty-seven. His life was full of hardship. He had to face great difficulties in the domain of money. All these things soon led to the breakdown of his health.

In the twentieth century, we find in Austria, Franz Lehar occupying the most important place in music. Others are Gustav Mahler, Franz Schmidt and Richard Strauss.

In recent times, every one has heard the names of Wilhelm Kienzl, Julius Bittner, Franz Schreker, and Arnold Schonberg. Future historians of music will some day also write about these great masters of modern times.

After making a rapid survey of all the great composers of Austria, in the past and the present, we must conclude that this country is really the land of music par excellence. Every Christmas Eve, all Christians celebrate this day by singing the beautiful hymn of "Stille Nacht Heilige Nacht" (Silent Night Holy Night) in their homes and churches. The music of this hymn was composed by Franz Grüber and the text to it was written by Josef Moher. Both these men, the musician and the poet, are also Austrians. There is no doubt, that Austria is a wonderful country for art, music and culture. She attracted the best talents in music from all over the world to its metropolis, including those from Germany, Italy and France. She excelled in great musicians of her own as well. There is something in the air of Austria, which brings forth music. Even in future years, she will continue to delight the whole Western world, where her music is highly appreciated and loved, by creating new pieces and melodies.

ABANINDRANATH TAGORE
A Tribute to His Memory

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

TODAY is a red-letter day in the history of Bengal, in the history of Indian Art, nay, in the history of Asiatic culture, for, on this day, 83 years ago was born in this city Abanindranath Tagore, a nephew of Rabindranath Tagore, who was desined to re-kindle the flame of Indian National Art, which had ceased to burn for many decades and which Indians had forgotten under the de-nationalizing influence of British dominion in India.

To re-discover the threads of old Indian Art at a time when the whole of Bengal was under a black shadow which shut out all lights, to recognize and understand the age-old spiritual ideals of Indian culture, was itself an achievement worthy of a great seer, worthy of a great pioneer. To General Cunningham belongs the credit of discovering the key to the interpretation and understanding the edicts of Asoka and his message of peace at a time when all Indians had forgotten the language of Mauriyan Prakrit.

To Abanindranath belongs the credit of deciphering the old vernacular language of Indian visual art which all Indians had completely forgotten and when all Indians were suffering from the inferiority complex that *Indians had no Art of their own,* and, that Indians must learn how to express ideas in forms and colours through the imported and borrowed languages of European Art. He not only recovered the lost language of national Indian art, but also helped the Indian nation to recover its self-respect, to realize and value its foregotten spiritual treasures, imbedded in the various schools of Indian painting, still surviving in the brilliant records of the many phases of the Art of India.

At a critical moment of the nation's history, Abanindranath raised the standard of revolt against the fetish of Western culture and the slavish imitation of Western forms of art and gathered round him a select, if not, a numerous host of followers, who shared his belief in the unique possibilities and the future of the language of Indian art. The torch, rekindled from the dying sparks of a glorious past, he held above his head and called upon others to follow, and those who had eyes to see and ears to hear did not hesitate to respond to his call. The stream, that had lost itself in the desert sands of a period of perverted ideals and misdirected enthusiasm to imitate the manners and methods of European art, began to flow again in an ever-increasing volume. The lost threads of a glorious tradition were picked up at last and the long history of Indian painting was resumed again and began to be written in a new and brilliant chapter of new achievements.

To study the language and the various idioms of Indian painting, he started to make a unique collection of the surviving masterpieces and to piece together from these relics the outline of the old history painting. As a connoisseur of art of refined ness and of liberal sweep and insight, it was for him to recognize new beauties and sterling in all creative works of ancient masterpieces, pised and neglected by the art-snobs as incomp insignificant. By his intensive studies he dis highly developed. but a wholly original language, recorded and exemplified in the old the East, which was equal, in a different way, to of the West. In this new discovery, equal in a way to the Art of the West, Dr. Tagore antici several years the discoveries of the English Laurence Binyon and Roger Fry.

This, the assembling together of a set of master-pieces of the old and forgotten art of anci afforded a valuable group of materials and the study of the unique and original qualities Art, a study of which gave him valuable instruments for building up not only *the new art* but also for indicating the path of *the newer tomorrow.*

. Tagore claimed that the traditions of Indian not dead forms but were surviving as a living with a rich vocabulary capable of further deve and new adaptations and new formulations to demands of modern India, her new outlook and life. He, therefore, sought the materials for the lopment and formulation of a new language painting, not only in the old Indian masterpieces, in the works of European Art, principally in and utilizing European principles of composi division of spaces. He was not, therefore, a valist of old or archaic traditions, but a ch new forms, based on the foundations of old; appreciation of the values of old traditions did a return to the past, nor an exclusion or re modern influences from the West, nor an un to undertake new experiments in new ways of ex putting the basic languages of Indian painting uses and new applications.

In 1903, Tagore painted his first two pictures in oil, in the new and eclectic language lated by him. (Exhibited at the Exhibition Art at Delhi Durbar, under the titles: "Last Shah Jahan" and the "Capture of Bahadur Sh earned warm praise and a silver medal in of the fact that the old Art of India received birth, and the technique of the old Moghul received a new development. Years of experiments followed in the illustrations of of Radha and Krishna and of various Pauranik and Buddhist legends, presenting hackneyed topics in new formulations and ques. The products of this period were published in colour-plates in the pages of the famous art journal, London *Studio*, and were acclaimed by European connoisseurs as very commendable attempts to develop old traditions in new and vital presentations. His illustrations of 'Buddha and Sujata,' 'Abhisarika,' and the illustrations of "Meghaduta" created quite a sensation in the brilliant demonstrations they gave of a new development of Indian painting.

He now brought together a group of disciples whom he initiated into mysteries of the principles and practice of the language of Indian painting. These new disciples were Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Ganguly, Asit Kumar Haldar, Samarendranath Gupta, Hakim Khan from Lucknow, and Ventappa from Mysore, an enthusiastic group of sincere workers who helped to build up a "New School of Indian Painting," working ceaselessly under the direction of their Guru and the leader of the new movement.

In 1914, at the invitation of an Art Society in Paris, Tagore and his disciples sent choice examples of their works for exhibition at the great European centre of Art, where the foremost critics and connoisseurs of Europe gathered to heap on them a unanimous verdict of warm and reverend tributes. The reputation of the new school was built in a day, and Reuter telegraphed to the Calcutta dailies the news of the success, which was flashed in blazing head-lines: THE TRIUMPH OF ABANINDRANATH IN THE EXHIBITION OF INDIAN PAINTINGS IN PARIS.

Modern Indian culture was on that day placed on the map of the World's Culture. Commissions came thick and fast from many publishers in England to the members of Tagore School, to illustrate books on Indian subjects. The House of Harrap published several paintings by Tagore and his disciples to illustrate the *Hindu and Buddhist Myths* and the *Studio* published a series of illustrations from Omar Khayyam by Abanindranath, which proved a magnificent success.

This brought about a change in the outlook of the British educational authorities in India, who came forward to replace the English Principals in the Government School of Art by appointing in their places the disciples of Tagore. Thus Samarendra Nath Gupta went to take charge of the Mayo School of Art at Lahore, Asit Kumar Haldar was appointed the Head of the Government Art School at Lucknow and Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury took charge of the School of Art at Madras. In this way the movement that began in the city of Calcutta spread all over India, establishing the claims of indigenous Indian painting as the legitimate and valid method of expressing Indian ideas and Indian sentiments through the national language of Indian Art.

A second laurel from Europe came to Tagore and his group of disciples, in another triumphant exhibition, held in Berlin in 1923, earning a chorus of admiration from the German critics, who made the significant remark that "in these new creations India has recovered her own spiritul consciousness enslaved and obscured by the depressing condition of a foreign domination."

In recovering the Indian mind from the domination of a spiritual slavery, Abanidranath played a greater role than those who worked to achieve political freedom. India still owes to this spiritual prophet, the great champion of National Art, a memorial worthy of Indian Art, and worthy of India and her great spiritual destiny.*

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* A talk delivered at the All-India Radio, Calcutta Centre, on the 21st August, 1954.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Rajeswar Das Gupta"

I have read with surprise Sri Indu Bhusan Chatterj's communication in the June number of *The Modern Review* in which he has denied that he is the writer of the article on the late Rajeswar Das Gupta published in the issue of *The Modern Review* for September, 1953.

Sri Chatterji has tried to damn the late Rajeswar Das Gupta with faint praise or I can say his praise is acidulated with scorn.

Whether the late Rajeswar Das Gupta was a pioneer in the field of agricultural research is a matter of opinion. But I have to remind him that the late N. G. Mukherji's valuable works were all written in English whereas my father's were written in Bengali; besides he has to his credit: (1) the invention of the "Rajeswar Plough," (2) the introduction of the deep well system for irrigation and (3) the researches regarding the building up of an improved breed of Bengal Cattle in the Rungpur farm and many other achievements which have been appreciated by experts and agricultural workers.

If seniority is to be regarded as the title to be called an "expert" or even "pioneer" why reject the claims of men like the late D. L. Roy, Dwijadas Dutt, Girish Chandra Bose and B. Chakravarti? .

Regarding my father's career in the Sibpore College, agriculture was not a subject in the General Course of study and he must have taken agriculture as a special subject. There cannot be any question of misleading the reader.

I deplore the thread of an attempt to belittle the article that runs through the remarks. And I hope it will not be necessary for me to trace that attempt to its source.

J. C. DAS GUPTA

SEPULCHRAL URNS OF ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA
A Pre-historic Antiquity

By J. A. KOILPILLAI

INDIA has a civilization which dates from remote antiquity. It traces back to a period during which the art of recording the events of the day was unknown. Hence there are many unwritten chapters of ancient Indian history. Our knowledge of this period is drawn from very scanty materials. No doubt archæology lends a helping hand to the historian. Even then the result is far from satisfactory, as we have very few finds of the ancient past—I mean prehistoric period—which could yield reliable information to the student of history. It is the object of this article to gather some facts about an ancient relic which is subject to the above limitation.

In modern India we are quite familiar with the different ways of disposing of the dead. But in ancient South India a race of people followed a different method the traces of which are not to be found at the present day. Archaeologists have brought to light evidences of this strange mode of sepulture in pre-historic South India. These consist of large earthen jars containing human bones in advanced state of decay. The sizes of these urns vary with the age of the persons whose remains are found in those jars. The largest was about 11 feet in circumference and the smallest between four and five feet. These burial urns have been found in many parts of the Tirunelvelli District in the Madras State especially in Adichanallur, Korkai and Kayal which are sites of historic importance. These urns are found in scattered places as well as in clusters. Generally they occur at the sites of buried towns. Historians are puzzled by these interesting finds as they do not afford sufficient data to establish the identity of the persons whose remains are interred in this curious way.

These urns are large, one-legged, elongated. globular earthen pots. They are narrow at the neck and they swell out towards the middle and terminate at a point at the bottom so that they can keep the upright position only when they are surrounded with earth. These urns have flat conical covers on the preservation of which depends the condition of the contents. The mode of interment remains a mystery. The neck of the urn is so narrow that the body must have been reduced in bulk either by dissection or by pounding before it could be passed through the narrow mouth. But such an unseemly manner of dealing with the dead body can hardly be imagined even in that remote period. Another
theory is that the body was burnt and that
were placed in the urns subsequently. Bu
of calcination have been noticed in the
some of these jars were found highly polis
which had the appearance of black glaze and
cay of the blackened vessels seems to have
to the theory that the bones had been cal
there is no reason to think that cremation
in use. The only other possibility appears
that the entire jar was divided into two p
that the dead body was placed in the lower p
that the upper part was subsequently fitted
other and cemented so artistically and perfe
the dividing could not be detected. This
improbable as the earthen vessels found in the
show unmistakable skill in workmanship.

In only few cases do the urns contain
bones of skeleton. Many urns contain a
part of it or some other part or bones of the
From that Mr. Rea draws the conclusion
people in those days followed the modern sys
interring a selection of the bones. But th
overlooks the fact that there were no traces of
in some urns and that in others there were o
ments of the harder bones the rest being littl
than a mass of earth. Therefore paucity of
bones of the skeleton was perhaps due to de
addition to human bones small earthen ves
husks of rice and millet are found in most of th
A number of such urns in Adichanall
examined by Mr. Rea. In some cases iron
ments and weapons, vessels and personal or
in bronze were found. In a few instances gold
were discovered. This last must surely hav
limited to persons of rank and importance. Dr.
well concludes that the object in view in p
vessels in the urns was that the ghost of the
might be supplied with ghosts of eatables and
ables together with the ghosts of suitable ves
eating and drinking in the other world. At an
some of the implements found in the jars
that they were used for sacrificial rites.

The people who live in the neighbourhood
places where these urns occur know nothing ab
people by whom this mode of interment was p
or of the period in which they lived. There i
ever a legend current among them about the
who were buried in those jars. It is said
Treta Yuga people used to live to a gre

Though they grew old they did not die. The older they grew the smaller did they become. They became so small that it was found necessary to keep them out of harm's way. Their fellow cratures achieved this object by placing them in the little triangular niches of the walls of their houses. At length the younger generation lost patience with their ancestors and placed them in earthen jars and put with them their vessels containing food and drink and buried them in a sort of cemetery near the village. This is purely a myth and it seems to be a confession of ignorance rather than a reasonable explanation. Such a wild theory has been invented, perhaps in order to explain how the body was found in a jar with a narrow neck and why vessels of daily use were found in the jars. Anyway this theory is falsified by the fact that the bones found in these urns were clearly those of normal beings and not of pygmies.

The name by which these urns are called in Tamil does not throw much light about their history. Dr. Caldwell says that this name assumes three forms: (1) Madamudakkattali, (2) Madamadakkan-dali, and (3) Madamatan-dali. He explains that the meaning of the first two forms is the same. *viz.,* the tali or large jars which boils over. The idea is that the little people who were placed in them used sometimes to come out of the jar and sit about as if they had boiled over out of them. But this theory is too absurd and fantastic to deserve any serious consideration. The third form of the name is used by the common people of the neighbourhood. Dr. Caldwell says that the term "Madonmatta" is sometimes used in Tamil to mean "very large." The important characteristic of these urns is their great size. Hence, we may safely assume that the name current among the common people merely draws attention to the principal feature of those jars—their large size. Thus etymology does not help us much in solving the problem.

The only points that can be regarded as certain are those which have been ascertained by the internal evidence of the urns. It is clear that the people who were buried in them were neither pygmies nor giants but men of ordinary stature. The skulls were similar to those of the men of the present time. The teeth were worn down by eating grains. When one of those finds was discovered, Dr. Fry, Surgeon to the Resident of Travancore was present, and he pointed out that the molar had been worn down by eating grain and that the edges of the front teeth had been worn down by biting some kind of parched pulses. In another jar opened by Mr. Stuart and Dr. Jagor at Aditta Nallur (Tirunelveli District) a head of millet was found. The grain had disappeared but the husk remained.

These unknown people must have lived in villages, the jars being found not one here and another there, but arranged side by side in considerable numbers as would naturally have been done in a cemetery or burial ground. Most of the sepulchral urns occur either in the immediate vicinity of buried town sites or in the midst of broken pottery and ashes. This circumstance is significant and it can not be explained as a coincidence. It is reasonable to suppose that the race of people whose dead ancestors were buried in the urns were suddenly attacked by a powerful enemy and the entire race was wiped out without leaving a single individual to transmit the history of their civilization. There is no reason to think that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the same neighbourhood, as no trace or tradition of such a strange mode of sepulture has survived to the present day. It appears fairly certain that they were aliens. Who those aliens were and where they came from it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty. Dr. V. A. Smith says that jars similar to these urns occur in Babylonia where they were coated with bitumen in the inside. The Indian examples substitute for the bitumen a black smear, a false glaze. This fact seems to indicate that prehistoric South India was connected with Babylonia. Or it may be that a band of Babylonian merchants settled in South India and formed a separate community and flourished in a high state of civilization, and were ultimately destroyed by their enemies. The objects found in the urns represent the people in a comparatively advanced civilization. They required and made certain vessels for culinary and domestic purposes. These vessels show considerable skill in the art of pottery. These people were acquainted with the value and use of metals.

Whatever the religious tenets of those people it can not be doubted that they firmly believed that human existence is not limited by the tomb. The practice of depositing various objects with the dead presupposes a firm belief in a future state where, they supposed, such objects would be required for use. This conception of the future was cast in the pattern of the present and hence they believed that whatever is necessary, useful, and ornamental in this world would be required in the next. This conception of the future is neither that of Hinduism nor that of Buddhism and hence it forms another link in the chain of evidence that the religion of the people who used the urns were neither the one nor the other, but anterior to both. The conclusion which seems to be most probable is that this race of people were aliens, that they professed a religion which is not current among the people of the neighbourhood and that they were in an advanced state of civilization and that they were living in peace and plenty and that they were so effeminate that they could not withstand the sudden onslaught of more warlike races.

A SURVEY OF BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD

By RAGHBIR S. BHATIA, M.A. (Econ.) (Indiana University, U.S.A.)

SINCE the early part of the nineteenth century, Britain has been one of the most important capital exporting countries. Not only have British foreign investments played an important role in India, but they have also shaped the economic development of various other countries. This paper traces the rise of British investments abroad, their geographical distribution, and their supreme importance in the British economy itself.

During the 18th century, England was probably a net debtor country.[1] But the centre of gravity of financial power, which had been moving from Italy to Portugal and Spain, and from there to Paris and Amsterdam, had now moved to London. From 1815 onwards, capital began to flow outwards from England in large quantities. The profits built by commercial enterprise, the English lead in the industrial revolution, the wars on the continent of Europe, gave England almost a monopoly of financial power for over a generation, and even until the First World War there was no centre that could challenge the supremacy of the financial citadel in London.

From small amounts, the British capital flow rose, with considerable fluctuations, until, in the year immediately preceding the First World War, more than £175 million every year was being invested abroad.[2] The outstanding capital in foreign countries had grown from £100 millions in 1825-30 to £3763 million in 1913.[3] The First World War resulted in a decrease of the capital outstanding abroad by about 25%, but subsequent investments, although they did not compare with the rates attained before the First World War, had raised the investments to £3640 millions in 1932.[4] Immediately before the First World War, about half the capital saved was being invested abroad. The foreign investments comprised about one-fourth of the national wealth of England. The percentage rise in investments abroad was much faster than the growth of domestic capital.

Such phenomenal growth in capital flows in time started a reverse movement in the income on foreign investments and this income grew by leaps and bounds. The income rose from about £50 millions in the early eighties to over £200 million in 1913-14.[5] The year 1929 brought in an income of £230.9 millions after which, b of the depression, the income fell in 1934 to millions. The average return on capital invest 1929 was 6.2 per cent ; in 1934 it was 4.7 per

Looking at the growth in income from angle, the income from investments abroad form increasing proportion of the British national income the First War. It has risen from 4 per cent in eighties to 7 per cent in 1903 and 10 per cent beginning of the First World War. "When it is bered that this is entirely an income from while the estimates of national income include turn for all forms of labor, its importance as a new capital becomes evident."[7] In 1937 *The Ec* wrote :

> "At present, the income from that [invested abroad] represents about one-twenti our total national income. But this is hardly estimation of its relative importance. Now high proportion of our means is spent on servi all kinds, a large part of the national inco presents the taking in of each other's whereas the income from overseas is tangible net. A truer picture is given by the statement something like one-quarter of our total impo delivered to us, gratis, by foreign and E countries as a tribute upon the capital that we lent them."[8]

There are two aspects of British investments are extremely significant. First, the British inves have gone very largely to the Regions of Recent S ment, such as the United States, Canada, Arg New Zealand, etc., and to the Empire countries. two classifications are, of course, not mutually ex Secondly, although there are few forms of ente in which British capital has not participated, investment has taken place largely in the for public debt and the building of public utilities, ally railways.

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, capital flowed mainly to Europe for the recons and economic development of that region. C such as France and Belgium borrowed heavily Britain. The first railroad in France was laid British capital. But within a generation or countries began to save enough for themselves

As their financial institutions strengthened the prospects for British capital began to grow dimmer, it turned its face towards the primary countries and the Empire where the virgin soil abounded in new opportunities. Apart from the very heavy investments in countries such as the United States and Argentine, it is the Empire countries that became the recipients of British capital. Not only was the political security greater in the newer regions, but the rewards were higher, with the result that, although the flow of British capital increased rapidly, the absolute amounts invested in Europe declined. But the striking increase in Empire countries is evident from the following figures. In 1880 about 20 per cent of British foreign capital of a total of £1,150 was invested in the Empire; in 1913 about 47.3 per cent out of a total of £3,763 millions, and in 1929, 56.6 per cent; and the proportion has been rising since then.[9] In India the proportion of total investment rose from 10.2 per cent in 1913-14 to 14.4 per cent in 1930.[10] In spreading their investments over many parts of the world, the British have refrained from putting too many eggs in one basket. In this respect, there is a considerable contrast with the French investments which did not flow in a very marked manner to their colonies or for the development of the primary countries. Most of the French investments were concentrated in Europe.

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[1] C. K. Hobson : "British Oversea Investments, Their Growth and Importance," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXVIII, *America's Changing Investment Market*, November, 1916, pp. 23-35.

[2] Herbert Feis: *Europe—The World's Banker*, 1870-1914, New Haven : Yale University Press, 1930, p. 11.

[3] Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Problem of International Investment*, London : Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 115.

[4] Staley : *War and the Private Investor*, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

[5] Feis : *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

[6] "British Capital Abroad," *The Economist*, CXXIX to December, 1937), p. 362.

[7] Feis : *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

[8] "British Capital Abroad," *The Economist*, *op. cit.*

About 60 per cent of the French investments were in areas where their political ends were being served.[11] For example, a considerable portion of French investment consisted of lending to Russia where it only served to feed the war machine of the Tsars. Naturally, France burned her fingers when the inevitable disaster came. She lost 55 per cent of her investments in the First World War. Because of the unscrupulousness of the Paris issuing banks who recommended issues most profitable to themselves, "the French rentier—the most cautious of capitalists and the most credulous—was content with a gilt-edged return on securities in which no self-respecting gambler would have dabbled."[12]

On the other hand, the British issuing houses have expertly and wisely guided investments in directions which not only avoided the pitfalls into which the French investors were led, but brought great benefits to the British economy.

It is worth noting that it was not high profits alone which guided British investment mainly into the Empire countries. Some of the laws passed in Great Britain were also responsible to some extent for channelling capital flows in that direction.

In the first place, for the non-self-governing colonies, "the Crown Agents acted as issuers for the vast bulk of loans raised by the Colonial Empire. Although the loans were secured solely upon the revenues of the borrowing colonies, the fact that they were sponsored by this centralised Imperial organ, responsible to the Home Government, gave them a credit status far higher than a single colony could command."[13]

Moreover, the Crown agents were also the purchasing agents for the colonies, and their actions naturally resulted in direct exports of goods from Great Britain to the countries receiving the borrowed funds. Although capital exports must lead to the export of goods or services ultimately in one form or the other, the link between foreign investments and exports must have seemed to investors and industrialists as direct and tangible. In the case of India it was the Secretary of State who was responsible for the purchase of commodities. The Under-Secretary of State for India said, in 1923, that 95 per cent of the borrowed funds spent abroad had been spent in Great Britain.[14] The self-governing countries of the Empire had a free hand, but they, too, had financial and purchasing agents in London of their own choosing.[15]

Secondly, there was the Colonial Stock Act of 1900. According to this act, the securities, duly registered in the United Kingdom, of the British colonial and Dominion governments which observed the applicable Treasury Orders, were made eligible for inclusion among the "trustee securities." The loans of the Indian Government had been previously similarly privileged because their issue was subject to the control of the British Parliament. "By acquiring 'trustee' status, securities became purchasable by trust bodies and institutions whose choice was restricted closely and whose security holdings were considerable. This provided a strong market for colonial and dominion bonds within which the bonds of foreign governments could not compete. In addition the safeguards imposed by the Treasury orders augmented the confidence felt by investors."[16]

Another significant fact concerns the character of British investments. It has been a characteristic of foreign investments of other countries, as well as of the British, that a high proportion of these has been in the form of fixed interest bearing securities, national and municipal. Furthermore, a very high percentage of investment has taken place in railways and other public utilities. Sums, which in the first place were obtained through government securities, have been again invested largely in public utilities. In 1913, 29.9 per cent of the British foreign capital was invested in government securities, and 40.6 per cent was invested in railways. About 5 per cent was invested in other public utilities, such as electric light and power, gas and tramways, telegraphs and telephones. In the Empire countries, about 46.5 per cent was invested in government securitics, and about 25 per cent in railways, so that less than 30 per cent was invested in other fields.[17]

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[9] *Ibid*, p. 359.

[10] Staley : "War and the Private Investor," *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12 (The 1930 estimate includes Ceylon).

[11] Royal Institute of International Affairs, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[12] A. K. Cairncross : "Did Foreign Investment Pay?", *The Review of Economic Studies*, III, (1935-1936), p. 69.

[13] "British Capital Abroad," *The Economist, op. cit.*, p. 364

[14] Feis ; *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

[16] *Ibid* ; *op. cit.*, p. 93.

In 1934, 43.9 per cent of the total British investment abroad was in the form of government and municipal securities, 23.8 per cent in railways, and 5.1 per cent in other public utilities.[18]

Since tremendous sums, obtained by borrowing countries through fixed interest bearing securities, have also been spent on public utilities, it is quite obvious that this field has been one of the primary objects of foreign investment.

Public utilities require tremendous amounts of capital, and it is natural that the economically retarded areas and the new regions, lacking capital resources, should depend on outside aid for this field of development. Secondly, for the opening up of new areas, or for the purpose of economic development of densely populated countries, or for "exploitation,"[19] or political penetration, or for carving out spheres of influence, investment in public utilities is basic and prerequisite.

What has been the importance of foreign investment to the British nation?

First, these investments have meant a tremendous source of income. This income has been much greater than could have been obtained if these investments had been made at home. The reason why these investments were made abroad in the first place was because the prospects for profit were much brighter in foreign lands than at home.

Secondly, foreign investments have provided employment. If resources invested abroad had even partially, lain idle, the result at home would have been unemployment for these which were otherwise employed. Moreover, capital flows gave a decided fillip to the export industries. These conclusions have become much more obvious with the development of the Keynesian theory. Pre it was supposed that capital export would contraction or deflation in the capital exporting But this result is not necessary when the exporting country is suffering from unemploym the funds used for capital export are not at the of consumption or investment expenditures, bu through the activation of hoards or through the of new money, then the export of capital would to income expansion in the capital exporting

Thirdly, foreign investment provided some k reserve against emergencies. For instance, during First and Second World Wars, the liquidation of securities was a very important means of obtaining needed resources. In the First World War, liquidation of investment to the extent of 25 place, while in the Second World War about 45 foreign investments were liquidated.

Fourthly, foreign investments opened up new made possible a tremendous increase in raw and food which Great Britain imported in increas quantities to feed her industries and her workers. I investments in Canada and the United States ma possible for new wheat acreage to be brought cultivation. In Argentina beef production, and in Zealand dairy products were made possible by f investment. The cheap import of such products Great Britain brought about a tremendous increa the standard of living of her workers.

Fifthly, the extension in the markets fo manufactured products made possible various ec in industries catering to exports. Foreign inv was responsible for bringing about internat specialization, concentration of manufacturing in G Britain, and a large increase of income in that c which would not have been possible otherwise. it is worth noting that Great Britain did have to a sacrifice to achieve international specializ Agriculture became more and more unprofitable as Britain freely permitted imports into the country. F 1874 to 1900 the land under wheat cultivation reduced from 3.6 to 1.8 million acres.[20]

Thus, as a result of foreign investments, G Britain gained in more ways than one.

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[17] Royal Institute of International Affairs, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

[18] *Ibid*, p. 154.

[19] Perhaps the best definition of exploitation with regard to colonial areas is that given by Lord Malcolm Hailey: "The use of foreign capital amounts to exploitation when the administration has given concessions which fail to ensure to the revenues of the colony an adequate return for assets conceded: or when it has alienated native lands to an extent which deprives the native population of areas necessary for their normal development; or when it has assisted foreign trading interests to acquire a portion which prevents natives from taking part in building up the trade of the country or when it has assisted capitalists and settlers to recruit, or allows them to employ, labor on inequitable terms" (*The Future of Colonial Peoples*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. 21-22).

[20] Sir Arthur Salter: *Foreign Investment* (Essays in Int Finance, No 12, Princeton: International Finance Section, Princeton U ment of Economics and Social Institutions, February, 1951), p. 4.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE BLUE ANNALS, Part I: *By George N. Roerich. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series, Vol. VII. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. 1949. Pp. xxi+397. Price Rs. 20.*

The Blue Annals (or to give it its full title, "The Blue Annals, the Stages of Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet" written by a learned Tibetan monk between 1476 and 1478 A.D., is one of the most important works of Tibetan historical literature. Together with the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-che (written in 1322 A.D.) it forms the principal source-book of all later historical compilations in that land. But although it has been known for more than a century and has been utilised by scholars from the late Sarat Chandra Das (in 1881) down to Prof. G. Tucci (in 1933), it has not so far been translated into any European language. The present translation covers the first part (comprising the first seven out of the fifteen books) of this volume, the books dealing successively with the beginning of the Buddhist doctrine and its early spread into Tibet, the later spread of the doctrine, the early translations of *Mantrayana Tantras* into Tibetan, the propagation of "the new Tantras" and the spread of the doctrine of the Sā-skya-pas sect, the biography of Atisa and his spiritual lineage, the biography of two other Tibetan teachers and the propagation of the Madhyamika, Nyaya and Maitreya systems, and the preaching of the Tantras in Tibet. In the Introduction the author has given us valuable discussions about the sources of the work and its chronology and he has carefully verified its lists of early Tibetan kings (from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.) in the light of the T'ang Annals and the Tibetan chronicles from Tun-huang. In the body of his work the author has evidently spared no pains to ensure the accuracy of his translation and in particular the restoration of the original Sanskrit names. On the other hand, we cannot but regret that he has made no attempt to discuss the numerous references to the literary works and their authors in this volume. He has failed even to add an Index of names and subjects to guide us through this work. Nevertheless we are grateful to him for opening up to us in part a very large mass of material bearing especially upon the Buddhist Tantric literature and its incorporation into the literature of Tibet by the labours of Indian and Tibetan scholars. It will be as such a very useful supplement to the two Tibetan chronicles published so far, namely, *Pag Sam Jon Zang* of Sumpa Mkhan Po (ed. Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1908) and *The History of Buddhism* of Taranatha (tr. into German by Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869). The publication of the second part of this work is eagerly awaited.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SARVODAYA (The Welfare of All): *By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Shri Bharatan Kumarappa. The Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9. Pp. 200 + viii. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Sarvodaya is the latest contribution to social philosophy. The idea originated with Gandhi. He read *Unto This Last.* Of it he wrote, "I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin." The word Sarvodaya owes its origin to Gandhi. And all his actions were directed to the achieving of the ideal it represents. His life came to an abrupt end soon after the attainment of political Swaraj. Naturally, Satyagraha was the potent word then. Had he lived to work for the second stage of our Swaraj, *i.e.*, the fashioning of a new economic order, the word Sarvodaya would possibly come to represent that endeavour and mission.

To carry forward his work the Sarvodaya Samaj was started in Wardha, India, in March, 1948, by his followers. And eternal credit goes to them that they had not linked the name of Gandhi to the organization. For that prevented (and he expected as much from his followers) a church growing up in his name.

Sarvodaya is a mighty word. It has come to stay. And it will sway the mind of men. It will be the watchword of the common man's freedom which remains to be wrought. Vinoba is the exponent of the Sarvodaya ideal. Gandhi gave Sarvodaya its background. Vinoba to make the picture complete has given it the foreground. As a good appreciation of the background is a necessary condition to the adequate appreciation of the foreground, the book under review is a welcome publication.

Part II contains selections from the writings of Vinoba and a few other close associates of Gandhi, calculated to show how Gandhi's idea regarding Sarvodaya are developing.

The two parts together will give the readers a well enough comprehensive idea.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS: *By Dr. Pravasjivan Chaudhury. Published by the Visva-Bharati. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review is a collection of ten papers dealing with different problems in æsthetics and published in various journals at different dates. The author has made an honest attempt at a comparative study of the æsthetic theories of different thinkers by pitting them against one another whenever necessary and thus he has been successful in bringing out the merits and demerits of the theories of the different thinkers so well-known to the students of æsthetics. In this handy volume Dr. Chaudhury has discussed both Indian and Western æsthetics. Avinavagupta, Anandavardhan and others of the old Indian *Alamkarikas* have been frequently referred to and discussed. It is really gratifying to note that Dr. Chaudhury has presented their views in modern terminology and as such has made them accessible to the English-knowing people. Of course, this is no pioneer work. It is an addition to what have already been done by Dr. Pandey and others.

The book is well-written but the author could have done even better if he had taken more pains in adhering to his standpoint steadily. A few inconsistencies in the work may be briefly noted here. In his paper, *A Sketch of a Theory of Poetry*, he remarks that 'a poem is a communication of an (?) universal sentiment' and in the next paragraph he writes that the 'objectivity and universality of poetry is relative to human mind.' If there are such things as universal sentiments and poetry is an expression of such sentiments, could we call the universality of poetry 'relative to human mind'? In Chapter II, Dr. Chaudhury writes: "Feeling as enjoyed or apprehended becomes æsthetic relish (called *rasa* in Indian æsthetics). The objective counterpart of it is the end of art, its meaning or beauty." Has æsthetic relish its counterpart only in beauty? Dr. Chaudhury has inadvertently missed the sublime and the grotesque.

If we overlook such minor defects, the book as a whole is quite interesting. The paper entitled "A Vedantic Aesthetics" is quite up to the mark and shows the author's insight into the fundamentals of ancient Indian æsthetics. The last chapter devoted to Rabindranath Tagore's æsthetics may evoke criticism. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not point out that Dr. Chaudhury's presentation of Tagore's views and the comparisons offered are sometimes misleading. We do not accept his defence of Tagore as against Croce, and his dogmatic remarks, such as, "It would suffice for our purpose in this essay to remark that Tagore's concept of expression is far richer than Croce's and far more comprehensive," hardly bear scrutiny. However, the book may be recommended to the serious section of the reading public as a stimulant for further thinking and research.

Sudhirkumar Nandi

SANSKRIT COMIC CHARACTERS: *By J. T. Parikh, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, M. T. B. College, Surat. The Popular Book Store, Tower Road, Surat. Price Rs. 2.*

Sanskrit literature is not, as is usually supposed, exclusively full of grave and serious matters. It has also its lighter aspect—its rich store of wit and humour. We have in the book under review an interesting study of this aspect as reflected in the character of the Vidushaka in Sanskrit drama. Characters of Vidushakas as depicted in the works of well-known dramatists like Asvaghosha, Kalidasa, Harsha and Rajashekhara are analysed and the special features of each pointed out in separate chapters devoted to particular authors. The learned writer is conscious that 'besides the Vidushakas there are other interesting characters, comic and humorous, in the vast range of Sanskrit literature,' but he has left them out for later consideration. We hope he will soon come out with a companion volume in a study of these characters and give us in comprehensive work dealing with the humour in Sanskrit literature as a whole.

Chintaharan Cha

THE PHILOSOPHY OF UNION BY TION: *By Sri Jnanananda Abadhuta. tion. Published by Mahanirvan Math, Behari Avenue, Calcutta-29. Pp. 214. Price*

This is an English translation of the Bengali book named *Bhakti-yoga Darsan*. The rendering is faithfully done by Swami Nitya with notes covering 54 pages at the end. The was a contemporary of Sri Ramakrishna Pa and visited the latter often in the Kali Te Dakshineswar. Swami Gnanananda who was mystic and experienced spiritual ecstasy even the life-time of Sri Ramakrishna is ment Nityagopal in the *Ramakrishna Kathamrita*. He author of a number of Bengali books on relig the founder of a religious sect.

The first edition of the book was rightly by eminent persons and prominent periodi good many appreciations and reviews exte eighteen pages are collected at the outset of the This book consists of twenty-six discourses of the which are short but substantial. Devotion is de in them from the Vedantic standpoint. As tablet is diluted in the water of the pot, obse author, so the individual self is merged in the Self by means of devotion. The englightened speaks from his personal realisation that S indeed attained by Bhakti-yoga. The book is tive and adorned with the pictures of the author translator.

A PLAY OF THE INFINITE: *By Mehta. Published by Theosophical Publishing Adyar, Madras-20. Pp. 304. Price not menti*

The author, who is the General Secretary Indian section of the Thesophical Society, has credit several books on socialism, psychology sophy. His book titled *The Intuitive* appeared in 1950 only. The present book is a able attempt to illustrate the application of th sophy to the problems of the individual li thoughtful author rightly regards practical as the New Impulse needed to-day by the individual as well as social regeneration.

This book is divided into fourteen shor and very elegantly written throughout. In the chapter the three escapes from our limitations cussed and found ineffective. The author who be a practical aspirant shows clearly that neith mission nor suppression nor sublimation can to escape from our limitations. It is the pr mysticism which underlies all religions and Intuitive Philosophy by him, can alone above our weaknesses and solve our proble vain do we adopt other methods for the riddance. A spiritual or mystical outlook sense is the precondition for the solution of problems. The more this outlook takes hold of influences our daily life, the more clearly do we way out of the impasse, and enjoy the pla Infinite in us.

This book will be a very useful guide to th want to understand and solve the problems of face us day to day.

Swami Jagadiswar

THE STORY OF TWELVE YEARS: *By E. W. Aryanayakam. Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha). Pages 16. Price four annas.*

The first institution of Basic Education was opened at Wardha in April, 1939, and in these pages there is a short account of its progress throughout India during next twelve years. 'Nai Talim' as Basic Education is called has come to stay, and the establishment of Rural University on November 1, 1952, has given a complete shape to post-Basic education. As wrongly understood it is not an education for the child only but for the whole man and woman and for life and as such it is divided into four parts, *viz.*, Adult Education, pre-Basic Education (for children under seven), Basic Education (for children seven to fourteen) and Post-Basic Education for adolescents who have completed basic education. Gandhiji's new society based on universal brotherhood and sympathy, free from exploitation and equality, is expected to be built upon the foundation of this 'New Education'; so persons interested in social reform through education will find this brochure illuminating.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN: *Commerce Association, Meerut College, Meerut. Pages 106. Price Re. 1-8.*

An analytical survey of the plan for the benefit of college students.

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN: *By B. M. Bhatia. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate. Delhi. Pages 44. Price Re. 1.*

Prof. Bhatia presents a critique of the final First Five-Year Plan to the students of Economics, showing its merits, shortcomings and possible modification for improvements with a final appeal for public co-operation on the ground that although a Congress party plan, its success will help economic rehabilitation of the masses to a certain degree.

THE CHINA DEBATE—WHOM SHALL WE BELIEVE?: *Pages 50. Price four annas.*

MIND MURDER IN MAO-LAND: *Pages 57. Price four annas.*

The above two pamphlets are edited by Shri Sita Ram Goel and published by the Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta, as a part of the propaganda against Communism. Quotations are informative for the readers to draw their own conclusions.

COMMUNISM AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA (A Chrsitian interpretation): *Edited by P. D. Devanandan. and M. M. Thomas. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5, Russel Street, Calcutta-19. Pages 88. Price not mentioned.*

This is an examination of Communistic theories, ideals and practices in the light of Christian theology and philosophy. The editors besides depicting Communism of Russia, have given a history of Communism as it developed in India and have opined that much needed social revolution in India may be attained without Communism which preaches Atheism and violence besides preaching a false philosophy of materialistic interpretation of history.

DAWN OF FREEDOM: *Information and Publicity Department, Vindhya Pradesh, Rewa. Pp. 123.*

Sixth Annual Report of Vindhya Pradesh since the attainment of India's freedom on 15th August, 1947. An illuminating presentation of the State's progress under self-government. Well printed and illustrated.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

PARABHUTA DEVATA: *Translated by Amalendu Das Gupta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 380. Price Re. 1.*

This is a translation of the well-known English book *The God That Failed* being contributions from six eminent persons of different nations who were once Communists or sympathetic towards Communism. According to each of them, Communism as an ideal for human emancipation has utterly failed and its philosophy has proved false. Besides, its dictatorship has degraded humanity and free thinking. The Bengali translation of this popular publication deserves to be widely read by the public who are interested to know the philosophy and the working of Communism. The translation has been nicely done and an introduction is added to the book from the pen of Tarasankar Banerjee, eminent Bengali writer.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PRITHVISE SAPTARSHI MANDAL: *By Sampurnananda. Published by Prasad Parishad, Kashi, August, 1953. Price Rd. 1-8.*

The author who is a member of the U.P. Cabinet is well known for his writings on philosophy and science, and he has already to his credit a number of contributions in Hindi language. This is, however, his entry into a new field. He has written in a story form the excursion of four friends from the earth to the heavenly bodies like Chitra and other planets, where the growth of life has passed through many phases and which our scientist can just glimpse into but no more. This is something new in Hindi literature, though similar excursions are there in European languages, Jules Verne being the pioneer in the line. In the book under review Shri Sampurnanand has described a travel lasting through seven years in which crores of miles had been passed over. This is beyond our imagination, but it is a leap into the dark in more senses than one. We do not know when there will be any such aeroplane as is described in the first few pages, but if the scientist is allowed free scope in imagination, there is no reason why he should put a limit to human capacity as known so far. The author, we are told, will be quite satisfied if people at least learn to look up above the shining sky which we seem to have forgot. The jacket contains a beautiful map of the road traversed by the friends.

After all, the period described is between 2028 and 2035 A.D. Let us hope there will be some one among us who will live to see the day described in the book.

P. R. SEN

SHIKHSHA SIDDHANTA KI RUPA REKHA: *By Saryu Prasada Chaube. Narayan Prakashan, Agra, Pp. 328. Price Rs. 4.*

A very useful book for teachers and school managers and for those qualifying themselves as education-graduates. For, within the compass of eighteen short chapters, the author associated with the teachers' training department of a college in Agra, has covered a large ground: the aim of education, the teacher, the scope of the school, curriculum, maxims and methods in education, several project-systems, aids to education, harmony in education, examinations, kindergarten and Montessori methods, and Basic Education scheme of Wardha. A suggestive bibliography is given at the end of each chapter. Perhaps, it is the first work of its kind in the field.

EK HAZAR VARSHA BAD: *By Kaka Gadgil. Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Delhi. Pp. 184. Price Rs. 3.*

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil, Minister in the Central Cabinet, popularly called "Uncle" Gadgil, is indeed revealed in these reminiscent and "rancouteur" essays (translated from his original collection in Marathi under the title of *Sal Gudast*) as delightful writer with a mine of democratic sympathies and humour like those of Charles Dickens and Charles Lamb. As he writes of the hard life of a hotel-boy, of the "violent" opposition of the passengers in a fully-occupied railway compartment to his "non-violent" entry through one of its windows at midnight, of the patriarchal peasant who felt fully compensated and, consoled by the re-incarnation (as he believed) of his son, killed by a bullet during the "Quit India" movement, in the shape of his posthumous grandson, and other incidents, the reader weeps, laughs, learns and is made a little more human.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) MAHATMA TOLSTOY: *By R. N. Pathak. Thick card-board. Pp. 168. Price Re. 1-4.*

(2) MAHAVIR: *By Ratilal M. Shah. Thick card-board. Pp. 129. Price six annas.*

(3) GOSWAMI TULSIDAS: *By Bhikshu Akhandanand. Thick card-board. Pp. 128. Price six annas.*

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature in 1949.

They are models of short biographies and present an impressive picture of all the three great men who were more of saints than others. Mr. Manu Subedar, a thinker, a litterateur and a businessman, who is the Director, so to speak, of the concern is by instinct attracted towards subjects and topics, which are likely to prove popular and is anxious to supply books on them at the very cheapest of prices. Unqualified success is his reward.

(1) SHAMALNA CHHAPPA: *By K. K. Shastri. Pp. 160. Price ten annas.*

(2) ONE HUNDRED BHAJANS: *By Munishri Nanchandraji, Pp. 64. Price six annas.*

(3) MIRAN BAINAN BHAJAN: *Pp. 78. Price ten annas.*

(4) NARSINH MEHTANAN BHAJANO: *Selected and edited by Sri Harsiddhabhai Divatia. Pp. 80. Price ten annas.*

(5) KABIRINI SAKHIO: *By Shastri H. M. Jain. Pp. 80. Price four annas.*

(6) DOHA RATNAVALI: *By Rewashankar M. Purohit. Pp. 62. Price three annas.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. with thick paper covers in 1949 and 1950.

The first four out of these six collections contain devotional poems and songs, excepting the second which contains such poems selected from Hindi also. They present to the reader in a collective from the Bhajans of well-known old 'devotees' of God, like Shamal, Narsinh and Miranbai. Their verses are in the mouth of every Gujarati man or woman, literate or otherwise. The Sakhis (couplets) of Kabir are reproduced with their Gujarati translation. Ratnavali, the model wife of Tulsidas, who taunted him into becoming a de God instead of herself a mere woman, has wr Dohas, two-lined stanzas, advising Indian girls a how to behave. The cheap price of the pu make them popular.

K. M

SANKHIPTA JEEVANKATHA: JAWAH NEHRU: *Abridged from the Gujarati* *Manibhai B. Desai. Navajivan Prakashan Ahmedabad. March 1954. Pp. 253. Re. 1-8.*

This is an abridged version of Pan which was rendered into Gujarati by no less than Mahadeb Desai. The author of this version has been eager to share his enjoyment a life with millions of his countrymen who appreciate the beautiful literary style of the and of Mahadevji's version, but would be benefited by a dip into the waters of the the life of Pàndit Nehru, the struggle for and the rise of the Indian masses under the Mahatma Gandhi. For the new generation students and for ordinary readers, such an ment will have its value—thus argues the the abridgement, and the reviewer acknow strength of the argument.

The forty-four chapters into which the been divided one each of moderate length, for the purpose which the author had in the Pandit's photograph and the index at enhance the value of the book.

P. R.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A PICTURE AND PROGRAMME OF BASIC EDUCATION: *Edited by Marjorie Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha Pp. 126. Price Re. 1.*

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES: *By M. K.* *Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.* *Price four annas.*

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION: *By* *Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House,* *Pp. 16. Price four annas.*

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA: *By* *Gupta. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi. Pp.* *Re. 1-4.*

SOVIET ECONOMY—FACTS AND FICT Arun Bose *versus* Amlan Datta. *Translated* *Bengali by Jayanta Banerji. Pp. 32. Price*

ASPECTS OF SOVIET ECONOMY: *By* *Banerji. Pp. 56. Price eight annas.*

Both published by Samajvadi Sahitya *35, Gora Chand Road, Calcutta-14.*

COMMUNICATIONS IN INDIA: *Pub* *Division, Ministry of Information and Bro* *Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi* *trated. Pp. 48. Price eight annas.*

INDIA BOUND AND FREE: *By P. K.* *narayan. Publisher, S. Viswanathan. Pp.* *twelve annas.*

THE CHINESE PEASANT: *Oxford* on Indian Affairs, No. 33: *By Chen Han-S* *Price six annas.*

BISHOP GRUNDTVIG—PROPHET OF NORTH: *By Leonard S. Kenworthy.* *lications, N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Princess St* *bay-2. Pp. 14. Price four annas.*

MITHILA—A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC *Laksman Jha. Published by Mithila* *Laheriasarai, Darbhanga, Mithila. Pp. 24.* *annas.*

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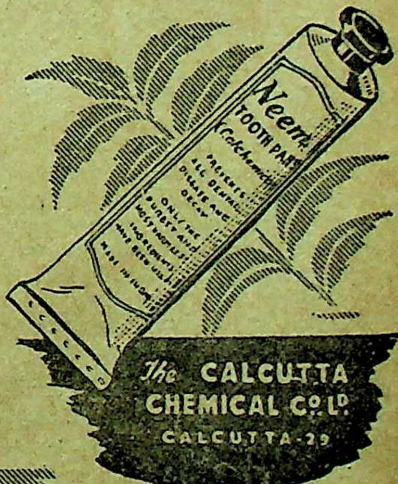

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Consumer in the Economy

K. K. Sinha writes in *Vigil* :

In the economic sense we all may not be producers of goods and services, but are all consumers. We need food, raiment and other necessaries of life and are constantly buying one thing or the other. We have to. Given this fact, the producers are producing all varieties of goods and services and trying to sell these to us. There is sometimes competition between them and some times not. But it is our common experience, that we as consumers exert little influence on these producers *directly* as regards the volume, quality and design of production and for all practical purposes we have little choice but to accept what is offered to us. Thus we are faced with a peculiary paradoxical situation, namely, that while production is taking place to meet the demands of consumption, the consumers have little control over or voice in the matter of production or distribution directly.

The above statement is of course an over-simplified version of the actual situation. But there is a substratum of truth in it. The main motive of production has become, not meeting the growing demands of consumption, but earning profit. The purpose of production-endeavour is not primarily human use, and that is why we sometimes find artificial scarcity of goods created in order to keep prices high.

Then there is another danger facing the consumers. With an effective growth of the trade union movement, the "bargaining power" of the workers in a given unit of production increases, and this increases the cost of production of the goods. The consumers' interests here are inadequately safeguarded. The only automatic check is the market. But with the growing influence of organised producers, the market price itself is influenced by them, while the consumers are seldom organised and have little say in the matter..

In recent years the State has been increaseingly interfering in the economic affairs of society in the name of safeguarding the interests of consumers. When there is acute scarcity of goods (or of a particular commodity), the State controls price and movement and even organises rationing. But the State acts so only in acute situations. We have had sufficient experience of price controls and rationing to come to the conclusion, that they are irksome, bureaucratic and not always effective. Further, these being State organised, become amenable to political and party influences. A "foreign" factor is thus introduced in an essentially economic problem. The party-in-power acts in the name of the people and here the stabilising or balancing influence is not the price-market, but the *vote market*. That is essentially a political consideration, not economic. And if the vote market itself is influenced or controlled by the party machinery or by the very nature of the governmental system such as dictatorship or ineffective parliamentary democracy, the actual consumer may again himself helpless.

Then there is the other alternative of State ownership of the producing centres in the context planned economy. In this case, the state as owner the factory or industry is as arbitrary, if not more, fixing prices as the private owner, but here even saving grace of a market, however ineffective it be, is absent. In other words even the semblance of economic adjustment mechanism disappears. That is say, the entire economy, or the nationalised sector it is politicalised. Thus the consummer is merged the voter. This means again that instead of being an economic entity he becomes enirely a political And if he has to exert himself as an influence in field, he has either to join a political party or take wee-bit chance once in five years, during the general elections.

A development often cited as an encouraging and favourable factor from the standpoint of the consumers' interests is the growth of the consumers' co-operatives. This, however, is extremely insignificant in our country and does not appear to touch even the fringe of the problem. On the other hand, where such co-operatives are growing, such as in Madras, Bombay or U.P., it is noteworthy that much of the growth is due the fact that the co-operatives are almost extensions the Department of the State concerned. Instead being an organised popular movement from the bottom they are imposed and extended from the top and sustained by various kinds of State aids and supports. The peculiarly characteristic nature of our "successful" co-operative movement (I thereby do not want to minimise the pioneering and enterprising work done by our co-operators) has tended to bureaucratise it and make it almost a part and parcel of the State apparatus. Thus its effectiveness as an organised voice of the consumers is extremely limited.

Thus we find that the consumer as an economic unit in the total economic organisation of society is atomised and ineffective. And yet all the other factors of production and distribution in the economy depend on the prosperity or otherwise of the consumers. The attempt to exercise the voice of the consumers more and more through the State, that is politically, has been experimented upon in various ways in different countries for sometime but the net result has not been satisfactory. New chains of problems have arisen and made the situation more baffling.

Is it not then time to think of the consumer the economy as an independent unit and evolve mechanism and a pattern, so that this basic factor human consumption increasingly plays an effective in the growth and operation of the economic system the community?

The Self-Renewal of Civilization

In an article in *The Aryan Path*, M. A. Venkata Rao, offers in the ancient Indian scheme of society a prescription for ensuring the saving of our present civilization from the decline which has overtaken civilizations in the past :

To realize that modern civilization is not the crown of all past civilizations but only one among the numerous experiments of man in the historical laboratory of culture is the beginning of wisdom in social thought. Professor Toynbee considers 21 major civilizations of which history has some record. Spengler considers a smaller number for the purposes of his reflections on the career of civilizations—the Egyptian, the Græco-Roman, the Magian, the Indian and the Chinese. Theosophy extends the panorama to vast periods of prehistory from which a core of saving knowledge has been preserved and handed on to historic civilizations. It is clear that the evolution of culture is not in the nature of linear progress. Spengler's point of view that each major, fully formed culture or civilization has an organic career of its own with well-marked phases of formation, growth and decline, is a fertile hypothesis.

The most urgent problem today is to discvoer how the present civilization, which in some 800 years has had a full career and seems now to be destroying itself, can renew itself.

Spengler offers no hope of the possibility of escaping the doom to which civilization seems to be subject. But it should be possible to extract from an analysis of historic social systems vital ideas that will give clues to how our civilization can survive and assure for itself a future of stability if not of continuous progress.

Nowhere are such clues more clear and more convincing, if freed from defective traditional interpretation than in the *sanatana dharma* (eternal wisdom) of India.

The collapse of civilization, whether catastrophic or gradual, is ultimately traceable to the loss of the vision of truth and to moral failure.

The influence of Marxism today flows from the partial truth it embodies, namely, that the ruling classes everywhere employ truth as a handmaid to subserve their class interests and block the road of progress for the submerged populations.

The peril facing the current civilization stems from two sources. One is the inability of liberal democracy as developed since the French Revolution to see the inadequacy of political equality and of parliamentary institutions to assure by themselves the conditions of the good life for the underprivileged. Militant trade unions, with their ideology or irreconcilable class war, are the natural result of the failure in insight of the democratic rulers in the present world. The second source of the crisis is the opposite extreme of regarding the truth of Communism as absolute and final. There has been little effort by social thinkers on either side to rise above class interest so as to envisage the elements of value in both doctrines in the disinterested spirit of truth. The scientific attitude so loudly proclaimed is absent from social thinking.

The social teaching of *sanatana dharma* shows a way out of this difficulty. What is lacking is a class of people set apart in society to pursue truth for its own sake. Society in the ancient scheme respected and supported such a class of truth-seekers, the best of whom would become Seers and Sages.

Present-day investigation and scholarship seem to show an unprecedented love of truth in the educated classes. But the truth that *sanatana dharma* has in view is ultimate truth, not particular masses of facts in the several sciences. Narada is represented as having become a master of all the sciences and arts in existence —the four Vedas, astronomy, animal lore, language and grammar, economics and politics. But still he was not satisfied. He sought instruction from Sanatkumara and learnt from him the higher knowledge of *Atma* or *Brahma-vidya*, in the light of which his previous lower learning—the *apara-vidya*—acquired vital meaning. The technologies is not enough for social pilotage.

> The sciences have to be pursued in the spirit of ultimate philosophy, and all partial truths related to the whole of reality.

This is what Plato had in mind in prescribing a training in dialectic over and above the particular sciences for his "guardians." This Platonic insight is identical with that of Indian thought, which holds that rulers should be *Rishis* like King Janaka of old, representing not their own class of *Kshatriyas* but the highest interests of all. Hegel points out (though not with reference to Indian though) that the true meaning of a "classless society" is : one ruled by a class without class interest or, rather, by one that sees its own interest in the harmony of the interest of all classes.

The class of *Rishis, Brahmanas, Sanyasis,* was expected in the *sanatana dharma* to devote itself entirely to the discovery of truth in a synoptic spirit. to harmonize or synthesize the conflicts of religions, sciences, arts, classes, dogmas, politics and economics. Their function in society was analogous to that of the flywheel in the machinery with which it operates.

A civilization may exhaust its capital of truth after an epoch of triumph and achievement. But, Spengler to the contrary notwithstanding, civilizations need not perish, like mortals, of old age. For the social organism is not completely parallel to the physical. The members of society are spiritual beings in whom the vision of the universal organism can become consciously incarnate.

A class of truth-seekers not warped by national, class, economic, religious, dynastic or personal interests has the role of opening new vistas of truth, gaining new visions of possible perfection. Today such a class, if recognized and allowed to rise to the height of its stature, should be able to offer a new synthesis of the truths of nationalism and internationalism, of

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the great religious systems, Eastern and Western, of Marxism and Liberalism and of the other pairs of extremes troubling the world-mind. The larger truth living in their personalities and issuing powerfully in their expositions and advice would have a compelling power. It is only in this way that civilizations can escape the mortal lot of individuals.

Many thinkers are today turning in this direction for hope. Henri Bergson was persuaded that the best mystics might become vehicles of the *elan vital* and carry the race to the next higher level of universality in social life and morality. They would gather a band of likeminded men who would devote themselves to piloting the ship of humanity. Professor Toynbee points to the lesson of past civilizations in which, time and again, a "creative minority" emerged to help them tide over a hard time. In India Gandhism fostered the creative minority that won national independence. But today the field of truth has to embrace the world as a whole.

The second insight of *sanatana dharma* or ancient Indian social philosophy concerns the way in which such devotion to truth is to be achieved by individuals. It requires wholeheartedness, single-mindedness, purity of aspiration, freedom from divided ambitions. Such traits cannot be developed if the whole of society is pervaded by worldly ambitions. The conviction of Plato that, in the long run, only a perfectly ordered society could foster perfect individuals is endorsed by Indian social thought and is incorporated in its ideal social institution.

> To foster a leading class of persons who will find their deepest satisfaction in the pursuit of truth and its realization in society, the whole structure and spirit of society needs to be permeated with the spirit of truth and righteousness.

Two grades or levels of *dharma* or righteous living are recognized in Indian thought—*pravritti dharma* and *nivritti dharma,* which may be broadly characterized as the way of pursuit and the way of liberation. Like Plato's "guardians", the leading class in society will pursue the *nivritti marga,* the higher spiritual way, the way of disinterested service. Like Plato's "guardians," again, they will put aside all thought of personal pleasure but will take joy in the service of society and the contemplation of truth. Some of them will be full *sanyasis* (ascetics) without a family of their own and some will be householders living in the spirit of *sanyas.* Even Vasishtha, who lived a married life, is reported once to have claimed to be a *nitya brahmachari.*

The genuine pursuit of the higher life, in its intellectual, emotional and practical spheres—science and philosophy, art and religion, family and State life—is accompanied by full satisfaction. The leading class will have their minds and imaginations occupied and held by the satisfactions of truth and beauty and righteousness. It will be natural and easy for them therefore to resist the solicitations of sense and egoism and to maintain self-control.

As for the question how such a class is to be found, Indian sociology endorses the Platonic answer that it will be forthcoming if the psychological climate of ordinary life favours its growth. Society will get the leaders it deserves. If it honours millionnaires more than thinkers, it will obtain a plethora of millionnaires. If it honours soldiers more than others, it will be ruled by soldiers, and so on. If only one
prevails throughout society, the aim of "ge
of wealth and conspicuous consumption, as
by the American sociologist Thorstein Ve
superior, energetic persons will pursue this goal,
tive of their divergent talents and end
This pouring of divergent capacities into the
dominant channel of salesmanship, "deliveri
goods," etc., is corrupting the present
society. Those with a love of truth are not fi
opportunities or the prestige which their
society demands.

Hence Indian thought has recommended a
list system of social ideals. Different classes
advance along the line of their own inherent
and fulfil themselves by divergent paths or
The highest class is that devoted to truth—
universal, eternal—which is above all finitude.
next administrative and military class, corres
to Plato's "guardians," will find their highest
and satisfaction in the translation of truth in
and practice and the rules of social behaviour.

This scheme will maintain a certain dem
between different functional groups, so that
vocational ideals can prevail therein without
frustrating imitation of one group by another.
there will be the added advantage that corrupt
one group will not automatically spread to others

Such a class of truth-seekers was expected
India to maintain itself on alms received or in
and agricultural settlements in the forests called
vanas or ashramas.

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This *ashrama* ideal is one of the greatest contributions of Indian culture and civilization to human thought and progress. It can be realized today through contributions and endowments, in modern terms, if the contributors refraim from calling the tune.

Modern societies have accepted old-age pensions for workers. It would not be difficult similarly to provide for the material needs of truth-seekers. If their function is recognized, their maintenance will follow spontaneously. Modern society needs to put the highest class of synoptic thinkers and rulers first in the ladder of rank and precedence. They will best serve society by devoting themselves primarily to truth. Even *sanyasis* who do nothing but contemplate will exert a healthy influence by showing by example that this life's values are not all.

To ensure the prevalence of this ideal, the Indian lawgivers so regulated the lower stages or levels of worldly life as to prepare the ordinary member of society to advance, in and through the process of decent living, to the higher way. *Pravirtti marga* or the way of pursuit is charted in such a way as to facilitate the gradual incorporation in life of the higher universal values of the spirit. To this end, they laid it down that *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*, administrators and traders, should pursue their calling in accordance with *dharma*. Also, study and contemplation are enjoined on all of them, though only the Brahmanas will devote themselves wholly to these pursuits.

If an element of science and contemplation is included in the daily life of administrators, traders, industrialists, artisans and workers—as we may extend the scheme now to these last—they will be enabled to recognize the value of persons in whom truth speaks with an unequivocal voice. The limitaton of wants and the pursuit of desires within the limits of *dharma* as well as the practice of some study and contemplation as a part of the daily routine in addition to the vocational work will spiritualize the social climate.

Such a society will respond spontaneously to spiritual ideals and leaders. Only such a society will enable the philosophers or sages to rule or to influence rulers in the right direction. The central problem that exercised the great mind of Plato, namely, how to enable truth-seekers and Sages to acquire prestige and power in society and the State, has been solved in principle in the Indian social scheme: Sages will *not* seek power but society will be so organized as to facilitate the discovery and recognition of them when they appear. And a course of discipline is laid down both for Sages and ordinary persons.

The Indian scheme of *varna* (which it would be preferable to call *varga* now to avoid misunderstanding) *ashrama dharma* contains the creative secret of the Phoenix of civilization arising from its own ashes ready for a fresh career. It will also, if applied betimes, halt the process of decay and enable our civilization to redirect its energies towards renewal and recovery.

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The Royal Academy

The annual Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts will be on view at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, until the middle of August. During the winter months, important exhibitions of works by the established master of Britain and other countries are staged in the Royal Acadamy's galleries. Horace Wyndham writes in *The Indian Review* :

It was in December, 1768, that a document, officially known as the "instrument of Foundation," brought into being the Royal Academy of Arts. King George III, who signed this document as "patron, protector, and supporter" of the Academy, is known to have been subject to fits of insanity—which seems to provide some explanation of the fact that Benjamin West, whom he appointed as Court Painter, extracted from him £30 000 for pictures that would not now fetch as many shillings.

George III nominated the original members of the Royal Academy. Two of them were women : Mary Moser, a water colourist, and Angelica Kauffman, who helped to decorate St. Paul's Cathedral and Somerset House. It was not until 1922 that a similar distinction was conferred on another woman, Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton; and in 1936 Dame Laura Knight was elected a full Academician.

The first President of the Royal Academy (P.R.A.) was Sir Joshua Reynolds. The success of this distinguished and fashionable portrait-painter aroused the jealousy of some of his colleagues, but he was the right man for the post, and while he was at the helm the Academy established itself firmly in the artistic life of the capital. The annual number of works to be exhibited soon rose from 136 to 780, and the receipts from a beggarly £700 to £3,000, with a balance of £12,000 tucked away in the funds.

Thomas Gainsborough was another of the original members of the Academy, and quarrelled with most of his fellow R. A.s. In one year he sent a batch of twenty-six portraits, with instructions as to how they should be hung. "If," he informed the Council, "they are hung above the line, never more, whilst he breathes, will he send another picture to the Exhibition. This he swears by God !" A tactful Council saw that his wishes were met.

The Royal Academy has not always occupied its present home. Its first one was in some auction-rooms in Pall Mall. In 1780 the annual exhibition was transferred to Somerest House on the banks of the Thames, and in 1836 accommodation was provided in a portion of the National Gallery. In 1867 the Academy acquired the Burlington House premises it has occupied ever since. As the rent was a "peppercorn" one and the lease was for 999 years, it is likely to remain in Piccadilly for some time to come.

The two biggest events of the year at Burlington House are the Summer Exhibition of the work of modern artists, and the Winter Exhibition which is usually devoted to a particular artist or school.

For the Summer Exhibition, about 11,000 o[illegible] pass before the Selection Committee every year. T[illegible] is room in the galleries for only about 1,500 works, [illegible] that the average aspirant may regard the exhibition [illegible] his picture in the Academy as a considerable achievement. The decision of the Council is notified by the colour [illegible] the card that is forwarded to the artists—yellow [illegible] acceptance and the all-too-common buff for rejection.

In theory, if a rejected picture is not removed [illegible] the Academy premises within twelve months, the Council have a right to sell it. But, as such works would [illegible] small chance of fetching very much, the auctioneer's hammer is not often employed. One woul-be exhib[illegible] on being officially informed that unless he took it away his offering would be sold, wrote back : "Glad to [illegible] it. I hope it will fetch a good price."

The day before the Academy doors open to [illegible] public there is held a "Private View." This is regarded as a social function of the first importance; and, [illegible] such, is attended by leading representatives of [illegible] worlds of society, fashion, art, literatnre, science, sp[illegible] and finance. Cameras click in the courtyard, and go[illegible] writers scribble down names for their columns. [illegible] essence, the occasion does not seem to have changed [illegible] much since it was depicted by W. P. Frith in his "P[illegible]vate Views" which was hung in the Academy of [illegible] and is now in the Tate Gallery.

The Private View is preceded by the annual Academy Banquet which is held in the newly-[illegible] galleries. One of the speakers this year was [illegible] Winston Churchill, an honorary Royal Academician.

The "Summer Exhibition" at Burlington House [illegible] the artist's shop window; it is in fact, the [illegible] Exhibition where an artist can offer his works for [illegible] without paying any fees or commission. It is w[illegible] noting in this connection that the Royal Academy [illegible] always been financed entirely by the entrance fees [illegible] other proceeds of exhibitions (such as the sale [illegible] catalogues), and has never received any Government subsidy or grant.

At almost every Summer Exhibition the newspaper critics designate one of the works on view as the "Pi[illegible] of the Year." The one that attracted the biggest c[illegible] is said to have been Frith's "Derby Day;" and a rail [illegible] to be erected in front of it to keep off the pressure [illegible] sightsesrs. "I found them smelling the canvas [illegible] bloodhounds," wrote the artist. This picture is now [illegible] the National Gallery. When Oscar Wilde saw it th[illegible] he struck an attitude and remarked, "Wonderful! is [illegible] all done by hand ?"

James Whistler did not have a lofty opinion of [illegible] judgment of the Selection Committee. "Some of [illegible]" he declared, pictures on the walls of Burlington House," But [illegible] "should be hung in the Burlington Arcade." The op[illegible] Academy has always thrived on controversy. The op[illegible]ing of the Summer Exhibition is as eagerly awaited [illegible] ever, and for the next few months one of the most reli[illegible] of London's conversational gambits will be "What d[illegible] you think of this year's Academy ?"

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Copying in Examinations

Social Service Quarterly writes editorially :

In some of our States the evil of copying in High School and College Examinations is growing and it is not possible to ignore the moral consequence of such a state of affairs. Copying and other underhand tricks are natural evils that follow the type of examinations we hold in this country. Examination has become not a device for learning, but it is a stamp of certain qualifications. It is the examination and its results that determine the quality of our teaching and students and teachers are naturally anxious to pass by hook or by crook. We still hold the view that education is a preparation for life. We lay great stress on acquiring information. We care more for results and not for the process of giving training, because the assessment of results is easier than studying the process. Cramming naturally crept in and the work of learning became dull and tiresome. Leakage of question papers became common. After the end of the World War II there is considerable deterioration in the moral standard and schools cannot escape the general corrupting influences prevailing in the public. Recently many institutions came into existence. They have to depend mainly on the income from the fees of pupils for their finances. The Government grants are only 30 per cent and therefore these schools become anxious to increase their income by admitting more pupils than they can properly look after. These ill-equipped pupils are tempted to try shorter cuts to pass examinations without working hard.

Whatever causes may have led to the present deteriorating moral standard, it is necessary to find out a solution of the present situation. The method of assessing the fitness of pupils should be changed. Examinations should not be mere tests of the memory of pupils, but should test the training which they have received. Their power of thinking and observation should also be assessed. Importance should also be paid to the day to day work which a pupil has done in his institution. Certain questions may be set to pupils in which they are allowed to use their text-books. Besides these remedies, a careful revision of the courses of studies which are suggested by various Commissions should be undertaken with a view to make education more interesting. Another improvement which is overdue is to spend more money on schools and colleges from Government grants. Schools and colleges are finding it extremely difficult to keep things going and overcrowding is the only remedy open to them to keep things running properly. Colleges are receiving such poor help from Government grants that they find it difficult to run the working efficiently. The Bombay State paid no Government grants to some colleges this year, because in the eyes of the Education Department the finances appeared quite satisfactory. This is a sorry state of things. Let us all try to improve this situation by becoming more serious about this subject of education.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Final Curtain

Manfred A. Carter writes in *Unity*, January-February, 1954 :

We read some comforting articles about the Atom bombs, but we also read that our army is planning to use them, if necessary, in Europe, or in the East. Planes and rockets are ready now ! Our play is drawing to a close. The old plot of power ideas comes to its conclusion. We near the final curtain. There must be a new play, or darkness.

There is a creeping terror abroad in the land, fed by hot straws in the wind of public information. Little unrelated incidents add up to horror. In 1947, *Mortuary Science*, a publication for undertakers, said that dead bodies after bombing would be radioactive and that morticians must wear lead-lined clothes. Mourners would have to file by quickly. The army booklet, *How to Survive an Atom Bomb*, denies this and says that it will be safe to handle those who have been affected. But what if the new bombs are worse ? The thought still haunts us.

Dorothy Burns of New Jersey died nine months after alleged radioactive poisoning in atomic research. She filed suit for $200.000. but died before the courts acted. A meeting of scientists was held, at Upton, New York, to try to determine the legal period of liability for injury from atomic energy, but how can that be measured which may go on for generations ? And what of partial injury ? A California biologist has harvested the third generation of corn descended from seeds exposed to the air burst at Bikini. He reports that the frequency of gene mutations is "extremely high." What of future generations of people, exposed like that corn ?

Scientists still poke around those experimental ships. labeled dangerous when brought to the West coast after atomic explosions. We are told it was fortunate that the fish which contaminated other fish were not of a migrating kind. There are so many hints of lingering evils that we cannot be easy in our minds about the brevity of atomic explosions.

A subconscious fear haunts our cities, so that a sewer explosion in Brooklyn causes a panic. The Red Cross estimates that it would need half as much blood plasma for one bombed city as was needed for the whole of World War II. There is a creeping terror abroad in the land but we are told to pretend it is not there.

Plans for civilian defense are haltingly instituted. We are told that bomb shelters cost too much, that decentralization is bad for business. We must have business as usual, even in the Armageddon of science. We may yet have universal military training, but our wealthy men must not be limited to $25,000 a year income. Planned co-operative communities are taboo, even though America would be paralyzed without our great cities. Russian economy only needs a few steps back into agricultural life. She would miss her cities far less than we. We are not told that sufficiency of Geiger counters has ever been produced. The army booklet tells of gallant civilian crews who would wade into the rubble for heroic rescues, but as yet the crews are on dead paper in office files. There are not enough doctors and there will be less, especially if we draft the pre-medical students for gun fodder. Apparently we think of this as a war of offense because America has escaped so long, but the conditions changed. Old thinking no longer applies, yet many of our leaders are old men and cannot see the new day.

We frequently read of new speed devices. Our bombers fly around the earth nonstop. Russia has bombers that can reach any part of the United States without refuelling. We read of rockets that go up fifty miles in the air and travel at three thousand miles an hour. Speed shrinks the world. The walls of space grow thin. Then we read a quiet announcement that work on the H-bomb has been successful. There seems to be a new "Hinge of Fate" and it creaks like a radio thriller door, but we cannot turn it off by a twist of the dial. We cannot stop its opening by a casual prayer.

These unrelated stories in the news frighten us but we are used to newspapers. What of the men who know? George Earle, former diplomat, tells Congress: "I do believe there is better than an even chance that 1[illegible] per cent of us Americans will be alive five years from now. One scientist says that 45 million of our people can be wiped out in a single night. That is nearly a third of our population. Twelve of the greatest scientists tell us in a joint statement that one H-bomb can wipe out the largest city in the world and poison the air. Professor Einstein, who started it all with a mathematical formula, says that the H-bomb can destroy all life on earth, and his committee has tried to raise half the price of one A-bomb to inform the public of its danger. The scientists tell us that there is no defense. Glenn Martin, airplane manufacturer, says that the United States has developed a radioactive cloud that "kills anyone who comes in contact with it." He says that it is effective over a much larger area than the atom bomb and "it might make the area it touches radioactive for an idefinite time." He says that the cloud is spread by wind and that its use requires a sure knowledge of the weather or it might backfire on its users. Those who have planned picnics by the weatherman are not sure they want to trust him with the safety of the world ! These are not the words of preachers or poets or other dreamers. These are practical men, men who leave the prayers to dreamers. But what is practical now ?

We have been further terrified by such articles as "Hiroshima, U.S.A.," in *Collier's* by our own Army booklet and that of England. The comforting text has unwritten lines for those with imagination, but the bare facts are bad enough. Eye witnesses tell of Hiroshima long after. Anyone who is going to write his Congressman to use the bombs right now on poor peasants China ought first to read one of these vivid pictures what even an A-bomb can do. It is not the sudden death at the center which frightens most of us, but lingering effects of burns, polio, tularemia, parrot fever, psychological gases, and radiation itself. Horror be tided to a bomb which is worse than explosion. These are the lingering terrors of the unknown. It is terror enough to make even an unbeliever pray, how much more a Christian; but *after* he has spoken his mind for peace, and the means for peace. In Eliot's poem about murder in the cathedral is a line, "Clear the air! Clean the sky! Wash the wind." It is a great deal easier to do that, in a literal sense, now than after an atomic war. If what we read is true, we live in an hour of desperation. It is time for new thoughts about war and peace.

There is much Christian prayer about the H-bomb but not too much clear thinking. Confusion of utterance and evasiveness show this. The Federal Council side-stepped it. The Southern California Methodist conference voted down an appeal to outlaw the H-bomb, but some men there must have thought of it. Reports of city and state programs of prayers for peace come in but not many clear-cut resolutions or programs.

In 1945 the President said, "The atomic bomb is too dangerous to be loose in a lawless world." If that is true of the atomic bomb how much more of future terrors. And yet the only morality of our day seems to be morality of power, and many church people pass the danger off as something which cannot affect them because they are Christians. There were Christians in Hiroshima, too!

It is much easier to pray that God will take it away than to be distrusted as subversive realists. The gradual dominance of the bombing airplane seems to have submerged the power of humanitarian morality, but has it? Is there a submerged power of love and comprehension which we have not released? When the Amsterdam Conference suggested that there were higher laws than either Capitalism or Communism, a newsmagazine headlined it as "Flurry at Amsterdam." The men who rule us now would like to reduce the church to a minor agency of comforting morale and to prevent it from being a determiner of world policy. Prayers that only comfort encourage this attitude. Fond parents put a Testament in a soldier's pocket to keep away bullets. It would be quite a miracle that would save him, in the path of a rocket bomb, and a Bible on the living room table will not take the place of a bomb shelter. Even the shelter is of questionable value. Prayers for personal safety are obviously futile in the target of obliteration bombing. Personal piety is not enough for these days. Cosmic sins demand cosmic repentance. There are Christians enough to change the world, if they were led. If the few fearless journals had the circulation of popular magazines they could do this, but meanwhile we are left to word-of-mouth geometrical progression. What the people say is sometimes as potent as what they read. We cannot leave it all to God. He needs human hands and minds. Our world is ruled too much by yapping radio commentators and their masters but there is a higher power. In one of Benet's stories, he says, "Now we followed a hairy general to an unknown battle over the rim of the world." Who shall rule America, the general or the citizen, the army or the church, Wall Street or Main Street? There is a power in our common humanity, waiting to be released.

The H-bomb is a nightmare. It has not yet been seen. Bacteriological warfare might be worse, with its lingering deaths. I am more frightened of a teaspoonful of vanilla, with a million germs in it, than of sudden death by explosion. These are not separate perils, they can easily be combined. There is a chance for truth and culture to rise from barbarism, but there is no rising from sterile, uninhabited sand.

Better to live in a police state, than to police the world with H-bombs. Bertrand Russell says that is the only way peace can come to the world through force; but the Holy Alliance of the last century could not enforce brotherhood, even on a weary world. There can be World Government but it must be on the basis of reason. Police may control minorities, not populations. Force alone is not strong enough.

The Army booklet complacently states that it would take a million A-bombs to destroy the earth. The potential of atomic energy is said to be one thousand times that of the A-bomb. Even by the army's figure a thousand times a thousand makes a million. A thousand Super-bombs can depopulate the earth.

The H-bomb spells world suicide, and Americans are trying to make it. Is there no reason left? If we are all going to die what difference does it make if Russia pulls the trigger first or we do? If two duellers are in a gas chamber, it is not the first shot but the ultimate explosion that counts.

Some of us say that we should stop making the H-bomb right now and make peace. We talk about bloodthirsty Russia while we prepare the final cyanide pill for the world! This is not reason. This is not honor. This is insanity, and it has an end in universal death. When the H-bomb is released some of us will be complete instead of partial pacifists, but it will not matter then. That will be the universal curtain call—a curtain of radioactive mist sweeping the world. They tell us if an A-bomb comes we must fall on the ground and cover our faces and not look up. That is what we are doing now when we pray and leave it all to God. God has power, but there must be a new play and a new plot and a new purpose. Otherwise the H-bomb is the final curtain for us all.

The new plot for the new play has a theme of understanding. It tolerates differences. It does not trust force. Let us move on to the new theater. Let us pray for the new world.

Yes, pray that God will control the H-bomb. But first join in some resolution that outlaws it right now. Send a letter to your Congressman. Cheer for civilians not for generals, for the people not for corporations,

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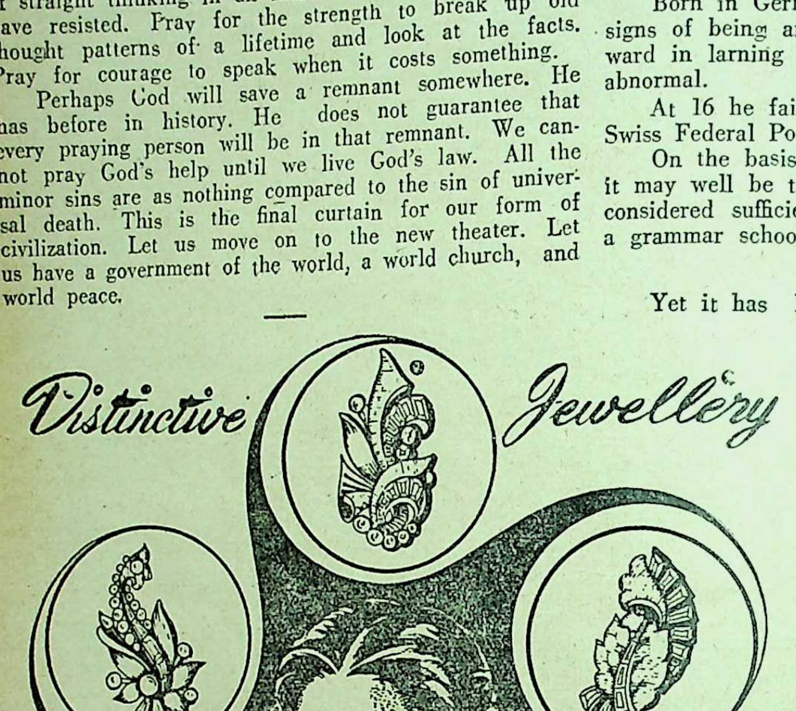
and remember there are still people in Russia and China, people who want what we want and do not know how to get it.

Yes, pray, but not for comfort. Pray with the agony of straight thinking in an insane world. Pray after you have resisted. Pray for the strength to break up old thought patterns of a lifetime and look at the facts. Pray for courage to speak when it costs something.

Perhaps God will save a remnant somewhere. He has before in history. He does not guarantee that every praying person will be in that remnant. We cannot pray God's help until we live God's law. All the minor sins are as nothing compared to the sin of universal death. This is the final curtain for our form of civilization. Let us move on to the new theater. Let us have a government of the world, a world church, and world peace.



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Albert Einstein

FIGHTER FOR PEACE

Albert Einstein, one of the intellectual gia mankind, was 75 years old on March 14.

Born in Germany in 1879, as a child he show signs of being an infant prodigy. Indeed he was b ward in larning to talk and his parents feared h abnormal.

At 16 he failed in the Entrance examination Swiss Federal Polytechinc School in Lurich.

On the basis of our present school entrance it may well be that the youthful Einstein would considered sufficiently intelligent to obtain admis a grammar school.

RELATIVITY

Yet it has been Einstein who has probed deeply than any of his contemp into some of the most funda problems of science.

In the 19th century many scie believed that all the fundamental of nature were already known future task of science was to the details.

Few suspected that many of existing theories rested on insecure foundations.

Among the defects of these th was the supposition that space time were absolute, something like grid lines ruled on a map.

The first shattering blow to ideas came in 1891, when the fa Michelson and Morley exper showed that it was impossible measure the speed of light relati absolute space.

The problems which this pres baffled the great scientists of day. The correct answer discovered by Einstein in 1905.

His idea was that space and could only be understood in of moving bodies, in terms of happenings. Absolute space and divorced from matter do not e

ATOMIC

A famous equation based Einstein's theory is the basic eq of atomic bombs. It is also equation which shows how all requirements for fuel and power be met.

In all his many contributions science, Einstein's approach is al that the processes of nature ca mastered by man and underst a rational way.

One may disagree with so Einstein's philosophic ideas, jus one may disagree with some of ideas on Zionism or world ment, but one cannot fail moved by the profundity of scientific thought and by sincerity of his humanism.

In the period before and during the First World War Einstein was a resolute opponent of imperialism and of the militarisation of German science.

The Nazis attacked Einstein's theories as "Jewish science" and claimed that they were intended to give support to Bolshevism. His books on the theory of relativity were publicly burned in front of the Berlin State Opera House.

IN EXILE

Driven from his native Germany, be sought refuge in the United States in 1933. But he did not escape from persecution.

In September 1950 Congressman John E. Rankin described him as an "old faker" with a "Communist front" record.

In April 1951 he was "named" by the Un-American Activities Committee as a supporter of "subversive organisations," There have even been stories of renewed book-burnings.

The Development of atomic weapons has been of great concern to Einstein. It was he who first wrote to President Roosevelt in 1939, warning that the Nazis were probably developing atomic weapons and suggesting that such research should be initiated in the U.S.

OPPOSED COLD WAR

Later he stated that if he had known the consequences he would have had nothing to do with the atom bomb program. Again and again he has explained the unspeakable disasters which will ensue if atomic warfare takes place.

He has resolutely opposed U.S. cold-war policies. He states that the policy of "security through superior military power" has led to:

"The concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military; militarization of youth; close supervision of the loyalty of citizens . . .; intimidation of independent political thinking; the indoctrination of the public by radio, press and school; a growing restriction of the range of public information under pressure of military secrecy."

FOUGHT WITCH-HUNT

He has unflinchingly opposed the witch-hunt. He has said that anyone called before Congressional committees ought to refuse to testify even if it means jail.

He has always supported the persecuted and oppressed. Before the Rosenbergs were judicially murdered he wrote to President Truman: "My conscience compels me to urge you to commute the death sentences."

Above all he has been a resolute fighter for peace. He said:

"We scientists believe that what we and our fellowmen do or fail to do within the next few years will determine the fate of our civilization.

"And we consider it our task untiringly to explain this truth . . . and to work . . . for understanding and ultimately agreement between peoples and nations of different views."

World peace would be more secure if more scientists were to endorse Einstein's word.—*Tribune, Ceylon News Review.*

Dr. Theodor Herzl

A MAN AND HIS DREAM

Michael Miller contributes this feature article in the *News from Israel*:

On July 21, the people of Israel commemorated the 50th anniversary of the death of a man who has been variously described as Father of Political Zionism, Modern Prophet or Modern Moses. Whatever people call him, it is unanimously agreed that Dr. Theodor Herzl was a most remarkable individual, perhaps the greatest since the days of the Bible.

He was born in Budapest in 1860, and at 18 he left for Vienna with his parents and there, after taking a law degree, entered journalism.

In 1891 he was appointed Paris Correspondent of the leading daily newspaper in Vienna, and was thus given the opportunity of gaining a deep insight into the political life around him and of developing that keen political acumen which was to stand him in such good stead as the leader of the Zionist Movement.

The more Herzl delved into the political and social problems of this stormy period, on the threshold of the twentieth century, the nearer he drew to his people. The famous trial of the Jewish officer in the French Army, Captain Dreyfus, completely transformed Herzl's entire outlook. This trial, which was a mere pretext to intensify anti-semitic activities and to even further incite the Paris mob in their demonstrations and wild outbursts of "death to the Jews," stirred Herzl to his very depths and made him deeply concerned about the position of Jewry in all European countries. Suddenly, whilst sitting in his hotel in Paris, deep in thought, an idea flashed through his mind. The only way to free his long-suffering and down-trodden people was by the re-establishment of an independent Jewish State. This idea pursued him relentlessly, giving him no peace and consuming him like a flame. "Standing, walking, lying down, in the street, at table, during the night, when it wakes me from my sleep," thus Herzl describes the feverish desire to write, which seized hold of him in those days in 1895. It was as if he heard "Eagles' wings rustling over his head."

Before long, his book *The Jewish State* made its appearance throughout the Jewish world. Overnight the author became the natural leader of the Jews who dreamed of the return to Jerusalem.

The political experience which Herzl had acquired in his early years strengthened his belief that he must attract the masses, since without a mass movement no ideal can be realised. He decided that the time was now ripe for the convening of a Congress which would, in the future, serve as a permanent platform for the deliberations and decisions of the Zionist Movement and, at the same time, serve to demonstrate to the nations of the world the strong will and desire to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness.

The First Zionist Congress assembled at Basle, in Switzerland, on August 29, 1897. The deliberations of the Congress and, even more, Herzl's appearance and oratory, made a tremendous impression on the Jewish world. The Zionist Movement grew daily and Herzl was readily acknowledged as its distinguished leader and as the moving spirit in all its activities.

Herzl at that time proved to posterity what a great prophet he was, for in his diary he wrote after the first Congress:

"If I were to sum up this Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle

I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in 50 years, everyone will see it.'

Fifty years later, on November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly voted in favour of the establishment of a Jewish State in part of what was then Palestine.

But we are anticipating. Let us go back fifty years and see what Herzl did to realise his dream.

From the outset he understood the importance of gaining friends and supporters for his project among the statesmen of the great nations. He first entered into diplomatic negotiations with the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid II, who was the ruler over Palestine and Syria. On the occasion of his first visit to Palestine, he met Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany. At a later date, he went to St. Petersburg, capital of Russia, where he was received by the Russian Minister of the Interior, and also to London where he met Joseph Chamberlain.

In his novel, *Old-New Land,* Herzl drew a picture of what Palestine would be like once an independent Jewish State had been re-established there. He says of the city of Haifa:

"Great ships lay anchored in the roadstead between Acco and the foot of the Carmel. Behind this fleet they discerned the noble curve of the Bay. . . . . Thousands of white villas gleamed out of luxuriant green gardens. All the way from Acco to Mount Carmel stretched what seemed to be one great park. The mountain itself, also, was crowned with beautiful structures. A magnificent city had been built beside the sapphire blue Mediterranean. The magnificent stone dams showed the harbour for what it was: the safest and most convenient port in the eastern Mediterranean. Craft of every shape and size, flying the flags of all the nations, lay sheltered there."

Of the Valley of Jezreel, then covered with malaria infested swamps, he wrote:

"They had reached the extensive plain, which was thickly sown with wheat and oats, maize and hops, poppies and tobacco. There were trim villages and farmsteads in the valley and on the hillsides. Cows and sheep grazed ruminatingly in succulent meadows. Here and there great iron farm machines gleamed in the sunshine. The whole landscape was peaceful and joyous."

He even prophesied the development of the country's natural resources, and has made one of his heroes say:

"What was formerly the most barren, the most lifeless part of our country is now the most productive. In the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea there is bituminous lime from which we produce the best asphalt in the world. You know . . . . how important phosphate is in the manufacture of artificial fertiliser . . . . The artificial fertilisers which we have been able to produce in such great abundance have, of course, contributed immeasurably to the progress of our agriculture.",

Faced with the intensified persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe, Herzl came to the reluctant conclusion that the Jewish people, groaning in so many countries under the burden of their exile, must have a refuge, even if it be only a temporary one. He negotiated with the British Government about territory for Jewish settlement in the vicinity of Palestine, namely, El in the Sinai Peninsula. Later the British Gov recommended Uganda in East Africa for this pur but the proposal evoked great opposition, despite H assurances that the proposal was for "a temp shelter" only.

Such was the position when the sixth Zi Congress opened in Basle—the last which Herzl w to attend.

At this juncture it was discovered that Herzl w suffering from a serious heart complaint. In the m of 1904, Herzl was compelled to take to the sick b from which he never rose. He died on July 3, 19 the twentieth day of the Hebrew month of Tam which corresponds this year to July 21.

This remarkable man became wedded to his d at the age of 35 and died at the early age of 44. this short period of only nine years, this bril journalist, with his magnetic eyes and capti personality, opened the doors not only to the pala Emperors and Princes, but to every humble Jewish h throughout the world. His clarion call to his p was answered throughout the years by generati pioneers who made their way to their ancient home fulfilling the biblical prophecy: "I shall build and thou shalt be built.".

Though he did not live to see independence, ex in his dreams, his grateful people half a century l re-buried his mortal remains on a hill overlooking Holy City of Jerusalem, which today is the capit the Jewish State.

America Adopts Ashram Idea

New York: Borrowing a practice widespread in I some 1,400 Americans plan to spend their sum vacation this year at *ashrams.*

As individuals or in family groups, they will tr to six *ashram* sites in widely separated sections of country. The pilgrimages will take place in July a August in surroundings of great natural beauty.

Pilgrims will gather in groups of 200 or mo spend a week in quest of spiritual repose and u standing through prayer, meditation, and unhurried

Borrowed from the Hindus of India and ad to Christianity in this country, the *ashrams* are spons annually by the National Council of Churches th its joint department of evangelism.

"Now in their 15th year, the American Chri *ashrams* make a unique contribution to the reli life of Americans," said Dr. H. H. McConnell secretary for the National Council Department *ashram* director. "They are international, interde tional, and interracial."

Ashrams will be held in Virginia, Wisconsin, York, Texas, California and Oregon States.

As in past years, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, fo missionary to India who introduced the *ashram* to country, will be on hand at each retreat. Joining as members of *ashram* "faculties"—lecture and disc leaders—will be some 25 Christian leaders in United States and abroad.—*American Reporter,* J 1954.

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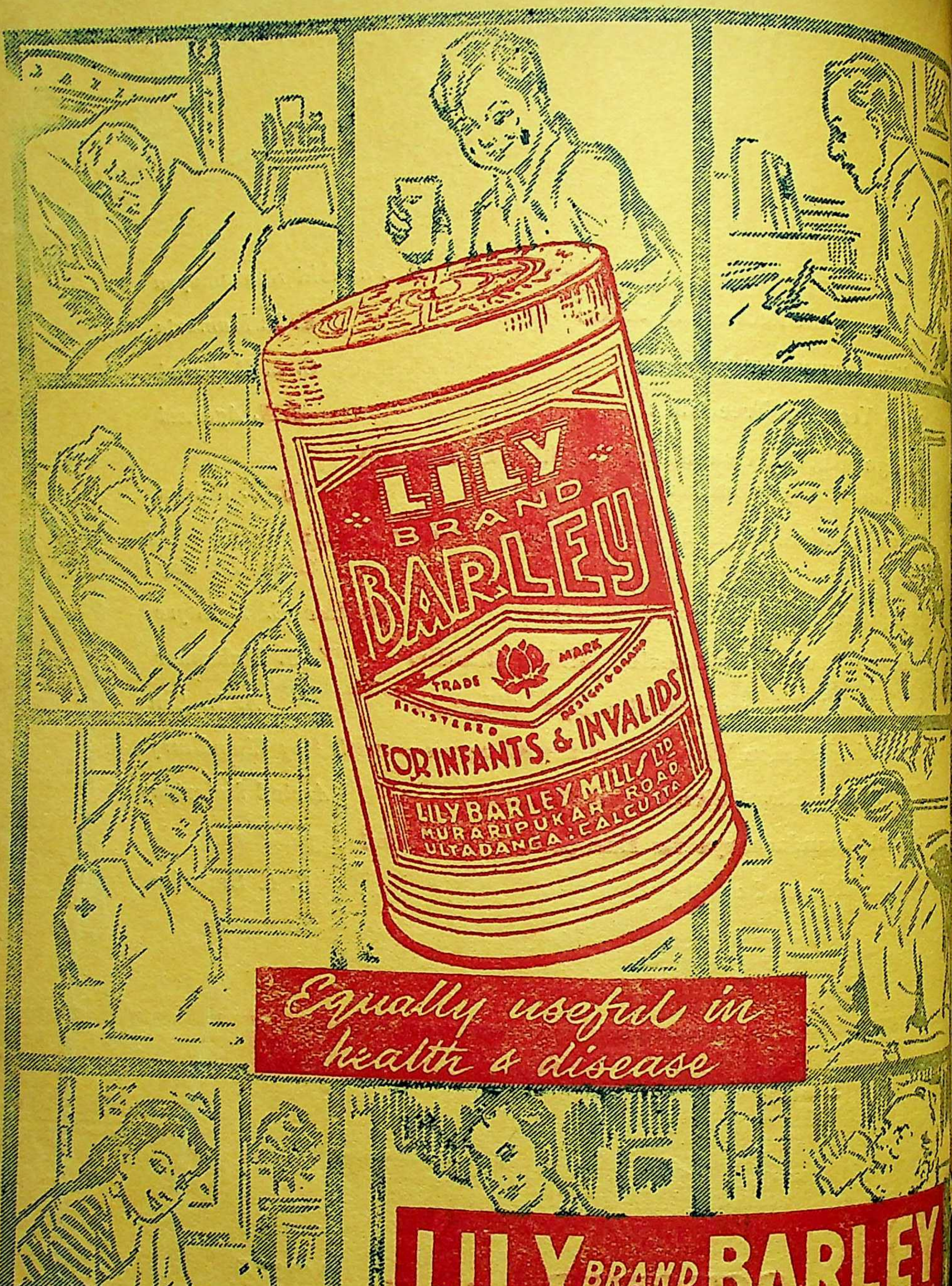
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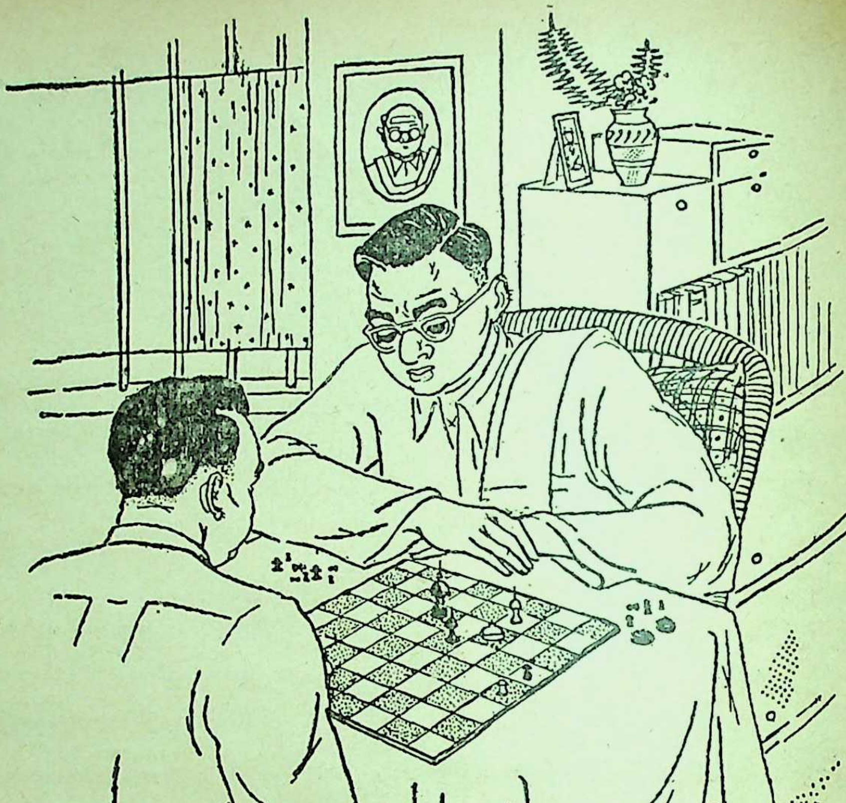

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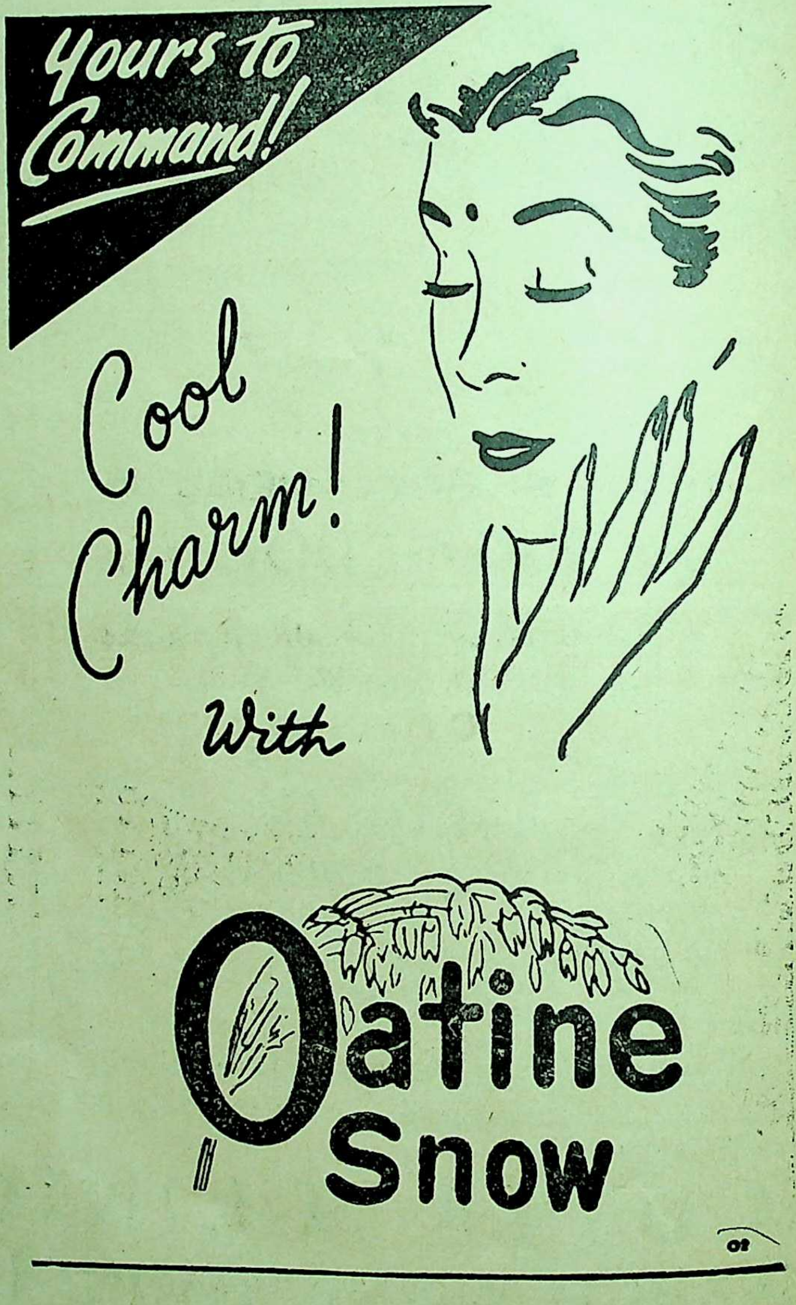
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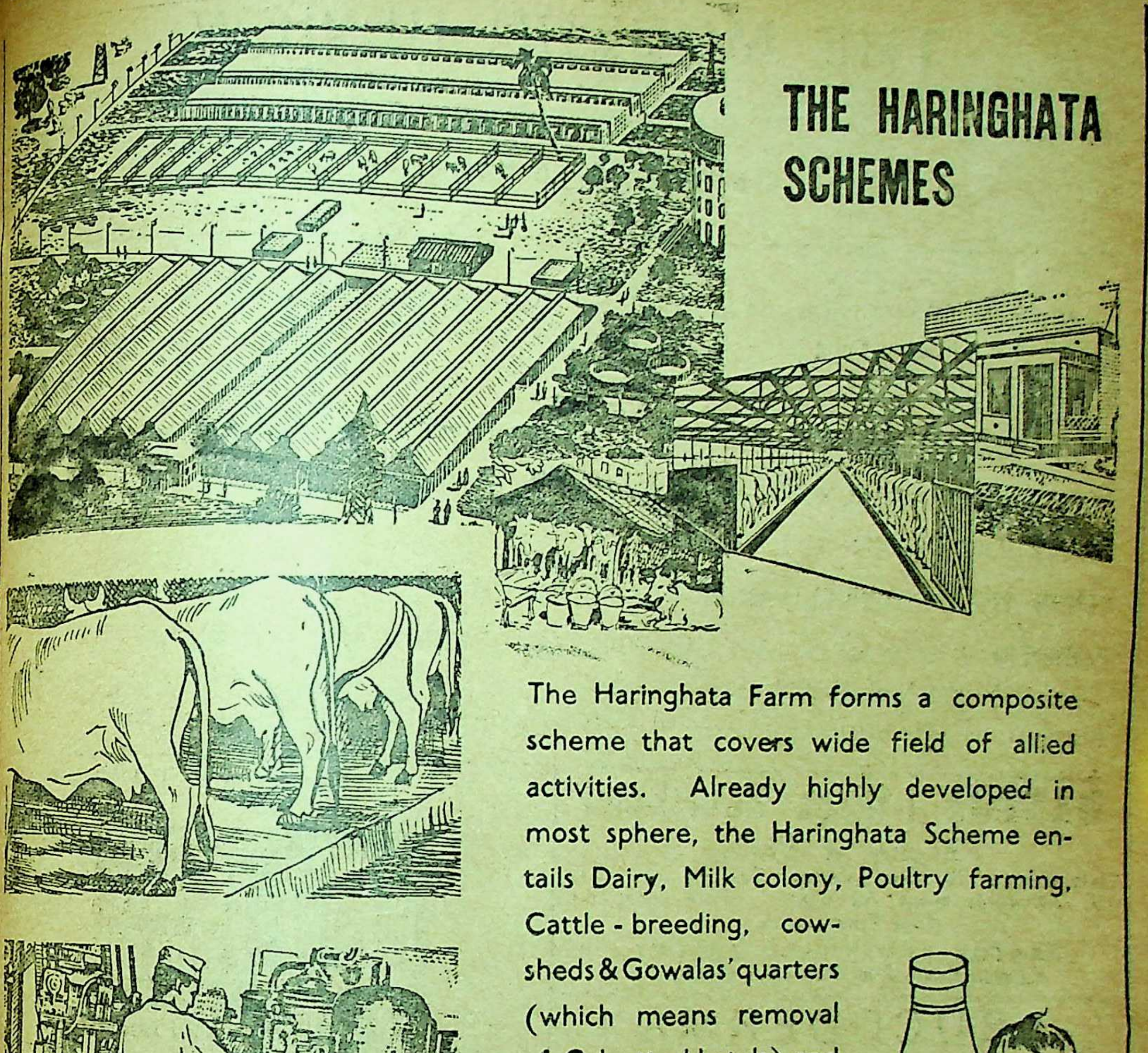

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CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1954.

PAGE

FRONTISPIECE—SAKUNTALA, ANASUYA AND PRIYAMBADA (*in colours*)—Satindranath Laha

NOTES: 253—272

BASIC EDUCATION—THE NEED OF THE DAY—Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya 273

AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA—Prof. C. B. Mamoria 275

INDIAN JOURNALISM—C. L. R. Sastri 288

SEVEN YEARS OF FREEDOM—Prof. S. N. Agarwal 291

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND COMMUNITY IN INDIA—J. N. Wilson 292

BENGAL IN MANBHUM, DHALBHUM AND ADJOINING AREAS—Chuni Lal Ray 295

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

Page

PHILIPPINE FISH CULTURE (*illust.*)— Wallace E. McIntyre 299

GLIMPSES OF PRE-HISTORIC MALWA (*illust.*)— V. S. Wakankar 303

THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS (*illust.*)—A. N. Sen 309

SOME ENGLISHMEN WHO NURSED THE CONGRESS—P. C. Roy Choudhury 312

M. N. ROY : REVOLUTIONIST AND THINKER— Arvind Malaviya 314

SWAMI ANANDACHARYA IN EUROPE Swami Jagadiswarananda 316

IS MAN REBORN ? C L Banerjee 318

BOOK REVIEWS : 322–325

INDIAN PERIODICALS : 326–330

FOREIGN PERIODICALS : 332–336

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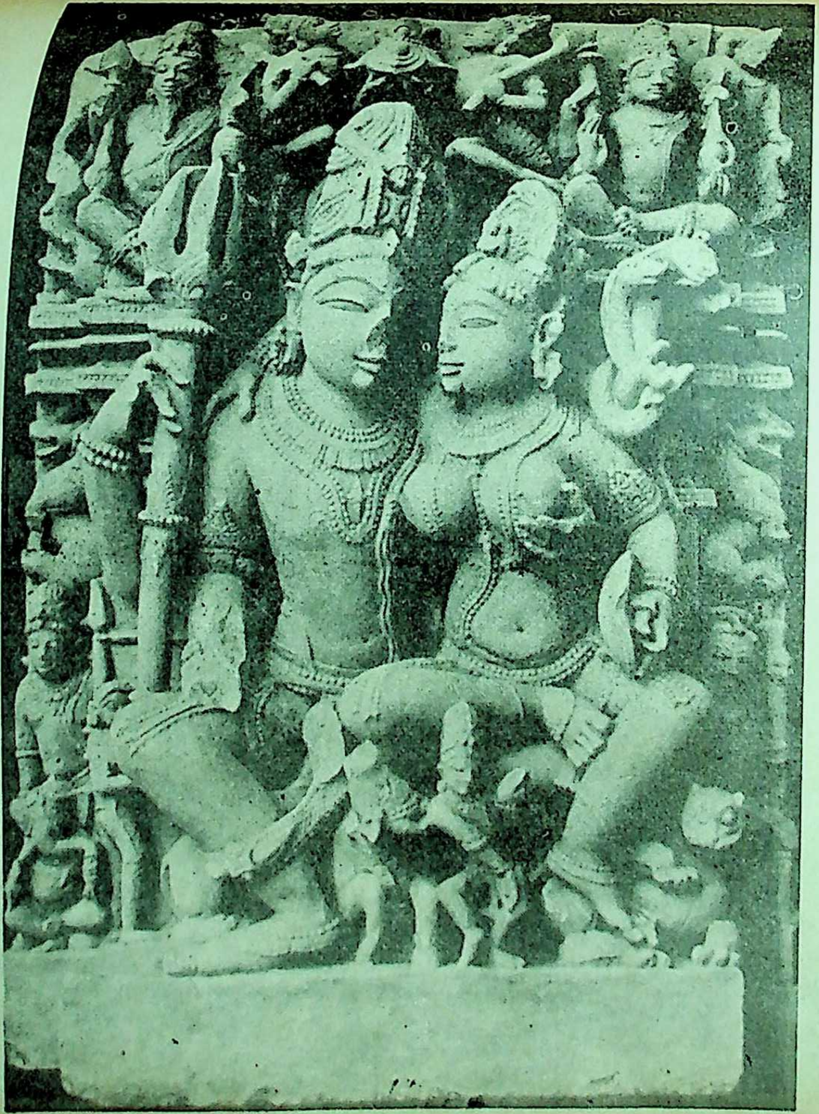

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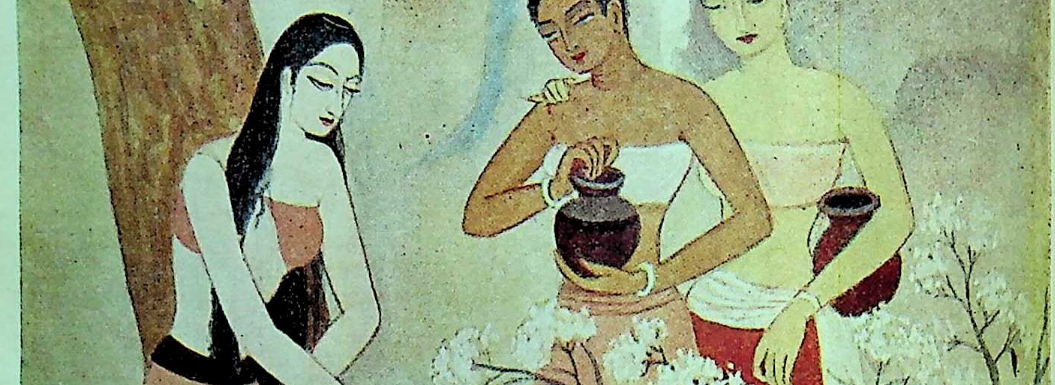

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SAKUNTALA, ANASUYA AND PRIYAMBADA
By Satindranath Laha

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1954

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WHOLE No. 574

NOTES

The Parting of the Ways?

To-day we stand at the crossing of the two Ways of Life, individually and as a nation. In verity, the whole world is at the cross-roads. And beyond the crossing both the paths end in *culs-des-sacs*. Artificial walls and barriers have been erected along both by the two warring camps, like the Siegfried and Maginot lines, and between them lies the uneasy pathless terrain of the No Nation's Land, across which may play the cross-fires of World War III at any moment. Korea was but a straw-in-the-wind, just a minor indicator of the end-reaction.

Which way to proceed? Standing still is impossible in a nation's life, there can only be progress or retrogression. A static condition means decadence for sure, as we, of all the nations of the world, should know, having rotted in slavery for seven centuries as a punishment for attempting to shun progress by isolating ourselves from the world outside.

To be sure, we do not want war. But, who does, excepting perhaps the few besotted Jingoes, who have neither the capacity to realise what World War with atom-fission weapons means, nor the scientific knowledge to grasp the fact that it would be impossible for one-half of the world to remain unscathed, if the other half be scorched and razed by H. bombs, unless all the winds and tides of the earth could be frozen into immobility. The poor, innocent Japanese fisherman, who has just died a horrible death from the effects of the death-ash wafted by the winds of the Pacific, has given the final testimony by his life.

To be sure, with some few of us—particularly amongst the elect—Non-violence is not merely a creed, but a Way of Life, a Faith, to be embraced unto death. But is it not equally true that with the great majority *Ahimsa* is merely a shibboleth, a party slogan, to be mouthed in unctuous accents, so that the puissant One be pleased? Indeed, is not *Ahimsa* being used as the cryptic "open sesame" for the treasures of the forty thieves? Else why should there be so much intrigue, corruption, jealousies and jousting for power within the Congress? Even if the whole of the Congress were true believers in *Ahimsa*, it has further to be shown whether the country as a whole subscribes to this one Party, one Man, authoritarian dictum regarding the destiny of the hundreds of millions of the Nation, "This way shalt thou proceed and no other, for beyond lieth *Hinsa*!" Should the Rest, the remaining three hundred and fifty odd millions, then proceed on to the Valley of Death without reasoning why or making reply, like Tennyson's Six Hundred?

For unreasoned, unquestioned *Ahimsa* may end in death, surrender and oblivion for the whole nation, as it did for the peoples of the Indus Civilization of the Mohen-jo-Daro horizon. Let us, therefore, come down to earth, and ask for the news and presages of the way ahead.

We desire amity and friendship with all Nations. That is reasonable and understandable, provided we clarify our standpoint of view to the world, in measured terms and with unambiguous words. *Neutrality* is a vague and confusing expression, with meanings ranging from isolationism to hermaphroditic impotence. The first means decadence, resulting in enslavement, as was historically our fate, and the other abject surrender and oblivion. *These are the inexorable axioms of history.*

The world of today understands but two ways of life, the Authoritarian and the Democratic. The one is a legacy from the dim past of humanity, when all mankind lived in small isolated bands led and directed by patriarchs. The other is traceable in the West from the sages and leaders-of-men in Judea and in Greece. In the East the democratic tradition is not so clear excepting in the philosophical discourses of great sages.

Mussolini, Hitler and then Stalin had reblazed the tracks of authoritarian way. The older democracies had lost and muddled the ancient traditions, in their lust for wealth and power and had degenerated into despotic colonial imperialism, and the United States was vacillating between isolationalism and power-politics. This was the position in 1939. Then came the War.

The standpoint of the democracies was sharply defined during the years of the War and in the period immediately after. There was no question then, as to whether the newly formed Union of India was wholeheartedly democratic.

To-day the place of India seems to be indeterminate. The democracies of the West have aligned themselves into an armed camp, and on the other side is the Soviet group in martial array. India has refused, and quite rightly so, to enter either, and has declared herself to be neutral. This has caused one group to look askance, whereas the other has taken a realistic view of the situation.

But does that mean that we are veering away from the democratic way? Because the leader of the democracies has confused realities and bungled badly in its new diplomatic moves, does it follow that we should make confusion worse confounded?

We must realize that we have come to the cross-roads. And it is imperative that we make up our minds about the way ahead. The world must be told as to what our decision is.

Is it then the parting of the ways, as between ourselves and the Western democracies? In shunning ideological wars and conflicts, are we going to step backwards into the martial arena? It is time we considered our movements, voluntary or involuntary.

We are economically backward and undeveloped in the industrial field. We have to raise the standard of living of all our peoples. Our fluid resources and technical knowledge and equipment are insufficient, though our potential is great in natural resources and man-power. Therefore we need foreign aid on a large scale, if we are to proceed rapidly. This assistance we must have on friendly terms, not as charity but as accommodation, without any conditions precedent attached beyond the terms of payment.

The U. S. Government and some great American foundations have given us aid and assistance right from the time we began our development schemes. No conditions precedent were attached. This was accepted in the spirit it was given by all of us excepting the super-leftists of the Marxian fold and the Super-Brahmins of the Sarbodaya. Both of them saw pure power-politics in the U.S. aid, though the conclusions were arrived at in different ways.

Then came a party change-over in Washington. A very inexperienced man, with no knowledge of the East made a lightening tour of Asia and made the U.S Government take "live-wire" and "he-man" decisions. We now witness the results burgeoning forth in rapid succession. There has been a distinct and considerable cooling-off in Indo-American amity and future relationship is being jeopardized by recriminations on both sides.

Russia has stepped in with offer of technical aid on very easy terms. There is no reason to doubt that the offer has been made in a friendly spirit, and we do not see any reason why the offer should not be considered on an amicable basis. We have no quarrel with Russia.

But let us not lose one friend in cultivating the friendship of a rival. To do that would be against the ancient traditions of the East, where friendships have always meant something more than mere lack of enmity.

The Manila Agreement

The September 12. issue of the International Edition of the *New York Times* gives, in its main editorial of the Weekly Review section, a commentary on the eight-nation agreement at Manila from which we append the following excerpts:

"The eight-nation agreement that was signed in Manila last Wednesday, 8th September, has been designated and discussed chiefly as a defense pact. The need for it arose from a common danger. It is a joint effort to devise means to meet that danger. Since the threat is military in one of its aspects, it is natural and proper that meeting the threat should also involve planning for military defense.

It is significant, however, that the accord that ultimately was reached was far broader in its scope than a mere military alliance. Indeed, the military provisions are loose and flexible and occupy only a small part of the text. This does not mean that they are unimportant. It does mean that they are only part of the picture. We earnestly hope that the military measures will never have to be employed. We hope, on the other hand, that the poitical, social and economic phases of the accord will be fully implemented and enthusiastically supported.

This is, both in the preamble to the pact and in the appended declaration, a joint Asian-Western commitment to the principle of self-determination. It is not a proclamation of immediate independence for all non-self-governing peoples, since it wisely recognizes that both their desires and their competence must be taken into consideration. The language is explicit on that point. It is, nevertheless, a firm declaration of principle and that principle is that all the signatories will work toward the end of giving all peoples everywhere governments of their own choosing empowered by their free consent.

Here is the definite answer to the charge of "neo-colonialism" that has been raised by both Communists and "neutrals." With this phase of the accord, certainly, countries such as India and Indonesia should be more than ready to associate themselves, even if they balk at military obligations or ideological "alignments."

Of great significance, likewise, is the agreement upon joint action in the economic field. First of all, it implies the belief that the welfare of one is the welfare of all and that the weakness of one is the weakness of all. This surely is a milestone in the history of Asia's relations with the rest of the world. It means the principle of assistance, rather than exploitation, for those who are in need. It means the pooling of problems and of problem-solving for the common good. It means that the jobs that can best be done multilaterally will have multi-lateral machinery for the doing of them.

In the field of social and cultural, as well as economic, co-operation there is another important consideration and an opportunity for immense advancement. A natural characteristic of any colonial system, such as that from which the free Asian States have now emerged, is the orientation of the dependency upon the mother country. This is easily seen in the economic field, but it is no less pervasive in the other fields as well. The result is that some countries have had closer relations of all sorts with other States on the other side of the world than with their next-door neighbours."

"These various aspects of the treaty involve and imply a meeting of minds. This, obviously, is the greatest achievement to come out of Manila. The eight nations that met represent no inconsiderable diversity. They represent a wide range of language, institutions, culture, economic systems and political structures. But they have found an enormous common denominator in the desire to be—and to remain—free. They have recognized a common danger and are resolved upon joint efforts to meet it. This is the real meaning of the accord and the meaning that gives us the right to call it 'historic'."

We have given a fuller commentary on the S.E.A.D.O. elsewhere in these editorials. We are putting forward the above commentary just to show that a knowledgeable section of the press in U.S.A. is still of the opinion that an amicable relationship could be maintained with us, despite our refusal to enter into any military obligations or ideological alignments.

If further proof were needed then the last minute "hedging" by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, as conveyed in the news appended below, should suffice. It shows that the military provisions are indeed loose and flexible as yet and cannot be readily made into an offensive and defensive alliance. The news is as follows:

Karachi, Sept. 20.—The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, said here today that the Pakistani Cabinet had not yet taken any final decision with regard to the S.E.A.D.O. treaty signed in Manila recently.

He told a crowded Press conference here that the Government was still awaiting a fuller report on the Manila conference. Sir Zafrullah Khan, he said, had signed the treaty only for transmission to the Government.

Mr. Ali reiterated that Pakistan had made no commitment with regard to S.E.A.D.O.

Asked whether he would discuss the treaty with the U.S. Administration during his forthcoming visit to the U.S.A., Mr. Ali replied: "How can I discuss S.E.A.D.O. in the U.S.A. unless we take a decision here?"

Other important points made by Mr. Ali in his Press conference were:

1.—He was not in a position to disclose whether an official letter had been sent by Pakistan to the U.N. requesting the Security Council to take up again the dispute with India over Kashmir.

2.—The World Bank mission on the canal waters dispute had not failed as reported.

3.—American military aid to Pakistan had not yet started coming in.

4.—Pakistan so far has had no negotiations on the issue of Pakhtoonistan with Afghanistan.

5.—The resignation of the Pakistani High Commissioner in India, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, had been accepted with effect from Oct 1.

It is evident from the above bits of news that Pakistan is not as yet sure of her ground, and this visit of the Prime Minister of Pakistan is to clear up the issues as viewed by his Cabinet. The entire question therefore is still in a state of flux. This is the time for us to make up our minds regarding the future. We cannot "wait and see" what the world decides about a dumb and vacillating nation whose leaders are in a state of trance. We have to send out our emissaries for peace and goodwill to both sides, and those who go must be persons chosen for their brains.

Bank Tribunal Award

The modification by the Government of India of the appellate Bank Tribunal Award has given rise to much controversy all over the country. We propose to examine some of the issues involved in the dispute. The foremost issue is whether the Government's action in modifying the Jeejeebhoy award is in order or otherwise. The bank employees contend that the Government action is ultra vires. A perusal of Section 15 of the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act 1950 will clear much of the misunderstanding. The relevant section is as follows:

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DECISION OF THE APPELLATE TRIBUNAL

The decision of the Appellate Tribunal shall be enforceable on the expiry of thirty days from the date of its pronouncement.

Provided that where the appropriate Government is of opinion that it would be inexpedient on public grounds to give effect to the whole or any part of the decision, the appropriate Government may, before the expiry of the said period of thirty days by order in the Official Gazette, either reject the decision or modify it.

Where the appropriate Government rejects or modifies any decision under the proviso to sub-section (1), it shall, on the first available opportunity, lay that decision together with its reasons for rejecting or modifying the same before the Legislative Assembly of the State, or where the appropriate Government is the Central Government, before Parliament.

Much has been said about the sanctity of the Tribunal Award and its modification is being viewed and preached as amounting to illegal action. But the law is clear on the point and the Government action is perfectly within their rights. A tribunal is not a court of law. The Tribunal is a quasi-judicial body whose decision is, under the law, liable to be modified by the Government on public grounds. In modifying the award the Union Government have done nothing illegal, nor have violated any of the provisions of the law even in the technical sense. It is just the exercise of a legal right empowered by law.

The second charge against the Government is that their view that the Appellate Tribunal, after giving its award, became *functus officio* with no authority to see how its decision would affect the various interests concerned and it is the duty of the Government to do so, is incorrect. The Government view has been rightly stated by the Finance Minister: "The Tribunal had the painful duty of coming to a conclusion and, after doing so, it became *functus officio.* It had no further power to see how it was going to affect the various interests. It was for that reason that the power to modify the award was vested in the Government." The Tribunal is responsible neither to the Legislature nor to the people—but the Government is responsible to both and must view everything in wider perspective. It may be recalled that the first suggestion for a modification of the award came from the employees themselves. In a public meeting held on May 11th, 1954, under the auspices of the Patna Bank Employees Association, a resolution was adopted requesting the Government to take immediate steps to ensure that no cut in the present emoluments took place as a result of the Labour Appellate Tribunal's award which, it was alleged, would disturb industrial peace. This is precisely what the Government have done.

Another charge is that the modification of the award by Government was unnecessary because (i) although the earnings of banks have been rising, their net profits have been going down on account of the increase in the rates of interest which are paid on deposits, (ii) they have been paying higher dividends on their shares ranging from 12 to 16 per cent, (iii) they have declined to disclose their secret reserves and (iv) their chief executives are paid very high salaries amounting to Rs. 6,500—Rs. 7,500 free from income tax per month.

The banks, however, argue that they are now faced with declining profits and as a result a large number of banks have very inadequate reserves which are much less than their paid-up capital and these are created out of net profits. The number of depositors is nearly 80 times the number of bank employees and they should have a fair deal by the payment of higher interest and they do not deserve to have their interests sacrificed unjustifiably for the sake of the bank employees. There are a few banks which pay dividends ranging between 12 to 1 per cent. Many banks have been unable to pay dividends at all, and the dividends paid by the rest of the banks vary between 3 to 5 per cent. The shareholders of the small number of banks that pay higher dividends receive a return only of 4 to 5 per cent on their investments, as the shares have changed hands during the last 40 or 50 years at progressively increasing market prices and the present holders have purchased them at heavy premiums. Most of the banks have not been able to build their statutory reserves up to the level of their paid-up capital and they can hardly be expected to have secret reserves. A small minority of old established banks may have seceret reserves in order to their credit-worthiness. The vast majority of the executives in banks receive salaries subject to income-tax and these are not exorbitant.

Mr. Giri's resignation is uncalled-for and unfortunate. He being a member of the trade union all through his life had the wrong impression that he represented the trade unions even in the Cabinet. The Congress Government represent neither the capitalist nor the labour—they represent the people and their primary duty is to look after the general interest of the people. Ours is not a government of the trade unions and by the trade unions, and Mr. Giri's misfortune is that he failed to distingunish between his role as a leader of the trade union and as a minister of a responsible government. We say this with no derogatory intent, as we are well aware of the high idealism that rules his actions.

The bank employees are hardly worse off than the large numbers of Government employees and the employees in various commercial farms. It is even incomprehensible why the bank employees should claim special status than other employees in other institutions. The next Tribunal should go into the question in detail whether bank employees are paid lower salaries than Government and commerical firms' employees placed in similar categories. If the banks really earn higher profits they should be made to extend their branches thereby creating increased employment opportunities. In India the number of bank offices per million of population is only 26, while it is 229 in the

UK, 256 in Canada and 450 in Australia. The average deposit per head in India is only Rs. 25 as against Rs. 1630 in the UK and 4,493 in the USA.

The percentage of establishment expenses of Indian scheduled banks to their deposits increased continuously from 1948 to 1952 by over 70 per cent. Although the gross earnings of the Indian scheduled banks rose from Rs. 29.73 crores in 1943 to Rs. 34.38 crores in 1953, the net profit (before taxation and other essential provisions) steadily declined from Rs. 8.07 crores to Rs. 6.51 crores. The rise in interest rates on deposits and the increase in establishment expenses are responsible for this contraction in profit. While the interest paid on deposits increased from Rs. 6.98 crores to Rs. 8.90 crores, the establishment expenses have gone up, mainly as a result of the award, from Rs. 9.50 crores to Rs. 13.25 crores. The net profits of Exchange banks declined from Rs. 4.61 crores in 1949 to Rs. 2.62 crores in 1953 and that of non-scheduled banks fell from Rs. 42.6 lakhs to Rs. 33 lakhs.

Between 1948 and 1953, deposits of scheduled banks came down from Rs. 1,042.16 crores to Rs. 905.86 crores. The decline in deposits has undoubtedly limited the paying capacity of the banks. The number of offices of scheduled banks has shrunk from 2,963 in 1948 to 2,685 in 1953. Similarly, the number of offices of non-scheduled banks came down from 1,711 to 1,268. The Finance Minister has stated that according to his study of the position, 12 banks would have been compelled to close down 241 of their branches, involving 2,549 employees, if the Jeejeebhoy award were implemented as it stood. Banking is an industry of general service to the economy of the country. The closure of a banking office would mean withdrawal of credit facilities from that sector of trade and industry depending on it and consequently fall in employment.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The latest annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation reveals that the progress of the Corporation has been slowed down during the year 1953-54. The number of applications received was the smallest since 1948-49. The amount of accommodation sought from the Corporation in 1953-54 was slightly higher at 9 crores as compared with Rs. 8.25 crores in 1952-53, but the number of applications received declined from 74 in the preceding year to 43 this year. This indicates that fewer industrial concerns approached the Corporation for accommodation than in the previous year. This trend is further confirmed by the rise in the number and the amount of applications withdrawn. In 1952-53 only six applications covering Rs. 55.8 lakhs were withdrawn, whereas in 1953-54 as many as 11 applications covering Rs. 1.22 crores were withdrawn. This may be partly due to the availability of funds in the capital market and partly to the severe criticism made in the Parliament last year against certain aspects of the Corporation's working.

The set-back in the Corporation's progress during 1953-54 is also indicated by the fact that while in 1952-53 its profit was sufficient to pay the minimum guaranteed dividend of 2½ per cent per annum, during the year under review the required amount fell by Rs. 4.06 lakhs and as a result the Corporation had to take a subvention from the Government for that amount. The amount required for the payment of the guaranteed dividend is only Rs. 11.25 lakhs. The total subvention taken by the Corporation from the Government amounts to Rs. 30.95 lakhs. The profit of the Corporation for 1953-54 stands at Rs. 22.18 lakhs as against Rs. 23.16 lakhs in the preceding year.

During 1953-54 there was a perceptible rise in the number and the amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation. As many as 29 applications were sanctioned as against only 14 in 1952-53. There was a steady increase in the amount of loans sanctioned from Rs. 1.43 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 5.27 crores in 1953-54. The report under review makes a detailed presentation of the information relating to the nature of loans, the number of industries receiving the loans, the names of borrowers and the amount of loans sanctioned to them. This is in accordance with the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Industrial Finance Corporation Enquiry Committee. There is a table indicating the extent to which the Corporation has contributed to the expansion of industry in the country by way of both modernisation of, and additions to, the existing units and the setting-up of new units.

Loans sanctioned by the Corporation since its inception to 30th June, 1954, amount to Rs. 20.74 crores.

The statement below will show the amount of loans sanctioned and the amount actually disbursed by the Corporation at the end of each accounting year since its establishment:

(*In crores of rupees*)

As at	Loans sanctioned	Loans disbursed
30th June 1949	3.42	1.33
30th June 1950	7.19	3.41
30th June 1951	9.58	5.79
30th June 1952	14.03	7.57
30th June 1953	15.47	10.07
30th June 1954	20.74	12.89

Of the total amount of Rs. 20.74 crores sanctioned during the last years, cotton textiles received Rs. 3.07 crores, chemicals Rs. 2.44 crores, cement Rs. 2.35 crores, sugar industry Rs. 2.05 crores, paper industry Rs. 2.4 crores, ceramic and glass Rs. 1.35 crores, electric engineering Rs. 1.29 crores, iron and steel industry (light engineering) Rs. 1.12 crores. There was only one application for putting up a new factory, and that was from a co-operative sugar factory in the Deccan. Applications from cotton textiles, woollen, paper and silk mills were mostly for renovation, modernisation and expansion. Some parts of the loans were to be utilised for strengthening the resources for working capital. Some applications contained proposals to repay loans taken from banks for short periods for acquiring capital assets. Fourteen out of the 43 applications came from sugar mills aluminium, cement and mining industries. The total amount asked for by these 14 applications was Rs. 6.21 lakhs.

As regarls the resources of the Corporation, besides a capital of Rs. 5 crores, it has raised funds by the issue of bonds and debentures for Rs. 7.80 crores. It has also borrowed from the Reserve Bank a sum of Rs. 1.23 crores. This is out of a credit line of Rs. 3 crores secured from the Reserve Bank under the Industrial Finance Corporation Act. The Corporation has received no deposits from the public, although it is authorised to accept long-term fixed deposits from the public. Its reserves are negligible, being merely Rs. 16 lakhs.

As regards the State-wise distribution of loans, Bombay heads the list followed next by West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madras. Up to 30th June 1954 Bombay has received loans for Rs. 4.92 crores, West Bengal Rs. 3.70 crores, Bihar Rs. 2.38 crores and Madras Rs. 1.46 crores. The Corporation has taken over the management of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd., which has turned out to be a bad proposition. The Company has received a loan of Rs. 1.03 crores from the Corporation and was closed on 20th July 1953. ,

Agriculture and the Reserve Bank

Apart from the operations in the field of short-term credit for agricultural purposes, the Reserve Bank of India undertook in 1948 to contribute up to 10 per cent of the debentures floated by Land Mortgage Banks provided they were guaranteed by the Government in respect of principal and interest. In 1950 the Reserve Bank's contribution to such debentures was raised to 20 per cent. The Central Government have now set apart Rs. 1 crore out of the allotment of Rs. 5 crores for long-term agricultural credit under the Five-Year Plan for purchase of debentures issued by the Land Mortgage Banks. In this connection the Reserve Bank of India, in consultation with the Government of India, have agreed upon a scheme of joint contribution to the debentures of Land Mortgage Banks up to 40 per cent of the issue or the short-fall in public subscription whichever was less, one- half of the subscription being on behalf of the Government and the other half on account of the Reserve Bank. The Central Land Mortgage Banks using this facility have, however, to agree to dispense loans for productive purposes up to an amount not less than half of the joint subscription by the Government and the Reserve Bank within one year. So far only the Andhra Land Mortgage Bank has been accommodated under this scheme to the extent of Rs. 17 lakhs. Details of subcriptions to debentures of Land Mortgage Banks by the Reserve Bank during the last five years are given below :—

Year	*Amount of subscription (Lakhs of rupees)*
1949-50	4.15
1950-51	20.00
1951-52	13.00
1952-53	16.89
1953-54	15.56

The Reserve Bank which had so long been advancing short-term loans for agricultural purposes will provide hereafter medium-term loans also. But the measures so far taken by the Reserve Bank in the field of agricultural finance fall far short of the requirements of the country. The estimated total agricultural credit requirements are placed at Rs. 500 crores and the amount of credit advanced by the Reserve Bank to farmers through co-operative banks has been only a meagre sum of Rs. 17 crores. Agricultural finance involves long-term credit and the central bank of a country is unsuited for the job. In most of the western countries there is a separate farm credit organisation for financing agricultural operations. In India the Gadgil Committee recommended for the establishment of a central agricultural bank but the Government of India did not accept that recommendation. As a result, the Reserve Bank of India is tied up with the task of supplying agricultural finance, but so far its performance in this direction is totally disappointing and agriculture suffers to that extent. The Reserve Bank is nothing but a magnified commercial bank and its role in the supply of agricultural finance is merely as a lender of the last resort, the cultivators being left to the mercy and inadequate resources of the indigenous bankers and money-lenders for the accommodation of production credit in the intial stages of agricultural operations.

S-E. Asia "Defence" Organisation

The treaty establishing the so-called South-East Asia Defence Organisation was signed in Manila (Philippines) on September 8 by the representatives of eight Governments—the United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. Regarding Pakistan, however, the following news has appeared in the press:

> The idea of a South-East Asia Treaty had first been mooted in a communique issued after the meeting in Washington between the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden and the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles in April last. The announcement made just on the eve of the Geneva Conference which succeeded in resolving the Indo-China problem, had evoked much concern among nations of Asia which had found expression in Pandit Nehru's statements in the Parliament on April 17 and 24.
>
> Since then, however, there had been brisk activity on the part of U. S. Government as well as that

of the U. K. in an effort to enlist the support of the principal Asian countries behind the projected treaty. After the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China had been signed, these activities had been greatly intensified and a conference had been called to be held at Baguio in the Philippines. The venue of the conference had later on been shifted to Manila at the request of the Government of the Philippines.

Every effort had been made to induce the Colombo Powers—India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan—to be present at the Conference. As was well known only the Government of Pakistan had chosen to be present at the Manila talks and eventually signed the Treaty providing for the "collective defence" of South-East Asia.

The Treaty signed at Manila was made up of eleven articles, a special U. S. understanding, a protocol to be effective simultaneously designating certain territories to be protected and a "Pacific Charter" unanimously approved by the participating Governments.

By Article 1 of the Treaty, the signatories pledged themselves to settle all international disputes by peaceful means and undertook "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

In Article 2, the parties agreed to work together to "maintain and develop their individual and collective security" to counter external aggression against their territorial integrity and political stability.

Article 3 speaks of the parties' agreement to co-operate with one another "in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments towards those ends."

In paragraph 1 of Article 4, each party recognised that armed aggression in the "treaty area against any of the parties or against any State or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety," and agreed to act in such an event according to its constitutional processes. Measures so taken would immediately be reported to the UN Security Council. Paragraph 2 of the Article states that the parties would hold immediate consultations on measures to be taken to meet threats to the area other than by armed attacks.

Paragraph 3 provides that no action on any territory designated under paragraph 1 of the Article should be taken "except at the invitation or with the consent of the Government concerned."

A council composed of all the members was established by Article 5 to consider matters concerning the implementation of the treaty with provision for military and any other planning as the situation might require. The council was to be so organised as to be able to meet at any time.

Article 6 provided that the parties' obligations under the United Nations were not affected and that the UN remained the paramount organization for the maintenance of peace and security. The parties undertook not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with the present treaty.

Under Aritcle 7 any other State might be invited by unanimous agreement to accede to the treaty by depositing its Instruments of Association with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines who would inform the other parties of such accession.

Article 8 defined the "treaty area" as the general area of South-East Asia, including the entire territories of Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines, and the general area of the South-West Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The treaty area might be amended or changed by unanimous agreement.

Ratification processes were defined in Article 9. The treaty was to "enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the instruments of ratification of a majority of the signatories shall have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to each other State on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification."

By Article 10 the treaty was to remain in force indefinitely but any party might withdraw after giving one year's notice.

Article 11 provided for the recognition of a text in French.

By a separate protocol to the treaty which was to come into force simultaneously with the treaty all the eight signatories unanimously designated for the purposes of Article 4 of the treaty the States of Cambodia, Laos and Southern Vietnam. It was further agreed that the abovementioned States and territories would be eligible in respect of the economic measures contemplated by Article 3.

The treaty was accompanied by the "Pacific Charter" approved by the parties signing the treaty. The Charter promised to strive by peaceful means to promote self-government and help raising the living standards and recorded the parties' determination to "prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt in the treaty area to subvert their freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity."

Reuter adds: "The USA, in a special 'understanding' at the end of the treaty, said that it made its undertaking to act only against Communist aggression. But she promised to enter into consultations in the event of any other aggression or armed attack."

Since Britain was one of the signatories to the treaty all British territories in South-East Asia would be covered by the treaty. This meant that British Borneo and Malaya formed part of the treaty area.

Hongkong and Formosa, both geographically belonging to China, were excluded by a provision which placed them outside the treaty area.

The leading Asian countries viewed the conclusion of the agreement with great concern and, as the Indonesian Prime Minister put it before the pressmen on September 2., did not consider it as conducive to the growth of the spirit and atmosphere of peace.

The Burmese Prime Minister also declared that there was no likelihood of Burma ever joining the Treaty organization.

India's stand in regard to the Treaty was voiced by Prime Minister Nehru who in referring to the SEADO treaty deplored the "double talk" over peace. He referred to the international tendency to form pacts representing a baffling variety of relationships and compared the present pattern of international alliances to interlocking in business against which in USA and other countries anti-trust laws had been framed, and remarked that in international affairs the effects of such interlocking were infinitely worse than in business.

Dealing at some length on what he called the modern discrepancies between profession and action, Pandit Nehru went on to say that it was curious that people these days talked of peace in terms of war, nations quoted the UN Charter for acts which were contrary to its spirit and countries expressed sympathy for colonial people and joined alliances which obstructed freedom, reports the *Statesman*.

Sri Nehru referred to the interesting process of development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, whcih, from an original idea of a nucleus of association to uphold and support each other, had spread to cover countries which were far from the Atlantic family. The objective of self-defence professed by the North Atlantic Treaty had been expanded to cover a defence of colonial interests.

It appeared odd to the Prime Minister that NATO was being invoked in connection with the Goa question. NATO had thus started reasonably, spread gradually and then became extensive in scope.

SEADO, a more recent example of this pattern, was an even more interesting development. Asian policies had been discussed and settled by nations other than Asian, and certain countries with common interests had joined together to protect others who did not wish to be protected.

It would be wrong to challenge the objective of preventing aggression but he did not think that SEADO would fulfil that objective. In his view SEADO would increase "insecurity in people's minds."

An unfortunate aspect of modern alliances was their effect on colonial policies. As a result of a 'interlocking' of international politics colonial people now had to deal not only with one power but with a combination of powers.

All the parties in such arrangements became interested in maintaining their *status quo* but it was obvious that their efforts to "reverse the process of historical forces would not be completely successful."

Sri Nehru was speaking at a luncheon on September 9 given in his honour by the Delhi Press Association.

Soviet Government on SEADO Treaty

The Government of the Soviet Union in a statement issued on September 14 condemned the Manila Pact as being a move directed against the interests of security in Asia and Far East and at the same time against the interests of freedom and national independence of the Asian peoples.

Dealing with the composition of the conference the statement pointed out that the initiators of the Manila Conference could just manage to drag to the conference Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan—the only countries of the region bound hand and foot to the USA by one-sided agreements of military and economic aid. "The remaining participants apart from the USA. Britain and France were Australia and New Zealand, States whose economic dependence on the Colombo Powers was well-known." But the vast majority of Asian countries kept away from it realising the real aggressive aims of the organizers of the conference.

The pact was designed at the first instance against the Asian States. "The question whether or not a State was eligible to join SEADO depended entirely on the initiators of the treaty. In practice this meant that the composition of the grouping as well as its character would be dictated entirely by the USA."

The signatories had labelled as "subversive activity" any national liberation movement in the Asian countries, their fight for national independence and their struggle against old colonial oppression. "From this could be understood the constant attempts of the Western Powers, especially the USA, to create in Asia and the Pacific a military organization to stifle national liberation movements.

"These attempts were always accompanied by inventions about Communism and attacks on the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic."

The purport of the economic measures suggested in the treaty, the statement continued, was to convert the South-East Asian countries, which were rich in many kinds of raw materials, such as tin, oil, rubber and iron ore, into suppliers of strategic raw materials in the war industry of the USA and its Atlantic Bloc a partners.

"The new military grouping meant a bloc of colonial powers for the purpose of maintaining their economic and political positions in Asia, a position which had radically changed, especially through the historic victory of the Chinese people in putting an end to the foreign yoke, establishing a popular government and firmly setting the country on the road towards economic and cultural progress.

"The organizers of the pact were trying to drag into it, one way or another, Laos, Cambodia, and Southern Viet Nam, for the protocol referred to them. Furthermore, the fourth and eighth articles stated that signatories were empowered to extend the scope of the pact on their own consideration to any territory.

"The inclusion of these conditions in the pact betrayed an intention to hinder the implementation of the Geneva Agreement regarding Laos, Cambodia and Southern Viet Nam. This was incompatible with the obligations undertaken at Geneva.

"The name and flag of the UN were being used to cover up actions having nothing in common with the principles of the UN Organization and the preservation of peace, but were directed towards preparations for a new war."

The Other Side

The *BIS.* gives the following commentary, presenting the other side of the medal, from the pen of W. N. ver, of the *Daily Herald* of London, regarding the Manila Treaty :

When it became known that in the discussions which preceded the signing of the Manila treaty, the United States was reluctant to go so far as some of the other Governments would have wished in committing herself to armed action against an eventual aggressor in the treaty area, many people were puzzled and, indeed, incredulous. In fact, such an attitude is natural enough.

In any such negotiation, it is States which are most likely to be attacked which wish assurance of assistance to be as binding and as "automatic" as possible. It is States which are themselves not in immediate danger, but which are undertaking obligations in the general interest (and only indirectly in their own) which tend to be more cautious in the defining of commitments which they are accepting.

It was therefore, in fact, only to be expected that the U.S. Government would adopt such an attitude. And yet some people found it surprising and hard to believe. Why?

Because it did not accord with preconceived opinion —that the whole *Seato* project had been devised in Washington to provide a pretext for U.S. intervention in South-East Asia; and that it had been forced by American diplomacy upon other countries which were by no means anxious for U.S. guarantees of assistance.

But, as every scientist knows, when facts and preconceived theories do not accord, it is the theories, not the facts, which have to be questioned and distrusted. And the U.S. attitude at Manila should serve to discredit the thesis—a favourite one with Communist propagandists—that *Seato* is a mere manifestation of "American imperialism" which the other participants have been reluctantly induced to accept.

It is not the United States but the more immediately exposed countries which are more alarmed—in view of the history of the past few years—by the possibility of Communist aggression; more anxious for some system of collective security, and for assurance of maximum support and assistance in the event of attack. So, in the case of *Nato,* it was the exposed countries of Western Europe which were desirous of American support and, when it was offered, desirous that it should be both massive and certain.

Yet, again in the case of NATO, the theme of Communist propaganda is now that it was enforced by the United States on a reluctant Europe. The purpose of this propaganda is plain enough. It is as well to recall that in both cases it is contradicted by the facts.

It remains true, however, that in India, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon there is mistrust of the whole SEATO idea; and that these countries declined to take part in the new organization. What—apart from the suspicion that an attempt was being made especially by America to involve them in "great-Power conflicts"—are the reasons for this opposition?

First, there is the belief that the creation of even purely defensive alliances is not helpful, but actually harmful, to the cause of peace. The wiser course, it is argued, is for each country to remain free from all such commitments, to obtain from its neighbours pledges of non-aggression and non-interference, and so to ensure that whatever conflicts may break out in the world it will be able to stand aside and preserve its own safety and neutrality.

The conflict between these two theses—that safety is best sought through "collective security," and that it is best sought through isolation and neutrality guaranteed by pledges of non-aggression—is an old one in Europe. And hard experience has made Europeans more than sceptical of the efficacy of the second method; especially sceptical of the value of promises of non-aggression.

Finland and Poland, for example, both had non-aggression treaties with the Soviet Union. But when the moment came for attack, those treaties were simply denounced overnight.

The thought of the free nations of Southern Asia—each isolated, separated from each other and from all the non-Asian Powers—confronting the two formidable and allied Communist empires of the north can hardly be a reassuring one.

Secondly, there has been aversion—very understandable in peoples who until so recently were under European rule—to joining an association in which non-

Asian members might seek to play the role of predominant partners. Would it not be forfeiting some of their newly won independence to accept some form of Anglo-American hegemony? Should not non-Asian Powers leave Asia alone?

That, as I say, is very understandable. But does it not overlook the fact that all North Asia is still under the rule of a great non-Asian Power? And apart from questions of security, are there not grave dangers in this insistence on the separateness of "Asians" from "non-Asians" in a free world of equally sovereign States? Is it not a relic of the "colonialism" which we should all wish to see vanish?

"A Time of Stress"

In the Weekly Review of the International Edition of the *New York Times* for August 29, the main editorial very clearly reflects the tension in World Affairs as seen in the U.S.

Four very significant paragraphs, given below, present a very considered opinion on the state of world tension, which continues even today.

One naturally thinks of the fading summer season as a period of relaxation. The holidays may be drawing to their close, but there are still a few idle days to be enjoyed, a few more deep breaths to be drawn. This is not true, however, in the world of public affairs. We are in a period of singular tension, however much it may be disguised by summer languor.

In Europe the fate of the original plan for a defense community is hanging in the balance. In Asia there is turmoil in the present and the effort to plan for the future. In Latin America there is tragedy and dissension. In this country there is the uneasy undercurrent of personal and political strife. We are not relaxed and we cannot and dare not be.

The diversity of approach to the problems in both Europe and Asia, nevertheless, gives added emphasis to the most immediate need. If we are to have unified action in defense of our freedoms, we must somehow achieve a broader unity of plan and purpose. This can come about, surely, only through the frankest possible interchange of opinion and judgment. There are large areas in which we are obviously at cross-purposes with some of our good friends, as the ill-timed Attlee-Bevan junket to Red China has so pointedly illustrated. These cross-purposes cannot be allowed to poison our basic relationship with those who are under the same stress as are we.

We cannot, accordingly, dictate to the French what they should do about E.D.C. We must work with them and urge them to work with us as partners in planning and try to resolve differences to the advantage of both partners. A solution to problems must be found not dictated. The same thing holds true of the formation of a defensive alliance for South-east Asia. It cannot be approached in a take-it-or-leave-it attitude. It must be so designed that it will attract the goodwill of those who are now indifferent or even hostile to the idea.

The same trend is continued in the main edi of the September 5 issue of the *New York T* International Edition. Here, naturally, special em sis has been laid on the Manila Conference.

The world has not come to an end with the Fre Assembly's refusal to ratify the European Defense Co munity, despite the many expressions of concern have been voiced. Planning for the defense of f men must go on, and the plans must embrace bo sides of the world. It is a complex picture and pr lem. Attention may not properly be focused upon area to the exclusion of the others.

At the moment, however, the spotlight has te rarily shifted to Manila, where a major conference the defense of South-east Asia will open tomorr The problems there are also complex and they necessarily have to take in European as well as As attitudes. It is a major function of this conference bring together these differing points of view and degree of accord that has thus far been reached is assuring. This is a friendly, a constructive, confere It is not a meeting of antagonists each trying to co and outdo the other. There is unity of purpose. The are differences of judgment on method and the differences can be resolved in trustful patience.

Beyond the purely military phases of the Mani discussions there must continue to loom large the questions of social welfare, economic co-operation and political progress. It is possible that the conferen may be even more productive in this field than it i in the matter of defense commitments. Many Filipin led by the eloquent voice of General Romulo, ar asking for some sort of "Pacific Charter." This sho not be at all impossible of achievement, although it do not mean immediate political independence for the remaining colonial areas in Asia, regardless of the readiness to assume the heavy burdens involved. In case of Malaya, for example, there is an obvious to move slowly, albeit steadily, if building is t strong and permanent.

It is at this point that Pakistan can play a valu role and can assist the conference to reach conclu especially in the economic and social fields, that w be attractive to others of the "Colombo Powers." T means making the conference more than a matter "alignment" with one bloc or another. It means ing the meeting of the minds on the problem Manila a positive force for good in all of Southeast As We believe that this is possible.

The World Tension

The *Worldover Press* for August 20 gave a r of the world situation which can be placed as a b ground for the editorials of the *New York T* from which we have given excerpts above.

The British had some fun last year when the of Haltwhistle, in Northumberland, finally announ 20-year plan for reconstruction, and the local pap

Echo and Weekly News, came out with a headline: "The 20-Year Plan for Haltwhistle—Town Will Be Very Much As It Is Today." There must be many of us, however, who get to wondering whether international planning and progress might not accurately be described in the selfsame way. And yet it may very well be that the summer of 1954 will be remembered because it saw a rather remarkable number of explosive problems solved. In some cases the explosive may still be there, but the fuses have been drawn.

Hard on the heels of the ending of the world's sole major war, in Indo-China, came the agreement between the British and the Egyptians over Suez. And after that came the settlement of the Iranian oil dispute, an issue which, like the other two, was thought at one time so serious it might conceivably precipitate a world conflagration. As a somewhat sad but encouraging corollary to the Indo-China settlement, Vietnam is now to get control over its own troops—something it should have had several years before. How late, and how bitterly, imperialism learns!

It looks as if Trieste may join the other troubled areas over which contending nations have at long last come to a practical, if not an ideal, solution. This, if soon forthcoming, will be more significant than appears on the surface. It has been dangerous for nine years. Trieste under an Italian-Yugoslav agreement means not only a better outlook for peace between Italy and Tito, but it will signalize the dropping, by Turkey, of some manoeuvres to rush Italy into the Balkan alliance among Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey—an attempt, at this stage, calculated to make Tito slow to sign up on Trieste.

Perhaps the best news for the world has been the kindly brush-off given by Congress and American public opinion to the friendly, but rash and dictatorial, Syngman Rhee. When Rhee uttered his bloodcurdling cries for war, all of a sudden certain voices grew singularly hushed: the voices of those who, like Admiral Radford, Senator Knowland, et al, had been splitting the heavens with warwhoops. Faced with a precise formulation of their folly, the advocates of a "preventive war" too grew scared and silent. Not even the shooting down of planes near the island of Hainan could make a war seem imminent. Furthermore, even to those who ordinarily harken to Communist attacks on the U.S., it was hard going to believe that Americans were itching to "start something." The net result, in fact, has been a clarification of U.S. policy.

Even on the question of Communist China there has grown up an atmosphere of greater moderation. More and more intelligent observers made it plain that, while they are not for immediate recognition of Red China and its entry into the U.N., they are willing to have China earn its way in by a greater responsibility to world opinion. The American Assembly of 60 prominent Americans whose influence is great, and which was founded through the initiative of President Eisenhower, came out with substantially that position. And the President himself followed by using the period of "five years" as one in which there might be a vast change—if in China, then too in the United States. This at least breaks the crust of utter inflexibility.

Meanwhile, in Tunisia the lively and imaginative Premier Mendes-France has waded into a tough crisis and offered a new deal which, if not entirely supported at home, bids fair to put Tunisia on a new road and even promise an eventual settlement of grievances in Morocco. Then Washington, for once showing alertness, gave just enough support to Costa Rica to show Nicaragua's Somoza that it might be well to hold off on any program of invasion. And France is yielding to India its tiny outposts of oldtime conquest there. Things do move!

Morocco and Tunis

M. Mendes-France, the French Premier is straining every nerve to attain a solution to the extremely delicate North African problem. His latest offer goes a great deal towards showing his goodwill, though it does not, as yet, give a complete answer to the dilemma.

The *Worldover Press* for August 6 gave a background picture to the problem which is highly interesting in view of present developments. It is by Joachim Joesten, the special correspondent sent to study the problem *in situ*.

When Dr. Emile Eyraud, editor of *La Vigie Marocaine* of Casablanca, was assassinated last June 30, it was an event of major portent, overshadowing other killings of a political nature. This was the first time the Moroccan terrorists struck at a top-level figure. It is a wonder that it did not precipitate a new colonial war.

Hitherto, only the most prominent pro-French native chieftains—in particular the new Sultan and the Glaoui—have been the targets of planned assassination attempts. True, there have also been a few slayings of Frenchmen, but in such cases the victims have been small fry, mainly hated police officials or civilians trapped in riots.

Eyraud was a man of different calibre. As editor of Morocco's biggest daily paper, he was also key figure of a powerful publishing combine (Mas Group) that controls all but one or two of the country's French-language newspapers, as well as several magazines. (An Arabic press virtually no longer exists, since all Nationalist organs have been banned). Eyraud was the foremost spokesman of colonial interests. He was the prime mover of "Operation Glaoui," which last August led to the dethronement of Sultan Mohammed V.

The Istiqlal (National Party) hated him more intensely than any other Frenchman in the country, and he repaid them in the same coin. In his editorials he virulently assailed the former Sultan, his supporters, and all Frenchmen who pleaded for conciliation or "appeasement." Even so, few people would have believed the Moroccan terrorists would dare strike down so highly placed a personality.

In North Africa, as was the case in Indo-China, the new French government of Premier Mendes-France is caught in a near-hopeless dilemma. Basically, it's the same terrifying choice between endless bloody warfare and abject surrender. Yet Mendes-France is determined to find a way out. There is, however, no Communist issue involved in Morocco, or in Tunisia though the French would sometimes have the world believe so. If the present unrest should flare into open revolt, the Nationalists could not count on effective aid from any major power. In this respect, again, the situation is different from Indo-China. Yet they might well receive a good deal of active support from the Arab League and from Spain, which for war-weary France would make an obstacle hard to overcome.

To make matters worse, the aggravation of the Moroccan crisis has come when the French government has embarked upon its first earnest attempt to come to terms with the Nationalists. Even the Laniel government, a few weeks before it fell, retreated from its earlier uncompromising position. General Augustin Guillaume, who as Resident-General bore the principal responsibility for the ouster of the Sultan in 1953, was recalled, and last May 20 a career diplomat, Francis Lacoste, was appointed in his stead.

While Lacoste was not exactly received with open arms by either the French *colons* or the Arab Nationalists, he was generally credited with the sincere purpose of seeking a fair compromise and a way out. A month later, Mendes-France made an even more impressive gesture of goodwill; he gave the Interior Ministry to Francois Mitterand, a declared friend of the former Sultan, who had resigned from the Laniel cabinet in protest against "Operation Glaoui." Moreover, in the cabinet, a special ministry for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs was created and a Gaullist believed to be friendly to the natives was appointed to this post.

Turkey and Syria

In the same issue of the *Worldover Press* we had the following bit of news which gives a new angle to the Turco-Arab relations.

Beirut, Lebanon (WP.)—Syrian politicians are setting up a renewed cry over the Turkish annexation of the former Syrian province of Alexandretta—an issue most students of Near Eastern affairs had long considered dormant. A number of deputies have asked that the elections for parliament later this summer should include deputies representing Alexandretta—though the Eastern Mediterranean province has not been a part of Syria since 1938 when Turkey, with approval of the French mandate power in Syria, took it over.

Alexandretta province contains the city-port of Alexandretta—now an important NATO Mediterranean naval base—and the once-famous but now crumbling town of Antioch.

Meanwhile, Western diplomats are privately w about a trade agreement recently signed and ra between Lebanon and the Soviet Union. The agree gives Lebanon a market for its growing surplus citrus fruits and other agricultural products—but, the Soviet side, it gives Russia the right to set up trade mission in the free zone of the Port of Beirut.

This means that goods, possibly strategic, can purchased in the West for Lebanese account, transported to the free zone, and resold to the U.S.S.R., reshipped out of Lebanon without actually passing through Lebanese customs. The reason this procedure wo Western diplomats is that Lebanon can be a party all this without technically violating the terms of U.S. Mutual Security Act with regard to shipping strategic materials behind the Iron Curtain.

U.S. and Spain

A curious picture is drawn in the *World Press* for August 20 regarding the U.S.-Spanish d for military bases. It shows how complicated European problem is.

Though more than 10 months have gone by since the U.S.-Spanish deal for military bases was signed, Dictator Franco still lags on his end of the arrangements. In international relations, however, he has been trying some fast plays, at times with assists from the shadowy figure of world intrigue, former Nazi O Skorzeny.

It became known in July that Franco, while anticipating military weapons and equipment from the United States, was selling mortars, shells and machine guns to Egypt, to the tune of $3,500,000. What remained hidden in this episode, to most eyes, was the role played by Skorzeny.

For a number of years there has been in the making a strange new "axis" with the avowed purpose of driving the French and British out of North Africa. C props of this alliance are the Franco Government Spain; the Arab League; the Egyptian military ju and a tightly organized "task force" of former N headed by Skorzeny and the Belgian Quisling, L Degrelle, with headquarters in Madrid and with influential connections in Germany and other countries.

In Madrid, Skorzeny carries on unmolested, stir up trouble for the European democracies whenever can. Now it comes to light that it was he, a through a dummy outfit in Switzerland, who arranged the deal to supply Egyptians with weapons described "ideal for hit-and-run attacks." Although British tro in the Suez Canal area will be withdrawn over the coming 20 months, the carrying out of the pact c be menaced by attacks from hot-headed nati extremists, well-armed. Britain protested to S with faint echoes of representations by the U States. Franco promised to call off these arms exp and to limit further ones to NATO countries.

Skorzeny's chief fame dates from his daring ex of September 12, 1943, when his airborne commandos snatched the captive Mussolini from Allied custody. Early this year, Skorzeny had a plan to spirit the deposed Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed V. away from his Corsican exile and take him to Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco. Had the plot succeeded, it would undoubtedly have resulted in bloodshed, perhaps open warfare, in Morocco. Even though his exile was a raw act by the French, a Sultan manipulated by Skorzeny would hardly have been a leader on which to hang the just hopes of the Moroccan nationalists.

Before that, as stated bluntly by Chancellor Adenauer, Skorzeny and Degrelle were involved in the conspiracy of Dr. Werner Neumann, which the British authorities in West Germany exposed in January, 1953. This background, and the recent activities of Skorzeny, fall into focus when it is remembered that the Egyptian army for some time has attracted a sizable number of one-time German Wehrmacht officers and military or technical advisers. Skorzeny is known to have close liaison with this group, headed by General Wilhelm Fahrmbacher.

Spain's dictatorial government is not only fishing for possible power through the Arab world, but constantly seeks new ways of getting its fine hand into Latin American politics. Franco's latest idea was a cultural pact between Spain and Brazil, which was rejected by the Brazilians when they discovered a clause providing that history text-books used in Brazil must have the Franco regime's approval.

Technical Aid from Russia

Russia is now making clear-cut proposals for assisting India in her plans for industrialisation and financial emancipation. The following news gives the whole picture in concise terms. The latest news goes to show that the steel project offer has further crystallised.

New Delhi, Sept. 18.—The impression that Russia is keenly competing with the U.S.A. in offering technical and material assistance to India has deepened with the announcement that three Russian experts have arrived to modernize the Panna diamond mining industry in Vindhya Pradesh.

This offer is the third of a series, likely to lengthen during the coming months. First came the four Russian tractors, now being tried here and in Bhopal.

They were closely followed by the alluring steel offer. Now comes the proposal to set up on extremely attractive terms a modern diamond plant at Panna and the promise to train Indians to run it.

It needs to be recalled that the development was inherent in the Indo-Russian trade agreement, signed last December.

During the course of the negotiations the question of assistance and co-operation on technical, scientific and cultural matters between the countries was discussed. The representatives of Russia stated that their Government was prepared to render technical assistance "that may be necessary in the installation and operation of equipment that may be supplied by the U.S.S.R. to India under the agreement."

The Russian Government also expressed willingness to render technical assistance for the planning and execution of various projects in India. In the letters exchanged between M. Menshikov and Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, it is recorded that the representatives of the Government of India "express the Government of India's appreciation of the offer made by the U.S.S.R."

It was agreed that as the nature and extent of such assisance and co-operation would necessarily vary in each case, they would have to be settled by negotiation between the parties.

The recent Russian offers are a sequel to the December agreement although, at the time few took these overtures very seriously. Many people in Delhi are now surprised at the rapidity with which Russia has started making these proposals at irresistible terms.

Apart from their financial aspect the speed with which Russia claims she can install the plants is a proof of her earnestness to create a favourable impression in India.

The Russian steel plant, if the plan for it is finalized, will be in operation much before the German Rourkela factory. The diamond plant is expected to go into operation in 1956.

The Panna diamond mines, which thus spring into prominence, are the only mines producing precious stones in India. They are operated by a private company which is stated to have negotiated the deal with Russia.

Recently the company has discovered a streak, called the Majgawan pipe, which is its main source of diamonds of high quality. In addition to this promising locality, there are 22 other diamond-bearing blocks.

The company has recently secured the assistance of Indian and foreign experts in assessing the potentialities of the area. Their opinion is that the Panna region is rich in diamond ore of high quality.

"Waters of Affliction"

We have had disastrous floods in India, this year. But it seems that the gods have struck all over the Asiatic East.

Writing under the heading "Waters of Affliction," *The Times* (September 4) says : "Millions in China, Burma, Tibet, Nepal, India and Pakistan have had cause to lament the almost unprecedented rainfall which has afflicted much of Asia this autumn. Fortunately, for the Chinese, the great network of dykes which protects the triple city of Wuhan from the Yangtse river (long called 'China's Sorrow') has so far held fast, thanks to a round-the-clock effort by every man, woman, and child who could be assembled to lend a hand. But many low-lying areas of the heaviest-cropped lands in the country are so waterlogged by rainfall that the rice fields cannot be drained. The early crop has been lost; the middle crop is submerged; and the late crop cannot now be planted at the right time.

"On a lesser scale, much the same kind of flooding has taken place in parts of Burma. Fortunately, there is plenty of rice available from the last harvest, and in spite of all the inconvenience caused by the spread of the Pegu and Sittang rivers, the risk that the Burmese may be short of food—as the Chinese certainly will be—is small.

"Heavy falls of snow in Tibet have melted quickly, bringing disastrous floods to the country without means of controlling them. The Tsangpo and Namchung rivers rose suddendly, devastating Shigatse, the second most populous city. The old palace of the Panchen Lama collapsed, together with some 400 houses, and many valuable collections of Tibetan and Chinese works of art have been destroyed. Here, as at Gyantse, where a small fort was swept away with its entire garrison (including some Indian officials), the loss of life was considerable, especially in the lamaseries. But the floods passed away as quickly as they rose, and little damage was done to the cultivated areas.

"On the southern side of the Himalayas, there is a different story to tell. In Nepal, in East Pakistan, and in the north-eastern territories of India, the scale of the tragedy rivals that of China. Nepal's communications with India have been cut, roads and bridges have been washed away, landslides have isolated entire localities.

"Both in India and in East Pakistan the floods have reached the dimensions of a national catastrophe. From eastern Assam to western Bihar, thousands of square miles are under water. In East Pakistan, most of the Narayangunj subdivision, together with part of Dacca city and much of Mymensigh, has been affected—in all an area of 15,000 square miles. The known loss of life is so far comparatively small; but many cattle have perished, and the damage to property—dwelling houses, factories, fields, and farms—has been enormous. Any outbreak of epidemics is feared.

"The Indian and the Pakistani Governments are taking vigorous relief measures; hundreds of working parties bringing food, inoculations, and clothing are already busy in the distressed areas.

"British sympathy with India, Pakistan, and Nepal in their calamity has been practically expressed by an offer of financial help. No doubt this example will be followed by other countries when the magnitude of the misfortune which has swept over much of Asia is fully realized."

The Floods in E. Pakistan

The *Statesman* for September 22 gives the following interesting report. It should be noted that since then Maj-Gen. Mirza has been removed from the Governorship.

Maj-Gen. Iskandar Mirza, Governor of East Bengal, told Press representatives at Dum Dum on Tuesday that they would certainly co-operate with India in controlling flooded rivers that cross Indo-East Pakistani boundaries.

Meantime, he said, East Pakistan would take steps to control small rivers in the province.

Asked about the restoration of parliamentary system of Government in East Bengal, Maj-Gen. Mirza said he did not think that this would come about in the near future. He emphasized that it would be a tragedy if the people there now wasted their energy on politics.

He said that in East Bengal, every effort should be concentrated on the rehabilitation of persons affected by floods. In the next two or three months, there should be no scope for any other activity in the province. People, he said, were happy that Governor's Rule existed during and after the floods. Otherwise, they thought, they would have been in trouble. He estimated that the damage to the crops—jute, aman and aus—as a result of floods would not be more than 10%. He had no information about loss of human life.

He said that he was not unhappy about the food situation. What he was worrying about most was the large-scale destruction of huts by floods. He thanked the Indian Government for supplying East Bengal with 500 tons of corrugated iron sheets and a large number of bamboos, the latter from Tripura State.

Juvenile Crime in USA

Juvenile crime appears to be on the increase in the United States of America. Statistics collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation showed, writes Mr. Walter Lippmann in a special article in the *Hindu*, "not only a sudden increase in the number of these crimes but also in their viciousness. In a survey of 200 cities the FBI found that last year the crime rate of adults rose by 1.9 per cent while among youths, eighteen years and under, it rose by 7.9 per cent. From 1952 to 1953 the number of assaults committed by youths was doubled and there was a sharp rise in murders, rapes, burglaries, car thefts, weapons' carrying and liquor violations."

Among other factors contributing to this criminal tendency among U.S. youths Mr. Lippmann lists movies and television and the comic books which were "purveying violence and lust to an intolerable degree." In this connection he points to the "close connection between the suddenness of the increase in sadistic crimes and the new vogue of sadism among the mass media of entertainment."

Our film producers and directors who have oriented themselves to the model provided by Hollywood may do well to ponder over the very cogent remarks made by Mr. Lippmann.

Portuguese Diplomacy

The Government of Portugal apparently believes in the technique of the Big Lie, at least in so far as its relations with India were concerned. Otherwise how could one explain the manifestly absurd allegations of Indian invasion of Goa and such other gibberish? But it now appears that they are not content only with spreading lies about India in the international field. Their conduct is becoming increasingly offensive to the conventional diplomatic decorum. The high-handed treatment meted out to the Indian Consul-General was an instance on the point.

Now attention has been drawn by the *Hitavada* to another such, and indeed a far more serious, example of the objectionable conduct of the Portuguese Minister in India. In an editorial note on September 5, the newspaper writes:

"It is unusual for a Minister of a foreign State to engage himself in active propaganda against the Government to which he is accredited. But the Portuguese Minister in India issued a note to the press a few days ago attacking our Prime Minister. The press did not give prominence to it. But the fact remains that the Portuguese Minister in New Delhi is misusing his position and the diplomatic immunity granted to him. If this kind of thing happens again, the Government of India should ask Portugal to withdraw its Minister from New Delhi. When the Indian Legation in Portugal was closed down long ago, there is no justification for allowing the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi to function in an improper manner."

We fully endorse the suggestions of the *Hitavada* that the Portuguese Government should be given clearly to understand that such efforts would no longer be tolerated.

Indonesia and W. New Guinea

Indonesia has requested the UN General Assembly to discuss the Indonesian claim over Western New Guinea, or Irian as the Indonesians call it, which is under Dutch occupation and which the Dutch have refused to hand over to Indonesia.

Discussing Indonesia's claims and the efforts she had made to come to an understanding with the Dutch over the question of the transference of sovereignty over Irian, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Sunarjo writes in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle* that Indonesia very much regretted the Dutch hesitancy at the inclusion of the Irian issue in the agenda of the UN General Assembly.

Dr. Sunarjo refers to the fact that without the fulfilment of her national aspirations Indonesia could not direct her attention to economic development. On account of the continued friction between the Government of Indonesia and the Netherlands, it is pointed out, peace in Asia, Australia and the West Pacific continued to be endangered.

The Foreign Minister says that the recent political developments in South-East Asia and particularly in Indo-China showed that the postponement of the solution of vital questions of nationalism and independence only increased the possibility of creating a dangerous political situation to the extent that peace and security became threatened.

"The completion of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia," writes Dr. Sunarjo, "to include all that of the former Netherlands East Indies is a guarantee that a basis for the stabilisation of peace in the Pacific will be laid."

Indonesia Today

The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo is now on a visit to India. The following summary of an article in the *New Times* by Y. Yegorov throws some interesting light on the situation in that country.

Indonesia, one of the biggest of South-East Asian countries, came to be recognised as a sovereign country on December 27, 1949, following agreement at the Hague Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Indonesian people and the Dutch Government. Indonesia had however been required by the agreement to remain in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union. The union was dissolved on August 10 of this year. The union entitled the Netherlands to control Indoensia's foreign policy, station their armed forces and maintain war bases on her territory and provided many opportunities for interference in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

The dissolution of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, notes Yegorov, was a step of great significance in Indonesia's struggle to gain unhindered sovereignty. The dissolution of the Union implied "abrogation of the military treaties imposed on Indonesia, by virtue of which Netherlands received military bases on Indonesian territory and control of her armed forces. Dutch control of foreign policy and economic relations with other countries is likewise abolished. In other words, all the juridical restrictions laid upon Indonesian sovereignty have been removed."

Referring to the economic condition of the country Yegorov writes that though Dutch capital still predominated, the Americans had made deep inroads into the country's economy. The rich oil fields of Central Sumatra were in the hands of California-Texas Oil, which had invested 70 million dollars in their exploitation. Everyday American firms extracted and exported 2,500 tons of Indonesian oil. A new form of American economic penetration was control of Dutch firms operating in Indonesia. Quoting figures published in the Dutch newspaper *Telegraaf*, the writer says that 28 American firms had established branches in Holland since the war, and 18 have 'merged' with Dutch firms. American interests had used their control of the world rubber and tin market to force down prices, thereby undermining the very foundations of Indonesia's export trade. In February, rubber had been selling at 61 cents a pound; by the close of

1953, U.S. monopoly concerns had depressed the price to 20 cents. The figures for tin were $1.83 and 85 cents respectively.

The undertaking by the Indonesian Government to pay the debts of the former Dutch administration, which added up to the colossal sum of 4300 million guilden was a millstone on the national budget. American and Japanese competition was having a stifling effect on industry with growing unemployment as the natural result.

Politically U.S. efforts at domination over the country was not so successful. Since the attainment of independence by Indonesia, Washington had despatched a number of military missions in an endeavour to secure war bases on Indonesian territory. In 1952, the U.S.A. could force an agreement upon the Sukiman Government of Indonesia accepting aid under the U.S. Mutual Security Program. But popular protest had forced the Government of Dr. Sukiman out of office and the plan had thus been foiled. The subsequent U.S. efforts "to draw Indonesia into the SEATO system and build military bases at 90 points on her territory" were also equally ineffectual, the writer says.

Yegorov further writes that unable to secure bases in Indonesia, the U.S.A. was eager to retain Dutch control of Western Irian where the Dutch administration, under pentagon pressure, was erecting military installations. He quotes an Antara news agency report as saying that Dutch Vice-Admiral Moorman had been sent to Western Irian to reorganise the defences of the area. "Figures made public by an Indonesian member of Parliament, Papare, show that Dutch expenditure in Western Irian increased from 89,500,000 guilden last year to 105,000,000 this year, not counting 31,500,000 in 'supplementary expenditures' and 26,000,000 in 'investments'."

Indian Delegation to U.S.S.R.

The Indian cultural delegation to USSR headed by the Union Deputy Minister for Health, Srimati Chandrasekhara and composed of notable Indian dancers, singers and experts in instrumental music found a very good audience in leading cities of the Soviet Union—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev. Soviet press also have commented very highly about the performances of the Indian art workers.

In an article entitled "People's Poetry and Wisdom" in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on September 5, E. Bocharnikova, Director of the Choreographical School of the State Academic Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR, writes, "We looked forward with great anticipation to the performances of the Indian artists. But what we have seen surpassed all our expectations. From the first minute all the people in the hall were overcome by thoughts and feelings invariably born at the impact with genuine people's art. . . ."

"It is not enough to say that the art we have seen is original. It is beautiful. The Indian artists have disclosed before us the wise heart of their great people who had brought down through the ages the urge for beauty, the indestructible love of life," writes Bocnarnikova

Referring to the performance of the Indian artists the writer goes on to say that there was something in the performance of every one of the Indian artists that one wanted to see again and again. "Plasticity—this is what our young dancers should learn from the Indian dancers."

The great success of the visit of the Indian artists has been acclaimed by leading Soviet newspapers and cultural personalities as a great factor in cementing Indo-Soviet friendship. The Stalin Prize Winner Composer, I. Dzerzhinsky writes about his impressions of the performance at Leningrad: "It is hard to speak with full authority of the culture and art we had seen at the concert on the basis of the first impressions, but one thing is indisputable and one can never err on that score, it is a real, great and optimistic art.

"There is no doubt that this visit will strengthen the deep traditional sympathies of the Soviet people for the people of India."

A *Tass* report adds that a festival of Indian feature films would open in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and in the capitals of the Union Republics on September 23.

Pakistan and Anti-Indian Propaganda

The *People* reports that the Government of Pakistan, which had spent rupees five lakhs on propaganda against India last year, has allocated a record sum of rupees fifty lakhs on that account in the present year.

A sample of the nature of the anti-Indian rantings indulged in by the reactionary sections of Pakistani press was provided in an earlier issue of the above magazine. The paper's report runs thus: "In a recent issue of *Alaf-La*, a Urdu daily of Peshawar, has appeared a poem concerning aims of Pakistan. It calls upon Pakistanis to get ready to conquer India by sword. Some of its couplets when rendered into English mean: Is there any one who should perform the role of Abu Bin Kashim?? Bharat is trembling, I know. From the various temples must issue forth the call of Alla-Hu-Akbar. That would be our Idd day and we would not rest till such a day arrived."

"Pakistan Not One Nation"

The *Kashmir Post* reports on September 14: Mr. Mazoorul Haque covering Pakistan Parliamentary proceedings from Karachi on July 17, 1954, says: "A member of the Muslim League, Dr. Mahmud Husain, told the Government of Pakistan today that hatred between the eastern and western wings of the country, not Communism, was the root cause of the trouble in East Bengal." Dr. Hussain said in Parliament that Pakistan was not a nation in the sense, France or Britain was a nation. "Let us recognise this fact" he said during the last day's discussion on the situation in East Bengal.

The utter hollowness of the Indian Muslim being one nation irrespective of their language and cultural association, geographical situation, etc., had been pointed out long before. It is significant that recognition, though belated, of this fact is coming also from Muslim League Members of Pakistan. Better late than never.

Small Industry in Community Projects

Development of small-scale industries which forms an important aspect of the Community Project Programme is likely to receive an impetus as a result of several decisions taken recently by the Community Projects Administration. Recently, the Community Projects Administration requested Mr. Ramy Alexander, a member of the International Planning Team on small-scale industries in India sponsored by the Ford Foundation, to make a special investigation of the needs of small industries in community project areas. Mr. Alexander has underlined the problem of small industries in this country as follows: Here is a multitude of men whose livelihood depends on a market changing under their eyes—their own village—while they are unable to foresee the impacts of the change and are unaccustomed to planning in general. Some of their opportunities lie in the city and in the foreign market of which they know nothing. Their future depends not on simple improvements in the practice of their trade but on their ability to produce well-studied, sometimes entirely new, objects designed to meet very specific requirements, different from place to place, from one class to the next.

In the opinion of Mr. Alexander there are three requirements for providing effective assistance to craftsmen namely,

(1) periodical appraisal of the problems of the individual craftsman against the particular background of his village:

(2) finding of qualified advice for their solution; and

(3) to help in the implementation of such advice.

Mr. Alexander says that the Community Projects Administration is the best agency which is in a position to fulfil the first requirement. The other two can also be taken up by the Administration provided the necessary links are forged. His suggestion is that at every block centre specialists with experience in production and able to make an accurate appraisal of the difficulties and prospects of work of the village craftsmen should be available for giving general guidance and assistance. Moreover, a central co-ordinating unit should be set up to keep in constant touch with the existing specialised Institutes, and with the four regional Institutes of Technology for small industries which are proposed to be set up by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The central Institute should also keep touch with other public or private organisations that could supply information or advice required by the craftsmen. Mr. Alexander suggests that in any programme of assistance basic opportunities should be offered to all, but pecial encouragement should be given with discretion: in one form to a craftsman who has the making of a businessman, in a different form to another who has outstanding talent in his craft but none for business.

A scheme is under the consideration of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to establish experimental diesel generator sets in selected community project areas with a view to encouraging the use of electric power by small industries and for making such power available to them. The Ministry also proposes to set up regional advisory boards for each of the Institutes and in such boards each State is expected to be represented by two officers one of whom might be directly concerned with the community project work in the State.

The Community Project Programme includes promotion of any industry, other than large and medium-scale industries, subject to the availability of local raw material, tools and marketing facilities. For a development block consisting of about 100 villages, the allotment for small industries is about Rs. 1.25 lakhs out of Rs. 15 lakhs of the total budget. This part of the programme has not, however, been fully implemented in many areas because of the various difficulties that the project workers encounter in sponsoring a suitable cottage industry programme which will not come in conflict with the increasing competition from large-scale industries and will steer clear of the effect of urbanisation in rural outlook and atmosphere.

The Community Projects Administration has taken special steps for effectively co-ordinating the small-industries programme in the project areas with the activities of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. Among the decisions taken are:

(1) The Board will give preference as far as possible to community project areas while expanding the work;

(2) While the budget of the community projects provides for granting loans to craftsmen and incurring expenditure for training the craftsmen, the Board is empowered to provide subsidies in deserving cases.

P.S.P. Facing Crisis

The differences existing in the leadership of the P.S.P. found a dramatic expression in the resignation of the party's General Secretary, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, on account of his views about the Executive's stand over the police firing on August last in Travancore-Cochin under a P.S.P. Government.

Dr. Lohia condemned the action of Pattam Ministry in resorting to firing and demanded the ministry's immediate resignation. He was supported in this stand in the Executive by Sri Madhu Limaye, Joint Secretary of the Party and by two other members of the National Committee, Sri Gopal Narain Saxena and Sri Baleswar Dayal.

The resolution adopted by the P.S.P. Executive on September 5, while regretting the firing does not hold the Government responsible for that but considers that the "National Executive and indeed the whole Socialist movement, must take the blame." In view of the fact Executive firing by the police was not justified in the circumstances where stones were thrown at the police or there was a vague danger of the breach of peace. In order to cope with such situations such forms of police action as the use of water hose, tear gas, the baton or lathi should be sufficient. "The police must take greater risk and be more patient than the crowd, and the lives of the policemen and officials should never be rated higher than the lives of ordinary citizens," the resolution states.

The National Committee was of opinion, the resolution continues, "that on occasions of civil commotion or disturbance, it is the duty of members of the party including those who may be ministers or legislators, to be present and to make effort, even at personal risk, to control the situation and prevent violence." It concludes with a suggestion for a full and open Judicial Enquiry on the recent firing in Travancore-Cochin.

A special conference of the Party has been called for in November in an effort to evolve a homogeneous outlook of the leadership.

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on September 18 enthusiastically welcomes the resolution of the P.S.P. executive, calling it a "Plea for creative Effort." It however notes that on account of the "confusing context in which the resolution was adopted and also for some loose ends in the resolution itself, there is fear that this call for a recognition of new values under freedom may largely go to waste"—all the attention and energies of party members getting dissipated in intra-party controversies and tension.

Pointing to the incompatibilities between the different parts of the resolution the editorial says that the enunciation of the principles which was to guide the Government and party members in times of civil commotion, was incomplete on a crucial point in that the resolution failed to provide a positive guide by stating in what circumstances police firing would be justified.

Next the paper goes on to say that the suggestion for judicial enquiry in general and for Travancore-Cochin in particular could hardly be reconciled with the suggestion of the resolution for new values—not all of which were compatible with the 'Judicial' attitude as was seen from experience, in such matters. "The provision of a judicial enquiry will undoubtedly be some safeguard but it cannot serve the purpose which P.S.P. Executive has in view unless the outlook of the present judicial system undergoes a fundamental change and begins to be guided by a new sense of values."

We ourselves consider the resolution confusing and utterly lacking in the assessment of realities. To condemn a government's action without a judicial enquiry, and to lay down rules for State administration on a single party basis—that is without going through the democratic process of legislation, is not a socialist procedure.

We have failed to find any evidence of the police case being given a fair consideration. And in any case where the police plead justification, the entire matter should be placed before a judicial committee and no resolutions should be passed before the report is properly studied.

Roots of Corruption

About the State Governments under Congress Ministries there are the following comments of the *Vigil* of September 11: "We wonder whether the attention of the Central Government or the Congress President has been drawn to the form of application for iron and steel materials prescribed by the Rajasthan Government. The Rajasthan Government has made such applications recommendable by Congressmen. The form itself says so. It is unnecessary to dilate on the implications of this. In other States, they at least do not commit themselves thus in black and white."

Here the *Vigil* has condemned the procedure of a single party giving directives or recommendations on Civil Supply affairs. How can then the P.S.P. be justified in giving a single party directive in the matters of Law and Order?

Probe into West Bengal Congress

"M.G.C." writes in the *Vigil* of September 11 that the Congress General Secretary Sri Balwantrai Mehta was expected to come down to Calcutta with adequate authority for proper investigation into the affairs of the West Bengal Congress Committee. According to the same source some gentleman from the Congress Headquarters at Delhi, satisfied after a preliminary non-official investigation that scope for further enquiry was there, had met with a very cold reception when he came down to Calcutta for a second time, after consultation with Sri Nehru, to know the official explanations of the complaints. It is stated that "short of physical assault every measure was taken to turn this gentleman out of the Congress House."

"Rafi Ahmed Kidwai—the mystery man and the unpredictable in the Congress—was then in Calcutta. He smiled at the plight of this unofficial 'surveyor' from Delhi."

Charges had been made against the State Congress Chief, Sri Atulya Ghosh, who was also editor of a Bengali daily, by one of his secretaries that a portion of the fund collected by Sri Ghosh for the Congress was being diverted to finance the said daily which was not under the control of the Congress organisation. A sum of at least Rs. 10,000 was thus being transferred every month to the daily. The writer recalls here that the Press Commission Report had referred to a new Bengali daily receiving Government advertisements at rates higher than that received by older and more well-established contemporaries in Calcutta.

M.P. Ban on I.M.A.

The *Hitavada* in a critical editorial note on September 11, urges the Madhya Pradesh Government to withdraw the ban recently imposed on doctors in Government employment being members of the Indian Medical Association.

The newspaper points to the fact that the Indian Medical Association was a non-political body whose 1600 members represented the overwhelming majority of the country's medical practitioners. Naturally, an association of this character might differ from Government on matters of policy but it was the recognised right of service associations to differ from Government where such difference was called for.

It is "not impressed by the argument of Government that membership of IMA would interfere with discipline. No other State Government has imposed the ban; certainly not the Government of India. It must be presumed that other State Governments are also interested in discipline as much as the Government of Madhya Pradesh and when they have not felt it necessary to intervene, the fears entertained by our own Government must be regarded as exaggerated . . ."

The Politics of Cow "Protection"

In an article in the *People* on September 4, about developments in the Uttar Pradesh associated with the agitation for legislation banning cow slaughter in that State, Sri Ramesh Chandra exposes the utter hollowness of the whole affair and lays bare the motives behind the move in an incisive manner. Referring to the situation obtaining now, he writes: "Cow slaughter is non-existent in India (excepting a few towns and imagination of a few people). Six States have banned cow slaughter by law, seven have banned by law, slaughter of all useful animals including cows, in eight it is just not practised, in one, though it is being abolished voluntarily, the question of law is under consideration and awaits report of a Committte but there too, almost every local body has prohibited cow slaughter through amendment of their bye-laws."

Illustrating that the movement by any genuine concern for the welfare of the poor creatures, Sri Chandra writes: "A community at Mathura voluntarily passed a resolution against cow-slaughter; yet a few people of another community wanted to start a Satyagraha demanding legal ban on cow-slaughter. The Satyagraha was dropped at the last moment, but in the process had engendered so much heat that some incidents were reported and curfew had to be clamped down. Is this service to the cow or its exploitation?"

In our own State also the movement has resulted in the tragic loss of a life without in any way contributing to the benefit either of the cow or of anybody else. The public and the press in general have not taken kindly to the movement at all. This mood was also reflected in the speeches of the members in the State Legislature where barring two or three members the whole of the House unmistakably indicated its disapproval of the movement.

During discussions in the Assembly one Congress member, Sri Kali Mukherji alleged that far from being motivated by a genuine concern for the welfare of the cattle the movement was designed to divert the attention of the Government from the more urgent task of stopping adulteration of foodstuffs and drugs with which it was engaged.

As reported in the *Statesman* on the 18th September, Sri Mukherji "maintained that the agitation did not have popular support and, as proof, cited the case of a jute mill director and another influential businessman, who, he alleged, had paid between Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 per head per day to jute mill and dock labourers to take part in the demonstrations staged outside the Assembly daily."

"Referring to the fact that India was a secular State, he said that 26 per cent of the population of the State (West Bengal) were persons whose religious persuasions did not debar the killing of cows. These people might be persuaded to accept the views of the majority, but they should, in no circumstances, be forced into such a change."

The leader of the Communist Party in the West Bengal Legislature, Sri Jyoti Basu urged the sponsors of the cow protection movement to realise the futility and folly of wasting their energies on such a minor issue and give up the agitation.

Sri Basu "drew the attention of the House to the dangerous practice of *phooka*. Milkmen, who were Hindus, he said, indulged in this to get more milk from cows. Another practice of these milkmen was to kill calves by starving them. It was strange that people who professed to love the cow had not raised their voice against such malpractices."

Mr Basu also alleged that "a noted businessman of the city, now supporting the anti-cow-slaughter campaign, had during the war years made much money as a military contractor for the supply of beef."

Awards and Titles

In an article disapprobative of the conferment of awards and titles by the State, Sri Maganbhai Desai writes in the *Harijan* that the Government's explanations during the discussions in Parliament about the reasons prompting them to revive the practice of conferring titles and awards, etc., could not be considered a sufficient justification of the step had been taken.

Referring to the argument that awards could be looked upon as a recognition of special merit in the field of social service, art, literature, etc., contributing to a desirable incentive in the social life, Sri Desai writes that "the argument could be accepted in a way. But it is one thing to do so at the right moment and in respect of a particular case, but quite another to make a sort of selection and publish a whole list of such awards regularly at appointed dates. The fault lies in institutionalizing the thing."

Likewise the argument that our people liked the confernment of awards in public recognition of merit did not go much further to convince him as a justification of its introduction in that the State should, in Sri Desai's view, carefully keep away from actively helping those popular tendencies which worked against our declared aims and objects.

Granting of awards was not in any way an inescapable or even a necessary duty of the State. "Nor was its absence going to hinder or spoil any of our work. Besides it puts into its hands, that is, in the hands of those in charge of the administration, a power which becomes afterwards a source of much embarrassment to them and which tends to produce in the people an urge for unhealthy competition. We have had enough experience of it during the British rule. Creation of such vested interests does hurt the true spirit of democracy while it does no good to anybody."

Neither could Sri Desai see any fundamental difference between titles and awards from the point of view of their effects on the life and the psychology of the people, and he suggests for an amendment of the relevant provision in the Constitution, which prohibited the conferment of titles, to debar such awards also.

Child Kidnapping in Calcutta

Referring to the recent arrest of a Calcutta beggar with a five-year-old boy in his bag, the *Clarion* in a pointed editorial writes that it should still all laughter about reports of child-kidnapping in Calcutta. There was, moreover, the uncomfortable fact of the recovery of forty missing children. The possibility that many more might be there still untraced made the seriousness of the matter quite evident.

"It does not require much observation," the newspaper continues, "to see the number of child beggars on our streets, and cases have not been unknown of deliberate malformation of young children in order to make them profitable objects of pity."

In conclusion, it is suggested that a step the authorities might usefully take was an investigation into the question of child beggars. "It would be helpful to all concerned to know how many of these children have been actually born of their beggar guardians, to discover from whence they have come in the cases of 'adoption,' and to make certain that there are no villains, behind the scenes, exploiting misery and poverty that their own coffers and obese bodies may swell the more."

Labour Delegation to China

A delegation of the British Labour Party recently toured China. At a Press Conference at Hongkong on September 2 after the conclusion of the tour, the leader of the delegation Mr. Clement Attlee said that they had found China being run by Communists on principles with which they did not agree. But they had been impressed by certain definite reforms which seemed to mark a new departure in China.

"The evidence we had everywhere is that you have a Government that is incorruptible and that is genuinely working in accordance with the principles in which it believes, and that it has done some very remarkable pieces of work," Mr. Attlee said.

They had found that a lot of work had been done for the peasants and the Government seemed to be based on the goodwill of the peasant population. Asked about Russian influence in China, Mr. Attlee said, "They bank fairly heavily on Russia for supplies and so on. But I gather that, if the Chinese had any Russian personnel in to start up some industry the Russians went home as soon as the Chinese learnt all they could. I did not see any examples of Russians in control anywhere."

Reuter reports, "On Chinese domestic policy, Mr. Attlee said the mission had seen practical evidence of the Government's work 'in what I think was quite remarkable housing achievements both in Peking, Mukden and other parts.' They also saw evidence of extraordinary activity in the field of education and public health: 'I have been in many Eastern bazaars and it was a new thing to go into markets and find no flies, no smells and everything clean'."

"Our general impression would be that the antipathy shown to foreign missions and churches was rather Nationalist than Communist objection to outside influence. There again it was difficult to make a final judgment."

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 4th to 17th October, 1954, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

BASIC EDUCATION—THE NEED OF THE DAY

By Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA,
Governor, Madhya Pradesh.

Any country emerging from war to peace has to build its socio-economic structure anew; even during the transition from peace to war it had to build its martial structure afresh. Although India was drawn into a war which was not hers, to which she was not equal, and in which she was not willing to participate, yet the fact remains that she has received all the blows and buffets of the war, though it may have received none of its spoils—which indeed she never coveted.

While this is so and the problems of post-war recovery are incidental to all normal, independent nationalities, India has had to make its readjustments from another point of view and that altogether a different one. She had to emerge from a colonial form of Government to a self-governing form or, briefly from subjection to freedom, from slavery to independence. Whatever sacrifices India may have made during the war period and in support of war effort, were not voluntary. They were extracted from unpatriotic supporters of foreign rule who were largely interested either in a peaceful life or in a profitable life. In the processes of recovery therefore from the artificial standards of the socio-economic structure of the war-period, the class of people that counted with the British during the war-period constituted themselves either a hostile element or at least an unwilling factor. This fact has made the problems of post-war recovery the more complicated and all the more difficult.

It is thus seen that Indian Renaissance has had to struggle against both ignorance amongst masses and conservatism among classes. The age-long apathy of the East engendered by a philosophy of fatalism, coupled with the qualities of abjectness and servility, qualities fostered by the tame submission to foreign rule, has had to be combated by the nationalist forces in the land. One of the most difficult problems thus encountered relates to Education, and for a proper and full understanding of this particular issue, one has to go back over a full century and a quarter's history of Education in India. It was in 1818 that the last of the Peshwas surrendered and the rule of the East India Company emerged from the turmoils of wars. Only the lion of Lahore remained to be subdued and he had his turn a quarter of a century later. In the meantime, the Court of Directors were free upon consolidating their acquisitions and rendering unto India what was India's in the domain of culture and education. Their outlook was bigger and broader than that of the officials of the John Company in India, for all that they were concerned with was asking the Company's officers "to send more money but rule the country well", rather, "to rule the country well, but send more money." The Board of representatives in India found a natural and inherent inconsistency in such a demand; "better rule and higher dividends" were in a way incompatible with each other. The same inconsistency was noticeable in the various spheres of administration—notably of Education.

The Court of Directors had a genuine appreciation of the culture of ancient India, its philosophy, its literature and its sciences. But in India there were both Macaulays and Trevelyans who held that "opulence and leisure" and the disinterested love of culture "which had raised England to the pinnacle of glory" was not wanted in India and what was wanted was industrious husbandmen and diligent clerks. It was glibly stated that all the literature of the Oriental countries was not equal to a single shelf of a good European library. Indeed the saying has become proverbial that "fifty years of Europe were better than a Cycle of Cathay." During the time of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Amherst, the two schools of thought in regard to Indian education had their votaries, namely, the Orientalists and the Occidentalists, and the latter won. Raja Rammohun Roy himself had cast his weight on the side of the latter and it was, truth to speak, a big weight. It was thus that not only the Western system of education, but a purely literary system, divorced from technical and scientific, came into being, held the field, influenced the Universities established in 1858 and continued to sway till the new spirit following the Partition of Bengal (16-10-1905) called for a system of National Education, unrelated and unconnected with the University or Government, being incorporated as an item of the political programme of the Congress in 1906. It was to be conducted on national lines and under national control and directed towards the realization of national destiny.

Though the change of outlook was political in origin yet it did not take long to view it correctly from a purely educational point of view. The training of the hand and the eye, the principle of learning by doing, the systems of Lloyd and Montessori—all came into prominence. Yet the movement remained only a movement of protest, not seldom mixed with politics and therefore looked upon with suspicion and disfavour by Government. Much pressure was brought upon Mahatma Gandhi by national leaders to evolve a scheme of National Education, as part of his socio-economic schemes of national reconstruction, over and above his three basic items, Khaddar, the removal of untouchability and the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was thus that in the wake of the All-India Spinners' Association, All-India Harijan Sangh, All-India Village Industries' Association that the Hindustani Nai Talim Sangh came into being. Whatever the Mahatma touched, he turned into gold. Khaddar became the prince of village industries. Removal of untouchability became a condition per-requisite to Swaraj. The movement for Hindu-Muslim unity alone made uneven progress. Village industries constituted a part of health scheme as much as of economic recovery. Basic Education has become the key to a world-wide movement of educational reform. While these layers of foundation were being still laid, the edifice of Independent India had to be rather abruptly erected from out of the pre-existing structure by a rapid adjustment of the new needs to the old data and it is this that we are engaged in the somewhat inverted process of erection of an Independent India upon foundations made for a colonial form of Government. To understand this preposterous arrangement, we must go back to the middle of the 19th century and trace the growth of education developed as a hand-maid to an Empire.

HISTORY OF OUR EDUCATION

When the Universities were started in 1858, soon after the suppression of the rising on the part of the Princes and the soldiery in their striving for Independence, they were only the first of a series of three great institutions to be founded in India—the other two being the Councils and the Courts which were respectively brought into being in 1860 and 1861. Thus within three years of the first war of Indian Independence, the English rulers erected three new forts in support of their rule. The factories built by those who came to trade had already become forts, the watchmen employed therein became soldiers, the weapons they bore became instruments of warfare and the traders themselves became rulers. But there was wide resentment against this assumption of authority, this acquisition of administrative powers beginning with the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, this extension of territories throughout India, indeed this ascendency over the whilom Princes of India and their States. The East India Company felt, however, that its rulership was and would be precarious unless it had an intellectual and even a moral backing behind it. The latter was never forthcoming while the former was sought to be established through the three great institutions, Colleges, Councils and Courts—a combination of sources of influence and authority which may be remembered once again in the study of the non-co-operation movement of 1921. Thus will it be seen that the British throne which took over India from the Company in 1858, began by erecting new forts—the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, instead of muitiplying forts of brick and mortar, recruiting new soldiery—the graduates of the Universities—instead of expanding the army fighting on the battlefield, and manufacturing new munitions in the shape of English literature, instead of augmenting bombs, grenades and gun-powder. The result was marvellous. A second line of defence force of indigenous intellectuals was created and it served the masters with remarkable loyalty knowing well as it did which side of their bread was buttered. The graduates became in due course lawyers practising in the various Courts and intelligent, capable, prosperous and aspiring citizens of an Empire. What was this aspiration and where should they seek its fulfilment ? In the Councils, of course. Were not the Legislatures started in 1860 with real forcsight ? Thus did the Universities, the High Courts and the Legislative Councils afford scope in an ascending order for the intellectual talent of India to serve the British rulers.

In the jails you know the wardens do not, as a rule, beat prisoners. They get the convict warders to punish them. These are mostly convicts guilty of murder, who are deressed in spotless white, armed with a baton with its brass band and leather tail and moving about in polished boots and shining turbans and prepared to do anything at the bidding of their masters. What the British did in jails, they did in the single larger jail of India, through the subordinate Magistracy recruited from amongst Indians and prepared to act up to the behests of the British Civilians representing the Crown. All training, discipline and ambition were directed towards the working of the Empire according to set models and readymade manuals of Land Revenue, Forest, Income-tax, Local Self-Government, Military, Police, Education, Jails, Satygraha and Lathi Charge. Indeed the graduates of the British Universities and diplomats of English Public Schools were being trained to run this vast machinary according to the manuals and were prohibited from exercising independent thinking or meddling with the mechanism before them. Their business was not to think, but to act. Some five years ago there was a Royal Commission which reported on the kind of education to be followed thereafter in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and they reported that thereafter they must teach their alumni to think unlike thitherto when they were only asked to work the manuals. That is the history of education in India. We too must teach our boys to think, to exercise their senses and faculties along with their mind and memory, to use their fingers along with their faculties. So it was that Basic Education came into being so that a new type of students fully equipped for their new citizenship might be trained and might supply the new needs of the nation. The one purpose is to train the hand and the eye of our boys and girls, train them to do things by trial and error, and learn things by doing them.

The long waiting which we did patiently and expectantly at last bore its reward at the Haripura Session of the Congress. The scheme of National Education, adopted by the Congress from the year 1906, then 1917 and finally 1920-21 onwards, continued to command some measure of popularity, but the schools brought into existence in the hurry of controversial and pugnacious politics were not brought together under the care of one national organisation corresponding to those controlling Khaddar, Harijans and Village Industries. They were allowed to shift or even to drift for themselves and with the lifting of the triple boycott, the emphasis on national education weakened. And Mahatmaji had always been saying, whenever his attention was invited to the matter, that he did not feel that the time had come for the nation to take up the subject. It is well known that Mahatmaji had always been acting under the impulse of instinct rather than under the influence of reason or logic. At Haripura he felt that that time came, for the thing the Congress would, through the Congress Ministers then in power, have opportunities of influencing and controlling State education. It was, therefore, opportune at Haripura (1938 March) to lay down the basic principles that should guide national education. It was also obvious that instruction in basic education should be free and compulsory covering seven years and be imparted in the mother tongue and centering throughout round some form of manual and productive work, with all other activities to be developed or training to be given, integrally related as far as possible to the Central Handicrafts chosen with due regard to the environment of the child. To this end an All-India Education Board was established with power to frame its own constitution, to raise fund and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects. In this arduous task, Mahatmaji was able to enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of two eminent educationists, Shri Aryanayakam and Shrimati Ashadevi (Smt. Aryanayakam).

Basic Education—Its Purpose and Meaning

During this transitional stage we have to work out important changes of a wide variety. The material outlook of the country has to be correlated with an intellectual agency and the control of a moral law. Education has thus to be related not only to the art of living, but to the very ideals of life. These ideals have to be restated and the means of attaining them reconstructed. It is thus that we come to regard the system of education for life as Basic Education through which the citizens of the future are to be trained, while yet they are in the formative period of their life, and trained to a purpose, the purpose of a co-operative living. Co-operation implies the whole man—not merely his physical capacities or intellectual attainments but his spiritual longings as well. When thus you build up the whole man or woman, you bring into being a duly correlated community and a well-co-ordinated society. How should we build up such a personality, wakeful and alert, thinking and intelligent, reasoning and human? Not by mere memorising, but by constructive endeavour and creative effort, by purposeful labour, so conforming to the age-old dictum that work is worship. Work is the one binding factor that brings together individuals and nations alike. Work is the pivot on which the whole plan of Basic Education revolves. The ancients contemplated and created a whole picture, a whole fabric, a whole idol, a whole temple. The plans were not worked piecemeal by separate contractors but were the off-shoot of one architect, one brain, one skill, one synthesis. The child mind of India is sadly in need of such a composite training. When you take a lump of cotton and clear it of seed and clean it of dirt, thrash it and card it, spin the yarn and weave the cloth, a whole range of agriculture and industry, of history and geography, of economics and politics is capable of being taught, centering round the craft on hand. Here in Wardha you find a cotton centre. How did this vast tableland rising from Warangal to Wardha and Wardha to Itarsi influence the prosperity and fate of this part of the country ? Cotton was unknown to the Westerners till about the thirteenth century. It was described as a fine, flossy flower when it is really the content of the pod itself bearing within it the seed.

How did cotton interest the Empire-builder and shape history? You are probably aware of the fact that the first textile mill was begun in 1851 and completed in 1853. Apparently it was an eyesore to the East India Company whcih, while they were exporting cotton fabrics from India till 1803 began to import 3 lakhs of rupees worth of British textiles to India in 1803 and 29 lakhs worth in 1829 while the British exported 66 crores worth of textiles and 6 crores worth of yarn in 1929—altogether 72 crores worth of cloth and yarn. All this may be true, but what is it to Basic Education ? In 1853 November an interesting event took place. The Agent of the East India Company saw the Nizam and demanded a payment of 97 lakhs of rupees which the Company claimed as having been spent upon the maintenance of the troops under the Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance of Marquis of Wellesley, 1805, or in the alternative, claimed the Berars. The Nizam swore that he had maintained the troops all those years and that there was no clause relating to payment of money. The Company insisted, the Nizam dismissed the courtiers and with bare head bent himself and expostulated saying, "There are two things an Indian Prince would not part with, his titles and his territory. You, gentlemen from abroad, who are now in India and now in England, now sailors and now soldiers, now officers and now traders, cannot understand it." But the Company persisted. The Nizam prayed for time and got three instalments of which two were fully paid up and 10 lakhs was paid up as against the third. But the Company demanded all the same the Berars and they got it. Then comes the crucial point. Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Board of Directors, "Berars is only the gateway to the cotton area of Nagpur and we must have it." In February 1854, the Bhonsle died without issue and without being allowed to adopt. The British forthwith surrounded the Fort, turned out the Queens, sold elephants worth thousands for hundreds, horses worth hundreds for tens and the cows for a song. The jewellery was seized. There was a friend of the Bhonsle, Major Ousley, who on hearing of the happenings at Nagpur was rushing to the place but was seized and deported to England. Thus the cotton area of Nagpur was added to the Berars and passed to the Company. The whole history of the British Empire in India centres round cloth. The reversai of the current has already been referred to. The destruction of cottage crafts, including cloth, was the logical sequence of the invention of the steam engine and its application to all crafts. The destruction of cottage carfts and home industries led to the depletion of the villages, where formerly the farmer supplemented his scanty produce by the yield of the sale of products of his handicraft. It was thus that the carftsman was a farmer and the farmer was a craftsman. But ere long the fact turned out to be that the carpenter preferred imported saws and chisels and destroyed the craft of the smith. The smith wore imported shoes and destroyed the cobbler's profession. The cobbler bought enamel and killed the potter's trade. The potter preferred the Manchester Mill cloth and weakened the weaver. The weaver preferred machine yarn and destroyed the spinner. When the crafts were thus destroyed, people became too great a burden on the land and the small farmer sold his land and became a lessee. Then the farmer became agricultural labourer—then he migrated to towns and became urban worker without home or family, contracted diseases, broke down in health and died. This process was still going on till August 1947 and perhaps is still going on. The whole cast of civilisation and culture, the genius of crafts and arts, the contented life of the village, the balancing of cultivation and crafts, all have yielded place to urban life, congestion, disease and death. The circle of village economy was cut. The village economy in olden times till the advent of the British people was a self-contained economy. Not merely that; by the export of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, the channels of money were flowing from abroad to cities and from cities to towns and from towns to the villages of manufacture. After the establishment of British power, the current of trade was reversed in direction, the steam-engine invented in 1783 having developed power which began to be applied in England to the handicrafts of the day changed the whole cast of economy in respect of textiles by 1803 in which year Rs. 3 lakhs worth of mill cloth was imported from England to India. In 1829, Rs. 29 lakhs worth of cloth was imported. In 1929, that is, a century after, Rs. 72 crores worth of textiles (of which Rs. 66 crores worth was cloth and Rs. 6 crores worth was yarn) were imported. It will thus be seen that the occupations of all the artisans and craftsmen connected with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth became very nearly destroyed. All the spinners lost their cunning and calling. Likewise the weavers found it hard to compete with their hand-woven cloth with the mill-spun and mill-woven cloth imported into or latterly manufactured in India. Money began to go therefore from the villages to the towns for this cloth, from the towns to cities and from cities abroad. The current was reversed. The villages became poor and labour began to migrate from villages to towns as already pointed out. The village economy which was functioning through the circulation of money in the village itself was cut almost at every point and contributed to this drain of money from the village to the town and thence to the city and abroad. Whereas formerly the school-master was maintaining the carpenter, the cobbler was maintaining the weaver, the weaver was maintaining the spinner and all were maintaining the farmer, the washerman and the barber, now everyone sends his money abroad and money is no longer conserved in the village. This self-sufficient economy of the village may have to be restored in a modified form.

From this pod of cotton you are able to teach the modern history and Imperialism. From the same pod you can take the boys and the girls to the triple boycott of 1921 of courts, colleges and councils, to the revival of Khaddar and village industries, to the re-establishment of the self-sufficient village, on to Non-co-operation, Swadeshi, Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience and to Swaraj and to the Community Projects. What a marvel is Basic Education! Mahatma was not merely a philosopher and moralist, he was an educationist, a social reformer, a warrior and statesman, a nation-builder and a friend of humanity.

Basic Education

Every Basic School scheme is naturally preceded by a pre-basic course, which keeps the pupils busy and makes them happy at the same time. Paint and brush, pencil and paper and clay and pulp come handy for making all sorts of things that the child sees and indeed handles. The hand and its movements, the fingers and their deftness are brought under full control. Almost the first lesson taught is of cleanliness. Dirt is defined as a matter out of place. The dust that gathers on the table is blown off its surface and the table is said to have been cleaned, while the dust joins its family on the floor. The dust on the floor pre-exisiting and now added is swept down the steps and *chabuthra* where it joins its home. To add rubbish to the rubbish heap, to put cow-dung in the compost pit, is cleanliness.

In the pre-basic school, the child makes paper boats, flies kites, makes paper bombs, paper ink-bottles, musical pipes with cocoanut leaves, dolls with rags, makes a hole in a piece of wood, rotates one piece over another, with the aid of a peg on the top one, fashions the kerchief into the shape of birds, makes betel leaf boodies into locks, builds houses with little blocks and so on. Later it learns to make *gur* out of palm juice, clean cotton, gin it and card it, spin and even weave.

In pottery you study clays of different kinds, their sources and preparation. Of all the crafts of the world pottery is perhaps the most fascinating. Through folk dances and drill, rhythm and time-keeping are learnt. Through games and *asanams* you learn anatomy and physiology. The human body is an engine, a workshop, a pump, a Persian wheel, a dynamo and a chemical laboratory. Through Kathakali, tales of epics are learnt

The daily both ensures cleanliness. Milk and milk products, food and its constituents, taste and digestibility, calorific value and vitamin content may all be taught in conversation. Domestic medicine must be picked up early in life. A mother's training to her daughters in tending children is simple and effective. Learning by doing is what the kitchen and cookery teach. The economy of the cow and its products is taught in every home by showing how the urine and dung are converted into manure. Their fuel value may be contrasted with their manurial value, the former being a fifth of the latter. A kitchen garden involves ploughing and sowing as much as a field crop. Fruit-growing is complex in that it involves a knowledge of ripening which is an art by itself. Free-hand drawing is learnt early through the Rangoli. Pencil and slate are unnecessary. Cutting animals on paper and shaping plants into birds and animals are arts by themselves. Painting with local paints is both a science and an art. The story of Ajanta paintings in an illustration in point. Glories of sculpture may be taught through the caves of Ajanta and the temples of Ellora and through the magnificent Sanchi Topes. The tombs and temples of old and the use of the marble—black, white, yellow and motley—are the proof of the illiterate Indian carftsman's magnificent culture.

The glories of an integrated life full of harmony, fellowship and good understanding must be revived by establishing village Panchayats from which will be eliminated the law's delays, the distances of courts, the doubtful justice and the waste of money incidental to modern judiciary.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

To achieve all these ends, we must divide our country into self-contained circles formed by a regrouping of our villages, each circle having a diameter of not more than 8 miles and therefore an arc of 50 square miles. Each such circle should offer amenities relating to:

Agriculture
Veterinary
Health
Education
Co-operation,
Industry

We may call them Firka centres and our object is to train young men and women to take charge of them. They must have grounding in the art of cultivation, care of animals, domestic medicine, social education, principles of co-operative credit, distribution and stores, banking and principles of administration, of justice and cottage industries. The villagers need not travel more than 4 miles to reach these amenities. If one circle has 12 big villages, it will comprise an area of not only 12 villages but also some 40 hamlets in addition—making in all about 50 units, big and small. India (with an area of 12,80,000 square miles, half of which is forest and waste land) shall then to be organised into say 10,000 units of this elementary character. Each of this unit will have 12 primary schools and 4 lower secondary and 1 agricultural middle school. Here a scheme of basic education would train our village workers and lay the foundations of citizenship. These Firkas must be regrouped into larger or Taluqa units. These Firkas cover a Tahsil with about 150 villages and hamlets. They in turn should have

A High School
A Veterinary Hospital
A Medical Store
A Maternity Hospital
A Tubercular Sanatoriam
A Co-operative Bank and Supervising Union.

Each such circle must have a co-operative store where the agricultural needs—seeds, manures and implements—are sold besides the co-operative Bank for credit purposes as also a co-operative Union for supervision. Then you have a health centre with vaccination facilities and a small maternity centre.

Next comes the still larger unit—a kind of district headquarters where you have a college, a big hospital of 200 beds equipped with anti-rabic and anti-diphtheretic sera and penicillin, also a Veterinary Hospital, a District Co-operative Bank, District Co-operative Stores, a Leper Home, an Eye Clinic, an Orphange, a Waifs' and Strays' Home, a Widows' Home, a Home for Fallen Sisters, and a Discharged Prisoners' Society. The number of villages comprised (together with hamlets) would be 600 villages and the town interspersed would form part of the unit.

BASIC EDUCATION AND RURAL UNIVERSITIES

The great point to recognize is that education is not a department of administration nor a field of regimentation, but it is a process of building up the intellectual tissues and the moral fibre of a man just as the foods that one eats build up the tissues of the body. You have in the body blood and bones, muscles and cartilages, arteria, and veins, heart and lungs, liver and spleen. These are undergoing constant waste and need constant reconstruction. Likewise the human mind and character require constant replenishment by the aid of new ideas, new strands of education that rejuvenate the wasting elements of character and a decay in taste for the world.

"Three-fourths of the world's people today are underhoused, underclothed, underfed, illiterate—in other words, three-fourths of the world's foundation is rotten. As long as this continues you have a poor foundation upon which to build," says James Yen, a Chinese author. What the world wants is a process of education through reconstruction and reconstruction through education. The idea is sometimes expressed that "the adult education movement is dead. One does not know how to put life into it." The answer of Yen, a Chinese author, is, "They will be educated as they reconstruct their own lives." He spoke out of 25 years' experience. Our great task is, therefore, to convert the mind and dust of the village into a great human laboratory through which we can rebuild our ancient India into a modern nation.

To build an independent India worthy of the nation-wide struggle carried on for acquiring Freedom, worthy of the great Patriarch of the Nation that led the millions to victory, worthy of the future which the world has been led to look up to as a model for the nations of the world, and above all worthy of the high principles of Truth and Non-Violence which should form the very basis of the grand edifice of a world Government, these require young India to wrench itself from the cribbing and cramming traditions of the last two centuries. While preserving the integrity of our villages, we must enrich life at the base of the pyramid of Indian Nationalism by the higher amenities hitherto available only at the apex of the pyramid—so as to prevent the influx of the unsophisticated village-folks into towns and the contamination and narrowness of mind that necessarily infect them in the urban area. To this end a ruro-urban modification of our villages becomes an immediate necessity. "The social, economic and political aims" therefore of Basic Education must include :

1. A community of citizens bound together not only by intimate knowledge of one another but by a sense of intimate relationship to one another, and
2. The supplementation of agriculture by the development of cottage crafts or small-scale industries that help in building up as far as possible a self-contained unit of National Organisation;
3. The use of electricity as much as possible as a means of establishing maximum production with minimum labour.

In other words, we need to build up village communities which create capital out of credit, which will re-establish the integrity of the spoken word, and be an incentive to a process of moral rearmament that would wipe out fraud in business and corruption in personal chracter and re-establish that sense of unity which was sung by the poet in the simple words *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*. It is to establish a society based upon such high principles that you have to take on hand the youth of the country and mould their mind and spirit so as to keep them in tune with the outlook and purpose of the larger life of cosmonationality and universal brotherhood.

To bring such village communities into being is the task of the Rural University which builds up new educational traditions of distinctive character. and meets the needs of the village populations. These constitute four-fifths of India. They are left out of account by the 29 Universities now functioning. It is they that constitute the backbone of the new democracy, that provide the wherewithal by which governments run and people are fed. Under the canopy of the rural University students *live the life for which* they are being trained. They study *economics in the* village home and the budgets of the kisan, the village teacher and postmaster. They study *engineering* not by drawing up plans and estimates, but by digging a channel constructing a road and boring a well. They study *ethics* by helping the poor and rendering succour to the needy. They will *build up their careers* by building up the village community, and arbitrating in disputes, promoting a spirit of co-operation all round and taking note of the needs of the next village in answering the needs of one's own. They will promote *education* not by specializing in any subject, but by acquiring average kowledge in subjects relating to the art of life. They study agriculture by knowing the seed and the soil, the season and the manure, the pests and their remedies. They must know the stars and planets and tell the time by their position. They promote science not by inventing how to kill but how to save.

The difficulties that confront this new scheme are obvious because the process is a hard climb-up, not an easy climb-down. It is a process of swimming up the stream, not down the flow. The form may doubtless change, but the principle must be adhered to. Every time the emphasis on any subject changes in our educational courses, the change meets with a certain measure of resistance. Revivalists are not wanting who decried the Reform but in due course the Reform itself not only becomes familiar, but even stale in its own turn and loud cries for its further change will not be inaudible. Just recall for a moment how *Khaddar* and Hindu-Muslim unity and Prohibition developed from a slogan to a shibboleth and to a war-cry. How little do we hear them, or even hear of them. Why? Not because the vital and operative principle once regarded as an emanation from the Divine has settled down into dry formulae on dead men's lips. In any new experiment it would be incorrect to ask for a full chart of progress or even for a plan and blue-print. The way reveals itself as we march along much like the road on a foggy morning revealing itself a hundred yards length as the meteor cuts its way through. Let us hope that pre-basic, basic and post-basic education and Rural Universities will rise not only to the level of influencing mental development but also stimulating creative faculties and helping in moral rearmament of the Nation.

AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA

Its Causes and Cures

BY PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

INDIA was a country carrying on skilled agriculture at a time when in their own unreclaimed mountains and morasses Europeans still hunted the bear and the wolf. Providence has endowed her with a wealth of actual resources and a rare aptitude for prolific and high-class husbandry. Skill is there, capacity for labour is there, arms fit for cultivation are there in plenty. Nevertheless agriculture taken as a whole has remained backward, at any rate in quantitative production. The reason is that India lacks that drop of gold, which would oil the machine, set it going and turn its wheel as a productive factor. Moreover, on the top of all these, there is a crushing debt of the agriculturists. The country is in the grip of Mahajans and Sahukars because of the traditional unthriftiness of her people. The Mahajan still has safely entrenched behind his money bags while the victims of his silver bullet lie all round in heaps.

Rural indebtedness is one of the burning and pressing problems of India. The prosperity of this country depends fundamentally on agriculture, for more than three-fourths of its inhabitants are engaged in this industry. But as a matter of fact, agriculture is not making any progress due to heavy indebtedness of the cultivators and as a result of this the Indian agriculture is backward and this stultifies all talks of agricultural improvements. An effective solution of the problem of rural indebtedness is the first step to our economic progress. The debt is unproductive, and its burden accumulated from generation to generation. A productive debt creates its own means of payment; but an unproductive debt becomes a great burden as much as the principal and interest go on increasing. Indian agricultural debt in that sense is a great curse to the cultivators. According to Wolf:

> "The country is in the grip of Mahajans. It is the bonds of debt that shackle agriculture."

Estimates of Indian agricultural debts were made from time to time. No scientific and systematic treatment of the desease was attempted till the seventies of the last century when the indebtedness of the Deccan ryots, who had been the victims of great vicissitudes of fortune almost since the conquest of the Deccan, rose to such magnitude as to demand prompt legislative action.[1] The Deccan Ryots Commission in 1875, concluded that one-third of the occupants of Government Board were in debt and that the average debt per occupant was Rs. 371.[2] According to the Famine Commission of 1880 and 1901, at least four-fifths of the cultivators were in debt and were fast losing the possession of their lands.[3] In 1911, Edward Maclagan estimated the total agricultural debt of British India at Rs. 300 crores,[4] while in 1923 Mr. Darling estimated it at 600 crores.[5] On the basis of the estimates of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees, the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee in 1934 put the figure of the total rural indebtedness of India at Rs. 900 crores. During the slump the burden of debt became twice as heavy as the cultivator's income was reduced by half. Since then it has increased considerably and was estimated at Rs. 1200 crores in 1935 by Dr. P. J. Thomas.

> "If the total agricultural debt of British India was about Rs. 900 crores in 1929-30, it must have increased to about Rs. 1200 by 1923, and the real burden must be tantamount to Rs. 2200 crores, assuming that prices fall by 50 per cent (between 1929 and 1933), that no payment of the principal has been made and that interest payment is in arrears so that the debt has accumulated further."[6]

The immediate effect of the agricultural depression of the early 'thirties was to intensify the burden of debt and to increase it not only in real terms but also in money terms.[7]

The Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India in a recent survey of the position in 1937 notes that the burden of this indebtedness has become really much more crushing than can be judged from a comparison of the growth of its volume in rupees owing to the great depression (1929-32) attended with falling prices of agricultural produce. They put it at Rs. 1800, the annual interest on these on the lowest computation would be above Rs. 100 crores. To these may be added canal rates (about 12 crores), Central and Provincial taxation (about 100 crores), local taxation (about 150 crores) and railway freight charges (Rs. 65 crores). Precious little is, therefore, left to feed the cultivators. During the Second World War, the substantial cultivators and big landlords everywhere repaid their old debts either in full or to a material extent. For India, as a whole, the real rural debts and also the total money burden have become lighter during war years. The regions and classes that have failed to profit from the unprecedented rise of prices of agricultural produce have evidently done so because of structural defects in their economics, such as uneconomic holdings.

Various estimates arrived at of the rural indebtedness may now be summarised as follows:

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[1] S. C. Ray: *Agricultural Indebtedness in India*, p. 111.

[2] *Deccan Ryots Commission Report*, p. 29.

[3] S. C. Ray: *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.

[4] *Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 68 (f.n.).

[5] M. L. Darling: *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (1932), p. 18.

[6] P. G. Thomas: *Economic Problems of Modern sndia*, Vol. I, (1939), p. 176.

[7] D. R. Gadgil: *Agriculture Finance Sub-Committee Report* (1949), p. 6.

Estimated by	*Year of enquiry*	*Amount of indebtedness in rupees*	*General remark*
The Deccan Ryots Commission	1875	371 per occupant.	Based on analysis of 12 villages in the Ahamadnagar District (Bombay), one-third occupants of Government land in debt; debt averaged 12 times the assessment.
The Famine Commission	1880	....	One-third of land-holding class in deep debt; another one-third in debt; but with power to redeem debt.
Sir Frederick	1895	45 crores.	Of Madras only.
The Famine Commission	1901	....	One-fourth lost their land in Bombay. Less than one-fifth free from debt.
Sir Edward Maclagan	1911	300 crores.	For British India on the basis of Sir Nicholson's estimate for Madras.
M. L. Darling	1925	600 crores.	Based on the Punjab figure of 90 crores: 19 times the assessment, but taking 17 as the multiplier.
The Central Banking Enquiry Committee	1929	900 crores.	Based on Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Reports.
P. J. Thomas	1933	2200 crores.	
Dr. R. K. Mukherji	1935	1200 crores.	
Agricultural Credit Department	1937	1800 crores.	
Mr. E. V. S. Mainan	1938	1800 crores.	

DEBT POSITION IN THE PROVINCES

Let us consider the debt conditions in some important provinces. The estimates of indebtedness in various provinces as made by the Banking Enquiry Committee (in 1929) were as follows:

Year	*Locality*	*Amount of indebtedness in rupees*	*Amount of debt*
1929	Bombay (including Sind)[8]	81 crores.	15 times the assessment. Average debt per land-holding family ½. 570 and per landless family 189; percentage of families free from debt 21 in N. Gujrat, 23 in S. Gujrat, 29 in Konkan and 13 in Sind.
"	Madras[9]	150 "	19 times the assessment.
"	Bengal[10]	100 "	Average debt per family Rs. 160.
"	Uttar Pradesh	124 "	27 times the assessment. 32 per cent of tenants owed more than 2 years rent.
"	Punjab[11]	135 "	In 1929, as against 19 times in 1921; growth of 30 per cent in 8 years. Average debt of agriculturists Rs. 104 in 1929 as against 76 in 1921.
"	Bihar & Orissa[12]	155 "	Rs. 129 crores for ordinary cultivators, Rs. 24 crores for landlords and Rs. 2 crores for other householders.
"	C. P. & Berar[13]	36½ "	Rs. 227 per family. Proportion of cultivators free from debt 46 per cent.
"	Assam[14]	22 "	21 times the assessment; only 15 per cent of families are free from debt.

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[8] *Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para 50.

[9] *Madras Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para 90.

[10] *Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para

[11] *Punjab Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para 98.

[12] *Bihar and Orissa Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para

[13] *Madhya Pradesh Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para 64

[14] *Assam Banking Enquiry Committee Report,* para 33.

Dr. Harold Mann remarked about the Bombay Presidency:

"This enquiry into the conditions of the people of a typical dry Deccan village is disheartening. The debuts are a crushing debt on the people."

He estimated that the average debt of the cultivator of a Bombay village is about Rs. 130. In Bengal, it was calculated by Mr. Jack that in the District of Faridpur 45 per cent of the cultivators were in debt, and the average debt of each family was about Rs. 121. In Bengal, during 1943-44, the percentage of families in debt increased from 43 to 60 per cent for Kisan families, 27 to 36 per cent for craftsmen and 17 to 46 per cent for all other miscellaneous classes of people. In Southern India, in the Cochin State, Dr. Slater pointed out that nearly 75 per cent of the agriculturists were in debt. Recent enquiry by Dr. Narainswamy Naidu in 1945 in the Madras Province revealed that there has been an increase in the indebtedness of the petty landlords, tenants and agricultural labourers. In Punjab, it was pointed out by Mr. Darling that only 17 per cent of the people are out of debt, and the average debt per indebted proprietor is Rs. 463. The U. P. Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the total debt of the landlords, peasant proprietors and tenants in the whole province at Rs. 124 crores, while according to U. P. Government the agricultural debt of the province has been estimated at Rs. 186 crores.

It is generally believed that the rise of agricultural incomes from Rs. 953 crores in 1939-40 to Rs. 2,660 crores in 1947-48, has enabled most of the cultivators to reduce or wipe off their debts. In Bombay, the Provincial Co-operative Institute made a survey of the indebtedness of the farmers in the Karnatak and the Deccan regions of the Bombay Province. Their enquiry revealed that during 1939-44 there was a reduction of debt in both the regions though not to the same extent. Generally, the reduction was considerable among cultivators of large holdings going up to 50 per cent while in the smallest holdings of less than 5 acres, the extent of reduction was small, in the same tracts there was an increase of debt ranging from 9 to 30 per cent. In Madras, Dr. Naidu showed that the total debt of the province which stood at Rs. 272 crores in 1939 was reduced to Rs. 218 crores in 1945 or about 20%. Per capita debt had fallen there from Rs. 51 in 1939 to Rs. 40-8 in 1945. The major part of the benefit indicated by the reduction of debt was confined to the larger and medium holders while the position of small holders remained practically the same and that of the tenants and labourers actually worsened.

In Bhuvel village an enquiry was conducted under the auspices of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. It revealed that the total indebtedness of the village fell from Rs. 2 lakhs before the war to Rs. 1.2 lakhs in 1945-46 and the present debt in terms of pre-war rupee value is said to be only 15% of the pre-war debt.

It is clear from the foregoing estimates that the agricultural indebtedness has been on increase. There had been indebtedness of the peasant in the past also, but it has increased appreciably during the nineteenth century with the rise in prices and land values, the establishments of the civil courts and the enactments of the civil procedure code and the enforcing of the individual rights in contracts. It is rather very striking to note that the indebtedness of the peasantry, in spite of the great improvements in communication, trade, irrigation and maintenance of peace and security, has rather increased than decreased and it apparently seems paradoxical to say that the peasants had become more prosperous prior to recent depression than before. But as history reveals, indebtedness and prosperity are not necessarily inconsistent; the only explanation of this phenomenon is that indebtedness still exists in rural India, not in spite of these improvements but just because of them. It is no wonder that the small rural farmer is in no better position today financially than he was before the war despite the steep rise in agricultural prices, but along with the rise in prices there has also been a rise in the prices of consumers' goods and also in the cost of cultivation including wages, prices of cattle, implements, etc. Moreover, not all the benefit of rising prices has gone to the cultivator.

ANALYSIS OF DEBT

The reports of almost all Banking Enquiry Committees and of various other enquiries conducted into indebtedness contain some analysis of the purpose for which and the time in which debts had been contracted. In this connection the percentages of the total debt for which it was contracted in some of the Provinces are given below:

1. Bihar and Orissa Banking Enquiry Committee gives the figures as: Repayment of earlier debt 18; social occasion 19; maintenance, house building and repairs 16½; rent 6; cultivation and purchase of seeds and manures 7; purchaes of cattle and improvements 8; non-payment of interest 12; litigation, purchase of land and trade 9; unclassified 4½.
2. Central Provinces and Berar Banking Enquiry Committee gives these figures as: Old debts and loans 26.0; marriage and other ceremonials 14.0; maintenance expenses including results of scarcity and distress 7.0; land revenue and rent 4; cultivating expenses including wages of labourer, purchase of cattle, seed, manure, etc. 23.0; improved agricultural implements 1.0; field embankment and other land improvements 10.0; purchase of land 11.0; litigation 2.0; business, etc. 2.03.
3. For 141 villages in Madras Mr. Sathia-

nathan gives the following figures:[15] Payment of prior debts 25.1; marriage and other ceremonials 10.5; payment of land revenue 3.3; relief of distress 6.1; agricultural expenses 10.0; improvements of land 4.4; education of children 1.4; trade 12.9; purchase of land 13.8; construction of houses 5.6; other expenses 6.9.

4. In Punjab, the Banking Enquiry Committee summarises the results of surveys of indebtedness in the five villages as follows: Purchase of cattle from 15 to 39; repayment of old debts 2 to 23 per cent; marriages and funeral 12; agricultural expenses 10; domestic expenditure and litigation varies from 2 to 13.

5. The average results of three villages in Dharwar District according to the Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee was as follows: Current agricultural needs 17.6; land improvement and purchase of land 8.0; domestic requirements 11.4; payment of old debts 20.7; trade 4.1; marriages and other ceremonials 19.4; litigation 14.8; miscellaneous 4.0.

6. Similarly the debts of 52 families of Karimpur village in Bogra District in Bengal, for 1928-29 show the following causes of indebtedness:[16] For payment of old debts 14.3; purchase of cattle and capital and permanent improvements 40.0; land revenue 21.0; cultivation expenses 18.1; special and religious purposes 5.5; litigation 0.6; and other purposes 2.4.

7. Dr. Agarwal, speaking about 1088 families in 14 villages in U. P. concludes the percentages of rural indebtedness as follows:[17] Social ceremonies 37.7 per cent; domestic needs 12.5 per cent; current agricultural needs 3.1 per cent; loans for purchase of cattle 28.2 per cent; repayment of old debts 4.8 per cent.

In the broadest terms, the needs to satisfy for which finance is required could be related either to:

(*i*) Conduct of productive activity at normal levels of efficiency, which will mean finance directly for annual production needs such as that for livestock, implements, etc., for payment of rent, revenue and current consumption finance (that for food for the family).

Or (*ii*) development or conservation of resources. This would be ordinarily long term and would be raised for developing fully the potentialities of the resources of the cultivators which are left unutilised in the course of his existing current productive activity. Improvements, such as construction of wells, tanks and embankment or tree or orchard planting, would fall under this category.

Or (*iii*) circumstances of calamity or distress occasioned by the incidence of famine or flood or any other calamity. The requirements of such finance could be all the requirements for ordinary production needs and consumption needs.

CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

(1) *The Ancestral Debt*: The most important and the chief cause of the existing indebtedness is the ancestral debt, which is handed over from father to son, generation after generation, without any equitable restrictions. Children born in debt are found making very feasible efforts to pay the debts of their fathers and forefathers. They are probably ignorant of the law that the debts of the deceased pass on to the heir only to the extent of the property inherited by the latter, and if no property is inherited, there is no liability to pay the debt, it is only a 'pious obligaion.'[18] The only existing facility for the redemption of this debt is the borrowing of money from one moneylender to pay off another and thus increase the debts. Many agriculturists start their career with a heavy burden of ancestral debt and drag the loan for the whole of their life, taking it to be a religious and social obligation, with the result that the burden goes on increasing and becomes hereditary. As the Agricultural Commission in India remarks:

> "The Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt, dies in debt and bequeaths debt."

Thus an Indian cultivator takes birth as debtor, lives as debtor and dies as debtor.[19] In fact, the people are so accustomed to be in debt to take it over from their fathers and to pass it on to their sons, that they accept indebtedness as a settled fact and a natural state of life.

(2) *Sub-division and Fragmentation of Holdings*: When the holdings are small, the cultivation ceases to be economical even in the best of years and the yield from land becomes insufficient for the maintenance of the farmer and his family. On account of this reason either the farmer must go in debt or must be very industrious or must have any other source of income. In this connection it would be interesting to quote Mr. Darling who remarked:

> "That to support a family upon a few acres without getting into debt requires a love of skill, industry and thrift seldom attained in a h country. Undoubtedly it can be done just as a small sailing boat weathers a storm of the Atlantic, but unless the boat is both well-found and well-manned it will assuredly sink. In India, the farm is too often neither the one nor the other, and nature can be almost as destructive on land as at sea."[20]

The holdings are so small and the margin of safety so narrow that any misfortune may plunge the peasant into debt from which he can never extricate himself. A series of bad years, the death of cattle or mere carelessness may lead to debt while in the best years the surplus produce is so small that the interest is paid with difficulty and for the principal there is no scope. Indeed life is hard and bitter to the cultivator who has to depend on his few acres to support himself and his family.

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[15] Sathianathan.

[16] *Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 72.

[17] Dr. G. D. Agarwal: *Reorgasisation of Agricultural Credit*, p. 92.

[18] *Central Banking Committee Report*, p. 61.

[19] *Royal Commission Report on Agriculture*, para 365.

[20] Darling: *Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 262.

(3) *Vagaries of the Climatic Conditions and Other Calamities*: India is subject to frequent failure of rains and the resultant famines. The vagaries of monsoons are proverbial. This makes agriculture an extremely precarious industry and makes the budget of the Government a virtual gamble in rains. The frequency of failure of crops is due to drought, floods, hailstorms, conflagration, or uncontrollable swarms of locusts; all these damage the agriculture and show poor results which cause endless miseries to the cultivator, having no reserves to fall back upon in times of distress, and hence he becomes a prey of moneylenders who exploits him according to his will. It has been found that in a cycle of 5 years one year is good, one bad and three indifferent (neither good nor bad). It is only in the good year that the ordinary small holder can possibly keep himself out of debt.[21] To a farmer there is no calamity greater or more severe than the total or partial failure of crops; when the rain fails there is nothing but complete bankruptcy in store,[22] In bad years he will borrow for nearly everything he wants, for seed, for cattle, for clothing and even for his food.

Frequent failure of monsoons resulting in scarcity of fodder and water and low vitality and high mortality of the livestock, and diseases like rinderpest take a heavy toll of the cattle of the cultivator. Cattle constitute the most important and costly capital of the cultivator and their loss causes considerable financial embarrassment to him and this often compels him to borrow money to buy cattle.

(4) *Ignorance and Illiteracy of the Cultivator*: To make the matter worse, ignorance and illiteracy easily give way to the multiplication of pro-creative processes and thus the population goes on increasing without a corresponding increase in the means of subsistence. Hence, to secure a minimum subsistence for himself and his family, the cultivator borrows. Prof. Wadia says:

> "Having no additional source of income the ryot continues to borrow in and out of the season thinking to mitigate the heavy load of indebtedness. As a consequence the increase in rural indebtedness has been paralleled to the growing loss of economic equilibrium brought about by the pressure of population on the land and decline of subsidiary occupation."[23]

Illiteracy forms one of the principal obstacles to his progress. Suffice it to say that owing to his ignorance and illiteracy, he is being everywhere cheated both in private and public life. He easily falls into the clutches of the shrewd and intelligent moneylender owing to his simplicity and ignorance. It has been said, "The moneylender tempts to borrow, the lawyer to quarrel and the trader to waste."

(5) *Failure to Provide for Deficiency*: Agriculture is subject to the law of diminishing returns. And in absence of manures and fertilisers to check constant soil exhaustion, improved seeds and methods of cultivation, the produce of land goes on decreasing. The extreme poverty of the cultivator and the low yield of his tiny plot prevents him from providing against depreciation because it is difficult to put aside funds for depreciation of cattle and improved seeds, when so desirable things are lacking in the household. In fact, taking into account uncertainties of weather, the frequency of cattle mortality, and the fickleness of prices, agriculture, especially cereal-growing, is not a paying business, and if the Indian ryot sticks to it, it is not because it is profitable, but because it is a mode of life with him.[24]

(6) *Small Income of the Cultivator and his Physical Inefficiency*: The income of the cultivator is very small. It is so small as to make it impossible for him to have most of the necessaries for efficiency. According to the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, the average income of an agriculturist in India is not higher than Rs. 42 or a little over £3 a year. When we compare it with the per capita income of £95 in Great Britain, the contrast is startling. Two-thirds of the people usually get ½ of the minimum requirements of food-grain. They are under-fed under-clad, under-nurtured and the majority of them live from hand to mouth. The physical difficiency which results from these conditions makes him an easy prey to epidemic diseases, which sap his stamina and vitality and this enforced illness and weakness compel him to borrow.

It is true that in religion, in family affection and in friendship even the poor may find scope for many of the higher faculties, but the conditions which surround poverty tend to deaden those faculties. In fact, "poverty is the curse and destruction of the poor." The heart-rending conditions under which the poor *helot* of the soil is compelled to live on account of his chronic poverty, simply beggar description. A learned professor of an Indian University very cogently remarks, "So we are here faced with the dismal reality of the low income of our Indian agriculturists followed closely by a very low standard of living, and this is the first serious disadvantage they are labouring under."

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[21] Darling: *Op. Cit.*, p. 27.

[22] *Baroda Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 34.

[23] Wadia & Joshi: *Wealth of India*, p. 279.

[24] P. C. Thomas: *The Problem of Rural Indebtedness in India*, p. 6.

(7) *The Moneylender and His Vicious System of Money-lending*: The agricultrual capital is supplied at present mostly by the village moneylenders, Mahajans or Sahukars.

The varying importance of the different financing agencies is shown by the following provincial estimates made by some of the Banking Committees:

> Uttar Pradesh: Town moneylenders 28.3; village moneylenders 5.1; landlords 39.9; tenants 13.7; Co-operatives 5.3; Government 2.0.
>
> Madhya Pradesh: Mahajans 82.71; landlords 11.7; co-operatives 2.81; Government 2.6.
>
> Madras: Moneylenders 31; ryots 47; Co-operatives 17, Government 3.

The agriculturists are always poor, and so usually borrow money from them who charge sometimes heavy rates of interest. It is frequently a part of bargain that the produce should be delivered to the moneylender at a certain price, which is always below the market price.

> "It is usually the rankest, most extortionate, most merciless usury which eats marrow out of the bones of the ryot and condemns him to a life of *penury* and slavery, in which not only is the economic production hopeless, but in which also his energy and vitality will become paralysed and man sinks down beaten into a state of resigned fatalism, from which hope is shut out, and in which life drags on wearily and unprofitably as if with no object in view."[25]

A large number of cultivators appear to have a running account with the *mahajan* who advances them loans, seeds, giving one seer less than the market price. When the tenant falls on evil days he would advance him rent to save him from ejectment. He also lends money for the inevitable marriage and for equally inevitable lawsuits. He has, in fact at all times, the resources to which the needy agriculturists go for relief, and the consequence is that he is never out of the *mahajan's* grip, *i.e.*, the moneylender is almost the only oasis of thrift in the vast desert of extravagance and destitution and the only source from which the credit can be had, so that he is always in the clutches of the moneylender. It is heart-rending to see the indigent and indebted peasant sell his movable property like ornaments and cattle and mortgage his land and house for the payment of Government dues and for escape from the loss of *izzat* in civil imprisonment. He is sometimes compelled to serve on the farms of the landlord moneylender like the Roman slave throughout his life for a mere pittance and coarse food to satisfy his primary wants, while his wife and children have to do *begar* work in their households. He has also to give *nazarana* and *salami* in marriages, etc., to the moneylenders.

The smallness of his loan, his irrepressibly urgent need for it and security and his precarious financial position, leave the peasant entirely at the mercy of the *sahukar* who finding him alone and helpless asserts his influence and controls him ruthlessly and unscrupulously to the best possible advantage to himself.

(8) *High Rate of Interest*: The high rates of interest also compel the cultivators to borrow. The rates vary from province to province, but on account of the weakness of the peasant's economic position the interest accumulates every year. The rates vary from 9 to 12 per cent in Madras on secured and from 18 to 24 per cent on unsecured loans; 25 to 60 per cent in Bihar, Orissa, Assam, and Sind. The Bombay Enquiry Committee has given the *sahukar's* rates for different tracts as Maharashtra (irrigated tract) [illegible] to 34; Maharashtra (famine tract) 18¾ to 36; Gujarat 9 to 18. The common rates on secured and unsecured loans in Bihar and C.P. are 15 to 18 and 10 to [illegible] respectively. According to U.P. Committee, the rate for secured loan varies from 6 to 18¾ per cent ([illegible] per cent being the most common figure) and for unsecured loan varies from 18¾ to 37½ per cent (the most common rate being 24 per cent). Frequently, the loans advanced are in kind either for food or for seed usually on *Sawai* or *Deorha* rates and if unfortunately the crop fails to give the normal yield then the cultivator has to face starvation because he has to satisfy the *mahjan's* claim in full as prearranged. But if he does not do that then the debt shall go on accumulating on compound interest and become hereditary, for the interest is 25 to 50% or even 100 sometimes. The debtor pays the creditor but due to high rates of interest charges the debt usually soars up.

> "It is not that the agriculturist repays too little; he often repays too much. It is the high rate of interest and the malpractices followed by the moneylenders that tend to perpetuate his indebtedness."[26]

(9) *Extravagant and Improvident Borrowing*: The improvident borrowing is another fruitful cause of his indebtedness. Although the Indian peasant lives normally a most frugal and abstemious life he is undoubtedly apt to carry on his expenditure to extravagant limits. The methods in which the peasant spends his money are extremely unmethodical and baneful. He squanders his money extravagantly in unproductive consumption like social ceremonies, marriages, ornaments, funeral rites, *sradh* ceremonies of ancestors, etc., which is often beyond the means of the cultivator. The long series of seasonal feasts, religious observances as Kathas, as well as caste dinners on auspicious occasions have stimulated family extravagance. The absence of self-help and thrift, and abundant harvests have produced the

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[25] *Walff: Co-operation in India*, p. 3.

[26] *Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, para 63.

habit of wasting long periods in gossips and have encouraged thriftlessness. All these have played an important part in fostering the growth and the mounting of debt.

In certain provinces the purchase of bride raises the question as to how far marriage is an important cause of debt. But except the Deccan Ryots Commission the leading authorities (including the Famine Commission of 1880) are against it. The Ryots Commissioner has rightly said :

> "Undue prominence has been given to the expenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryot's indebtedness. The expenditure on such occasions may undoubtedly be called extravagent when compared with the ryot's means, but the occasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total sum spent in this way by any ryot is not larger than a man in his position is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures. The expenditure by itself rarely appears as a nucleus of indebtedness."

The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee also endorses this view. As against this view Mr. K. L. Datta says, "In a good year his (the cultivator's) ignorance and improvidence make him spend the whole of his surplus on marriages and festivities, and his extravagance on such occasions often leads him even in good years to the doors of the moneylenders. A ryot would stop at no extravagance in marrying one of his children or performing any funeral or social ceremony, to show more ostentation than his fellows.[27] Similarly Major Jack often making more extensive and exhaustive enquiries into debt than anyone before him, came to the conclusion that the great majority of agricultural debtors get into debt through improvident expenditure upon domestic ceremonies and in particular upon marriages. It is no uncommon thing for a whole or half a year's income to be spent.[28] We find that the Famine Commission of 1880 regarded expenditure on marriage and other ceremonies as one of the most prominent causes of debt.[29] And forty years later, when a village in Hoshiarpur was surveyed, it was found that nearly 40% of the original debt of the village had been incurred for marriage and other social ceremonies.

What Sir Charles Bernard wrote of C. P. some 60 years ago is still true today :

> "We see on all sides ryots or petty landholders habitually borrowing and spending sums equal to two, three or six years' income for a single marriage or betrothal."

Sir K. B. Fuller, writing twenty-two years later, went even further. "Census," he says, "is common when a ryot will admit having spent 22 years' rental on marriage ; they are not uncommon when he will admit having spent as much as 50 years' rental."

(10) *The establishment of the Pax Britannica* : The establishment of the Pax Britannica and the development of the stable and strong rule that let loose many economic forces like the extension of trade, an increase in the transport facilities, growth of towns, pushed up the prices of the agricultural lands; and the borrowing capacity of the cultivator also increased and there was a rapid increase of mortgage debt for all sorts of purposes both productive and unproductive, often beyond his capacity to pay it back. As a result of this change a large number of peasant propritors have become landless, their property being devoured by their creditors under the safe protection of law.

> "Indebtedness seems due not to the improverished condition of the people but rather to the increased value of land which has given the zamidar greater facilities for borrowing by improving the security he has to offer. It is pointed out that under Sikh rule the agriculturist had to pay away all his spare produce and that nothing was left on which he could borrow ; but with the introduction of a fixed cash assessment, the extension of road and rail, the opening of new markets and the rise in prices the cultivator, after meeting all his obligations, found himself with handsome balance on the security of which the moneylender was glad enough to lend. It is not only in the Punjab that an expansion of credit generally leads to an inflation of debt. In Nagpur and Jubbulpur, two provinces of C.P., the rise in the value of land which followed the opening up of the country by rail to the trade of the world, produced an outburst of extravagence and the standard of expenditure on marriages . . .reached a point which it was altogether beyond the real capacity of the land to bear except in very favourable seasons. In the Deccan, in sixties, a similar expansion of credit, this time due to a sudden rise in the value of cotton (as a result of the American War), led to much improvident borrowing."[30]

More recently in Baroda and Madras debt has been increasing with the rise in the value of land, while in Burma the natural result of the rapid increase in money-income of paddy cultivators has been extravagant spending and abuse of credit.[31] As the Royal Commission on agriculture remarks :

> "Causes which the cultivator seldom understands . . .have endowd him with credit which he did not formerly possess, and he has found it difficult to resist the temptation to relieve present necessities by mortgaging his future income and even his capital."[32]

(11) *Litigation* : In places where there are great fluctuations of harvest every lawyer knows that his income will contract or expand in relation to the quality of the harvest, which is a sign that the

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[27] *Indian Famine Commission Report* 1880, V. II, p. 133.

[28] *Indian Famine Commission Report*, Pt. II, Chapt. III, para 7.

[29] Jack: *Economic Life in a Bengal Village*, p. 120.

[30] *Indian Famine Commission Report*, 1880, Vol. II, p. 133.

[31] *Burma Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 61.

[32] *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 432.

villager is quick to go off to the court when he has spare cash in his pocket. Mr. Calvert estimates that 2½ million persons attend the courts every year, either as parties or as witnesses and that these or four crores are wasted in the process.[33] In these connections not only have the pleaders to be engaged and stamp duty and process fees to be paid, but petty officials have to be propitiated, witnesses may have to be hired, as much to prove what is true as to establish what is false, and perhaps the support of an influential neighbour has to be gained, all of which consumes both time and money. Really speaking, the passion for litigation is another undesirable trait of the Indian peasant which adds to his poverty and unproductive debt.

> "It is not uncommon to hear of suits dealing with the minutest fraction of an acre being fought up to the High Court and of criminal cases involving the expenditure of thousands of rupees."[34]

(12) *Heavy Burden of Land and Irrigation Taxes*: The Land Revenue policy of the Government has also been responsible for the indebtedness. In this connection the Famine Commission of 1901 reported:

> "The rigidity of the revenue system forced the cultivators to borrow while the valuable property which they hold made it easy to borrow."

Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his famous open letter in 1901 pointed out:

> "Land in India is generally assessed very high, and since India is greatly an agricultural country, if the soil be so heavily taxed, the people would be impoverished . . . Therefore unless provision for suspense and remission of revenue be made, the cultivators will be forced to borrow under conditions beyond control."

According to Mr. Darling, land revenue demand was lowered with the advent of the British rule, but it was not lowered enough to suit the less elastic system of collection. This increased the indebtedness. Thus "the heavy land assessment with its rigid procedure of collection is largely responsible for the aggravation of the indebtedness."[35]

(13) *The Absence of Adequate Marketing Facilities*: The money economy and higher prices ruling in the market tempts the peasant to dispose of all his produce without any reserve at a cheaper price and in a restricted market, and the poor fellow has to borrow to buy his food in times of need at a very high price. The untimely revenue demand and constant harassing of the *mahajan* for payment of interest just at the time of harvest, when alone the cultivator is in a position to pay, oblige the peasant to add fuel to fire by bringing his produce for sale to an already glutted or flooded market at the end of the harvest and spell his own disaster.

The Agricultural Finance Sub-committee cluded from the sample data of the debt surveys the past as follows:

(1) Repayment of old debt is everywhere important factor in the contraction of new debt.

(2) A large part is played by unproductive debt. Everywhere social and ceremonial expenditure is seen to be resposible for a considerable percentage of debt.

(3) Consumers' needs and 'distress' circumstances are seen to assume an important role in adding to total debt.

(4) Debt for improvement purpose is almost everywhere of an insignificant proportion.

The evils resulting from indebtedness may be enumerated as follows:

(1) The chronic state of indebtedness has influenced the cultivators in many undesirable ways. Much of the evils from which they suffer are the results of indebtedness. The low standard of living and income and the indigence and poverty of the cultivating classes are due to it. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee writes:

> "Almost the classes responsible for the low standard of living of the agriculturist and the continous improverishment of this class, even in areas which are blessed with good season and normal crops, indebtedness must be given a high place. This low scale of income and poverty prevent an adequate application of capital in the cultivation of land, tend to lower the physical and mental vitality of the cultivators and cause the decay and weakening of the normal fibre of the society. All these lead to agricultural inefficiency, and indebtedness, coming in the wake of these evils, aggravates them."

(2) Debts also prevent the orderly and profitable marketing of agricultural produce. The defective system of rural finance in which the moneylender is both creditor and the village trader leads to inorderly and profitable marketing. The indebtedness of the peasant to the moneylender compels him to sell his produce at a pre-arranged price and in a closed and isolated market lacking in competition.

(3) When large sums of money are borrowed for capital improvements or payments of old debts the period of repayment fixed in the bonds is not very long, *e.g.*, it being only 3 years in C. P. The result is that the income of the cultivators is utilised more for the payment of debt than is desirable or possible and the cultivator is left with very meagre income even for his subsistance. This leads to unproductive cultivation and is very detrimental to the growth of national wealth.

(4) The indebtedness causes a loss of property and transfer land from cultivators to non-cultivators which is fraught with grave economic and soci

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[33] *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, p. 206.
[34] Darling: *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 76.
[35] Wadia & Joshi: *Wealth of India*, p. 280.

consequence for the future of the country. The areas held by non-agriculturists have shown an increase in recent years.

The extent of land lost in recent years by agriculturists through transfer to non-agriculturists may be understood from the following tabulated statement:

Year	Net area lost by the agriculturists in acres	Net area gained by purchase or redemption by the agriculturists in acres
		5,941
	31,295	872
1931	61,415*	
1932	25,621†	
	84,735*	3,233
1933	26,117†	
	85,144*	
1934	37,702†	
	97,376*	10,977
1935	94,826†	20,292
Total	344,230	41,315

* By mortgage.
† Redeemed by non-agriculturists.

The area gained by agriculturists is 41,315 acres as against 544,230 acres lost by them ; the net loss to agricuturists is seen to be 492,915 acres in five years. The Marwaris; the Vaishya and other money-lending and trading communities have been steadily ousting the cultivators from their fields. Such a tendency impedes agricultural progress and breeds inefficiency. It increases the number of landless farmers. The reduction in the economic status of the peasant which results from the transfer of land to the moneylender causes inefficiency because the money-lender sublets the land at a rate which hardly leaves any sufficient profit to the cultivator to induce him to raise a good crop.[36]. As a consequence of this inefficiency the cultivator is not able to get enough money to cultivate the field properly and to increase first-class crops. Dr. Thomas has rightly remarked, "A society steeped in debt is necessarily a social volcano. Discontent between classes is bound to arise, and smouldering discontent is always dangerous. It may not anywhere blaze out into a revolution; but recurring social unrest is worse than revolution, in that it perpetuates economic inefficiency and puts off reconstruction."[37]

(5) The worst social and moral effect of the indebtedness is that it results in the servitude of the debtor. If the moneylender is an influential person and particularly so if he is also a land-owner. The borrower has to do free service for him when called upon to do so. In many places money is borrowed by the cultivators with the condition that they would undertake to repay or perform labour on farm and in the houses of the moneylenders until the debts are cleared, and after their death their sons are bound by the same agreements to serve. The poor debtors are not allowed to serve anybody so long as work on the moneylender's farm is necessary. In return for these services they get a customary allowance of a few pice per day, coarse food, old clothes and now and then new cloths and rewards on auspicious occasions. Their wives and children are required also to serve the moneylender for a pittance. Such systems are as *Kamiuta* in Bihar and Orissa and the neighbouring parts of the Eastern U. P. and *Panniyal* system in Madras. Something like this system also prevails in C.P. The steady transfer of land, under the load of heavy indebtedness, is turning a class of sturdy and honest peasants into a band of disillusioned and demoralised serfs.

The moral integrity and probability of the Indian farmer is tottering under the growing weight of indebtedness. For the inevitability of indebtedness, from which he has not even a remote hope of escape, turns him into a dishonest debtor and inefficient farmer, thriftless head of the family and an irresponsible citizen.[38]

(*To be continued*)

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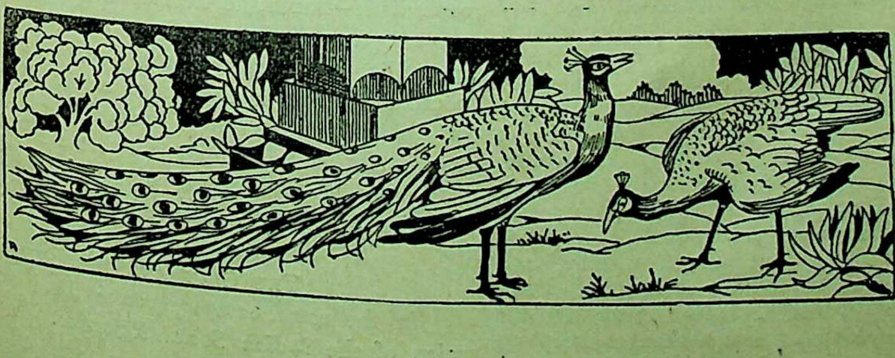
[36] *Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 44.

[37] P. G. Thomas: *Problem of Rural Indebtedness in India*, p. 14.

[38] R. D. Tewari: *Indian Agriculture*, pp. 251-252.



INDIAN JOURNALISM

Attributes of Great Editorship

By C. L. R. SASTRI

In my book on "Journalism" I had occasion to devote considerable space to thumb-nail sketches of many of the foremost editors of English newspapers, dead as well as living. I was impelled to do so for several reasons. There was, in the first place, the personal equation. I could boast of some knowledge of those editors, having, in the impressionable period of my life, studied their writing with the care and the attention that they so richly merited. They bore names that were familiar not only throughout the English-speaking world but throughout that part of the world which is reputed to be more or less civilised: on the Continent, especially, they were held both in awe and in esteem. We, in India, perhaps, cannot quite bring ourselves to understand their unique position. That is chiefly because we are not privileged to have in our midst at the moment a single figure that can bear even the remotest resemblance to those unquestioned giants, whose every word was read by the public with the closest scrutiny and weighed in the most delicate of intellectual balances. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* and H. W. Massingham of the *Nation* (and, earlier, of the *Daily Chronicle*) and J. A. Spender of the *Westminster Gazette* and A. G. Gardiner of the *Daily News* magnoperated in their several papers at about the same time; and, though they have all passed away, their impact on the world of journalism can still be felt by sensitive souls and their contribution to it properly assessed. Scott and Massingham were each a host in himself. About Massingham's quality both as an editor and as a writer of English, "of purest ray serene," I have expressed my opinion in my book and have expressed it in no uncertain terms.

SPENDER ON MASSINGHAM

Here is Spender's tribute to Massingham in the first volume of his magnificent reminiscences, *Life, Journalism, & Politics* (Cassel: 1927):

> "Most of the rewards which go with distinction in other professions are denied to the Journalist. He may spend a life-time in the most honorable public service and his name be scarcely heard of outside Fleet Street, or, indeed, outside his newspaper office. He is the 'mere journalist;' the universities do not know him, the 'real literary' people have only a nodding acquaintance with him. I have been a guest at literary dinners and listened gratefully while popular writers have expressed a hope that I should one day 'get out of journalism' and 'write a book' which might be worth considering. This attitude is undoubtedly a little galling, and I do think that some of these literary and academic beings might consider a little what 'mere journalism' is to those who practise it skilfully and conscientiously, and cease to consider it as an inferior and rather disreputable branch of literature. It is, after all, far easier to write most kinds of books than to keep up a steady and effective flow of journalism for even a few months together. The literary accomplishment of Massingham, to mention only one man who has latterly passed from the scene—a man who never wrote a book—was a joy to the craftsman of letters and I cannot believe that students of literature in future days will fail to note its rare qualities of delicacy and skill."

"G.B.S." had, earlier, commended Massingham in much the same fashion:

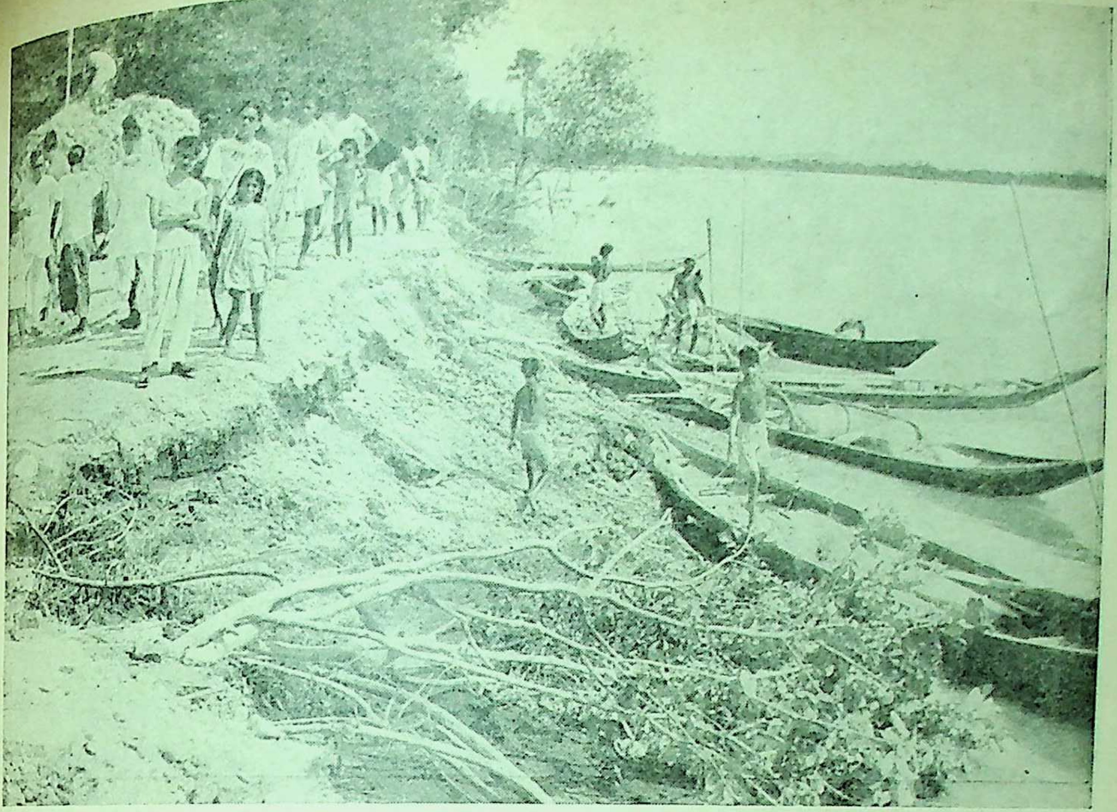
> "If he (Massingham) had left behind him a single book, it would have spoilt the integrity of his career and of his art. I could lay my hand more readily on ten contributors for his successor than one successor for his contributors."

SOME INDIAN EDITORS

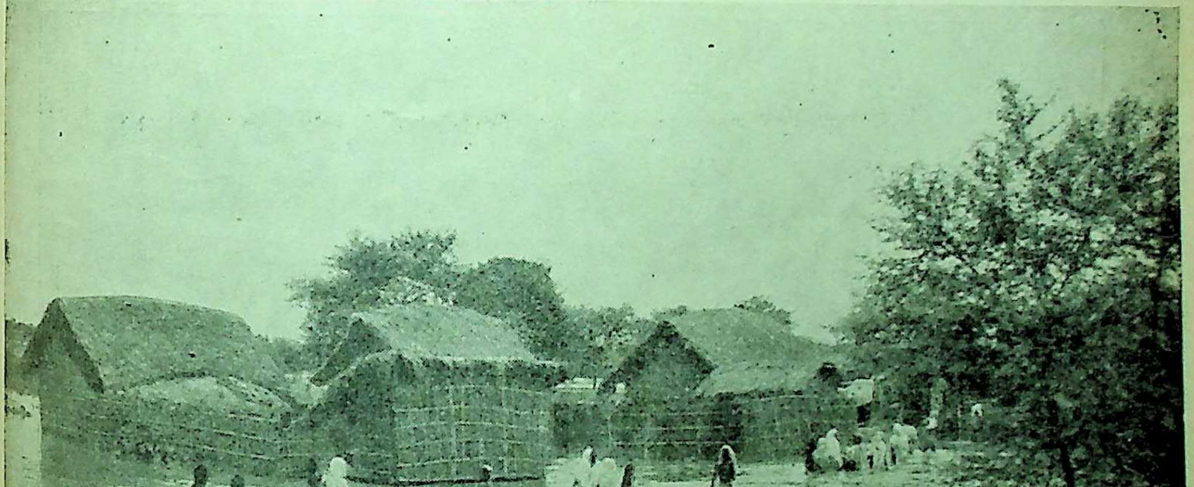
I have suggested that we, in India, cannot, perhaps, quite bring ourselves to understand the unique position that Massingham and others occupied, "while this machine was to them," because we are not privileged to have in our midst a single figure who can bear even the remotest resemblance to those unquestioned giants. In the past we had been just a little more fortunate. There was, for instance, G. Subramanya Iyer, the doyen of Indian journalists, who, by universal consent, was acclaimed as being not only in the first flight of editors but as being the very first in that first flight. There was Kristo Das Pal who was the recipient of not much less glowing encomiums alike from his brethren of the craft and from those of other professions. There was Babu Ramananda Chatterjee who, though of a shy and retiring disposition, was known almost as widely in the Antipodes as in his own beloved Motherland through his famous periodical *The Modern Review* of Calcutta. There was C. Y. Chintamani (I am, of set purpose, omitting the accolade which, in a moment of uncharacteristic weakness, he accepted a few years before his sudden demise in 1941) who contrived to shed comparable lustre on the *Leader* of Allahabad. (He would turn in his grave if he were acquainted with the subsequent transformation of his "one and only beloved." It carried on as a pale ghost of itself until 1944 when, succumbing to the new wave of "syndicalism" that has, of late, been sweeping the country from end to end, it passed into Congress—and capitalistic—hands, to become a third, or fourth, carbon copy of the *Hindustan Times*, a paper whose name was unfamiliar when that of the *Leader* itself had been a household word in the entire north. I, for one, cannot help thinking that the gods should have decreed a more decent fate to it than this and that a natural death would have been infinitely better than this inglorious conversion into the Allahabad edition of that New Delhi organ.)

THE CLAY AND THE POTTER

In the same category comes the venerable K. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer*. No Indian journalist ever wielded a chaster, a more elegant pen than



Cooch-Behar flood



Flood at Malda

Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru taking the General Salute by the Guard of Honour in presence of the vast crowds assembled at the celebration of the Seventh Anniversary of India's Independence in Delhi on August 15

Dr. Hans Haas and Lotte Haas at BBC

Natarajan's, nor can I recall worthier illustrations than his editorials of "moderation in action." He was one of the very few journalists who could be trusted to subordinate his emotion to his judgment, which, one instinctively guesses, was born "in full panoply," like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus. I wonder whether he ever wrote, or (for that matter) ever *could* write, a "fiery" or a "swashbuckling" leader. His articles were a delight to read—alike on the score of their purity of diction and on the strength of their marvellous erudition. Though a "Liberal" in the grain his devotion to the Mahatma was boundless and his services to the Congress, through his mouthpiece, in the 1930 civil disobedience movement are past computatiaon. His mind was at home not only in the practical realm of politics but also in the more abstruse regions of literature and of philosophy : consequently his eye for parallels was always unerring.

He and Chintamani and Karunakara Menon (of the now long since defunct *Indian Patriot* of Madras) all learned the rudiments of their art at the feet of G. Subramanya Iyer ; and it is a lasting testimony to the inherent greatness of that master that the pupils, without a single exception, blossomed forth, in their several degrees, into top-rank journalists themselves, thus proving experimentally that, in the ultimate analysis, the clay is not everything,—the potter's hand having its appointed share in the building-up process. Subramanya Iyer could have consoled himself with the reflection :

> "I am the teacher of athletes,
> He that by me spreads a wider breast than my
> own proves the width of my own.
> He most honours my style who learns under
> it to destroy the teacher."

JOURNALISTS AND HONOURS

I have observed, in parenthesis, that Chintamani, to whom, and to whose paper, the title "Thunderer," bestowed on London *Times,* would have been equally appropriate, should never have condescended to accept the knighthood that was conferred upon him. Somehow these so-called "marks of honour" sit strangely on journalists as a class and even more strangely on those journalists who are thoroughly independent-minded. They very rarely fail to dilute the wine of their former independence and integrity. What the late Mr. Spender, editor of that distinguished "sea-green incorruptible," the *Westminster Gazette,* says on this subject in his book aforementioned, *Life, Journalism, and Politics,* is worth close study by his colleagues in the profession. After revealing that he had seen fit to refuse the "honour" that had been sought to be thrust on him by a grateful Liberal Government on being returned to Parliament by an overwhelming majority in the 1906 elections, he proceeds :

> "My view was (and is) that in the peculiar relations in which he stands to the Government, the working political journalist does better not to put himself in a position in which he seems either to be receiving a reward for past 'services' or to be placing himself under an obligation to render future ones . . . . . Looking at all the conditions, and knowing the innumerable subtle influences—many of them most difficult to resist—which prevent the firm expression of opinion, I own I should like to see the working journalists generally make it a rule that, so long as they are working journalists, they will not accept this particular form of recognition."

I have mentioned the names of a few Indian journalists who in my opinion could stand some sort of comparison with their British confreres. But they—one and all—belong to the irreclaimable past. At the present moment we cannot boast of a single editor who deserves being mentioned in the same breath as those veterans of the British, or the Indian, variety. This is not necessarily to be a *laudator temporis acti,* to be a worshipper of the past simply because it is the past : it is merely to express a pregnant truth, however unpleasant. "We are all mighty fine fellows," no doubt, as "R.L.S." said in another connection, but we cannot hold a candle either to the Scotts and Massinghams, or to the Subramanyams and Natarajans.

'OLD' AND 'NEW' JOURNALISM

I started by saying that I took occasion, in my book on 'Journalism', to devote what many were constrained to regard as somewhat disproportionate space to the belauding of not a few of England's most famous editors. My chief purpose in so doing was to inbue in us, who are but their humble camp-followers, a due sense of reverence and emulation. The times, I am aware, are not propitious for the first : we are, evidently, not only as good as our fathers but are, if possible, considerably better than our fathers. But I do believe that, notwithstanding the strains and stresses of our hectic life, we are not past praying for as far as the second is concerned. As I had been at so much pains to expound elsewhere, I am a votary in the shrine of the "old" journalism and am decidedly of the opinion that the "new" is not a patch upon it. If this view of mine is correct it follows that we cannot have too much of emulation. Even then, of course, we may not all become the Scotts and Massinghams, the Spenders and Gardiners, of our generation. Our duty is to strive, to strive as none ever strove, leaving the reward where it rests—on the knees of the gods.

Besides, the supremely great journalist, like the supremely great poet, is born, not made : nor is the moment of his arrival heralded by any signs and portents. Even the acknowledged giants cannot boast of their nativity as Glendower boasted of his :

> ". . . . . .at my nativity
> The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
> Of burning cressets ; and at my birth
> The frame and huge foundation of the earth
> Shaked like a coward."

There is more truth in what "H.W.M." says at the beginning of his review of Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's book *London River*, in the *Nation* of March 12, 1921 (reprinted in "H.W.M." : p 191) :

"Artists appear at rare intervals; but there is one simple test of practice of their arrival. The moment they begin to handle their material, the world discovers what an extraordinarily rich and plastic thing it is. It does not matter very much what subject they choose; it matters not at all how often that subject has been treated. The last Madonna may be as good as the first, and there is always a fleet of fighting Temeraires to be towed to their berth."

JOURNALISTS' "ULTIMA THULE"

It has been said that every soldier on the battlefield carries the baton of a Field-Marshal in his knapsack. So does every working journalist aspire to be the full-fledged editor of a newspaper. That is his Nirvana, "Ultima Thule," Journey' End, what you will. (A "free-lance" journalist, however, has his nomination automatically cancelled in these editorial stakes: once a "free-lance" always a "free-lance"). But we live in a fast-moving world, where "go-getting" is the supreme law, having any day more sanctity than the Ten Beatitudes, and I have known persons that had been practising lawyers till the other day suddenly abandoning the precincts of the various law-courts in order to grace the editorial chair of an important paper or periodical; and making a good job of it, too, if circulation figures are any criterion. Nay, I have known persons that could not be said to have had even this redeeming qualification, or any qualification for that matter—least of all that of writing—pitchforked into the editorial *gadi*, and, what is more astounding still, contriving to remain there for years and years, with a steadily widening halo around their heads, a nimbus as large as life itself. But this is "Indian" journalism all over, a journalism that has its own standards—or, rather, to be perfectly candid, lack of standards.

In spite of these exceptions, however, journalists, even in India, have, in most cases, to work their way up to the editorship, beyond which there is nothing in the journalistic hierarchy. The road is long, and the journey tedious, and by far the majority of the aspirants fall by the wayside: all the more, it seems to me, should we hand out bouquets to the few—the miserably few—that do succeed in occupying the Big Chief's room *on their own merits* and not by virtue of that modern "rope-trick"—the upward pushing of their proteges to "the topless towers of Ilium" by benevolent godfathers, a kind of supercapillary action unknown to pure science.

WHO IS A GREAT EDITOR?

What is it that distinguishes the great editor from the ordinary one? There is such a thing as "editorial personality." A great editor imposes that personality upon the whole paper—from the first page to the last. Thenceforward it bears his unmistakable stamp. No-one cares to enquire about the common run of newspapers as to who their editors are: one is as good, or as bad, as another. But there are a few which compel one to ask that question. The fact of their possessing a distinguished editor sticks out a mile. For this purpose the editor should be an exceptionally gifted journalist himself. He must be fully conversant with the tricks of his trade: then only can he employ other gifted journalists under him. Here. as elsewhere, team work counts, and the man responsible for the assembling of the team is none other than the editor. The does not fail to impress the public before long. The articles are generally written round a particular point of view, and if there is any "damnable iteration" it is eminently excusable.

INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY

Then there is the question of thorough independence and integrity. Your great editor has certain unalterable principles and he will sooner let the paper perish than abandon them. The word "equivocation" does not find a place in his dictionary. He does not trim his sails to the prevailing political wind. Nor is he an undue respector of persons. He writes articles that breathe this indomitable spirit in every line. The craze for compromise, for appeasement at any cost, is alien to him, his *forte* being, rather, to hammer away, for what he is worth, at certain fundamentals of political action that he has contrived, after laborious study, to make his own. He curries no one's favours nor does he blench from anyone's frowns. He never takes the line of least resistance. He is a "live wire" among his contemporaries, and he turns his paper into a "live wire" among *its* contemporaries. In other words, he stands foursquare to all the winds that blow. Such an editor was C. P. Scott and such an editor was H.W. Massingham: such an editor was Mr. Gerald Barry of the *News Chronicle*: such an editor was C. Y. Chintamani

But look around Indian papers now and you will rarely come across such an editor. *They have practically no politics but only personalities*, and their one hobby is to dance to the tune of "the powers that be" irrespective of what the tune is. *It is the papers that must give a lead to the politicians*, not *vice versa*. And by "papers", of course, is meant their editors. This it has happened, not once, but any number of times, that one cannot pin these editors down to a fixed view for even a few days on end: they have no firm conviction of their own, depending entirely, as they do, on the party leaders to lend them one provisionally. Reading these papers, with their adroit performances on the political trapeze, gives one not relief or relaxation but a sort of "morning-after" sensation. The drawback of Indian newspapers generally is this preternatural dependence upon the whims and caprices of those politicians who happen to occupy the centre of the stage at a given moment; it is humiliating to observe how they have trained themselves to fawn on certain prominent figures, belauding them to the skies for their heinous offences, no less than for their glorious achievements.

The whole spirit of Indian politics today is antagonistic to the growth of a virile journalism. "No birds are flying overhead: there are no birds to fly."

SEVEN YEARS OF FREEDOM

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

SEVEN years is, by no means, a long period in the life of a nation and more specially of a country like India which attained Independence after centuries of political serfdom. But during these seven years of freedom we have been able to achieve results in different sectors of national economy of which all of us could be legitimately proud. As the A.-I.C.C. session at Ajmer pointed out, there has been "a very great improvement in the food situation in the country which has exceeded expectations and the targets laid down and has assured the country of an adequate supply of foodgrains." While the target of additional food production during the period of the Plan was 7.6 million tons, the production of foodgrains is estimated to have increased during the last three years by about 9.5 million tons. In addition to agricultural production there has been a general increase in industrial production as well. The target for cotton textiles by the end of the Plan was 4,700 million yards; but even in 1953, production exceeded the above target by over 200 million yards. There has been substantial increase in cement, paper, sugar, ship-building, manufacture of Railway wagons and locomotives and fertilisers. The Multi-purpose River Valley Projects have enabled us to bring more than 1.6 million acres of new land under irrigation during the last three years of the Plan; electric power capacity also increased by 4,25,000 kwt. Progress in the building of national highways and roads in addition to the construction of several new Railway lines has been considerable.

Besides these notable achievements in the domains of agriculture and large-scale industries in private and public sectors, there has been substantial increase in Welfare activities specially in the rural areas. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes have already covered over 50,000 villages and a population of 36 million and it is intended to cover the entire country with such projects by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. This tremendous undertaking will surely bring about basic changes in the structure and functioning of rural India. The success in these schemes is not only due to thousands of trained workers but also to the admirable public response which such projects evoked. For example, the total Government expenditure on 210 National Extension Service Blocks since their inauguration on October 2, 1953 has been Rs. 42.99 lakhs,. while the people's contribution amounted to Rs. 45.8 lakhs. During the first six months of their work, the N.E.S. blocks could bring 78,000 acres of land under irrigation through minor irrigation schemes, about 16,000 acres were brought under fruits and vegetables and about 19,000 acres were reclaimed for cultivation. About 5,000 wells were either newly constructed or renovated; 1,000 new schools and nearly 12,000 adult education centres were started. Approximately 1800 miles of village roads were constructed in these National Extension Service areas. On August 15, 1947 there were only 18,000 Post Offices in the rural areas; their number is now 40,000. The number of Public Call Offices at the time of Partition was only 339; now it is 2,260. All these are surely no mean achievements specially during a period when the nation had to divert considerable financial resources to the healing of the wounds of Partition. Even in the sphere of Rehabilitation, our achievements can compare favourably with those of any other country in both Asia and Europe.

In other spheres of national activity also, our achievements have been quite noteworthy. While saving the country from civil disorder as a result of the vivisection of India, we succeeded in integrating 600 and odd States into the Union without a gun-shot. We have been able to eliminate the intermediaries in land by abolishing feudal Zamindars, Malguzars and Jagirdars. Through the amendment of the Company Law, the Government is now attempting to curb and if necessary liquidate the relics of feudalism in industry in the form of the Managing Agency system. The imposition of the Estate Duty is a significant step in the direction of removing glaring economic inequalities in the country. Important pieces of legislation relating to the reform of the Criminal Procedure Code, social customs like that of Marriage and Divorce and the abolition of social evils like that of Untouchability have already been introduced in the Indian Parliament. The existing system of education is gradually being changed into Basic and Technical educational structure, although the pace of progress in this direction has not been as fast as it could have been. The old system of administration that we inherited from the foreign rulers is now being overhauled. A chain of National Laboratories and Higher Technical Institutes have been established in different parts of the country during the last seven years of freedom. There has been visible increase in medical amenities in both the rural and urban areas, although much yet remains to be done. Above all, the Congress leadership has given to the new Republic a stable and progressive government at a time when many other countries in Asia and in Europe have been, more or less, in the melting pots. Thanks to the eminent leadership of our Prime Minister, India has succeeded in gaining a very high prestige in International affairs for playing a vital role in the difficult but noble task of establishing peace on earth and goodwill among mankind.

India has chosen the path of peace and democracy for building up a new social and economic structure in accordance with the teachings of the Father of the Nation. She has definitely rejected the way of war, totalitarianism and regimentation of the masses. It is wrong to think that the methods of authoritarianism are quicker and more lasting than the way of democracy and education of the masses. What India has been able to achieve in the political, social and economic spheres during the last seven years can stand comparison with the progress of any country in the world during the same period. We should remember that it took Russia full eleven years after the Revolution in 1917 to produce her First Five-Year Plan in 1928. Even after the Five-Year Plan, the transition from the old economy to the new order was not smooth. Immediately after the October Revolution, Russia had to face great resistance from the vested interests and there was chaos, confusion, bloodshed and famine in the land for about a decade before the fruits of a socialist order could be visible to the people. In China also nothing has been achieved by magic and all the facts are not so rosy as they appear from a distance. The land reforms there are not so revolutionary as they are, perhaps, depicted to be. Those who have been to China during recent months and have tried to study the realities of the situation without any political bias are of the view that China will take at least ten years more to come up to the present level of India. China is our friendly neighbour and we are always prepared to learn from her in a particular sphere. But all of us should realise that India has been able to accomplish great things after Independence and there is no occasion for any kind of frustration or despondency.

This does not mean, however, that we should become smug or self-complacent and begin resting on our oars. Eternal vigilance and arduous work are the price of lasting liberty and we cannot afford to be over-optimistic and over-confident. As Shri Nehru recently wrote to the Presidents of different Pradesh Congress Committees, "We have to keep a balanced picture before us, in no way exaggerating our successes and also in no way minimising them and always remembering what we have yet to do." We have no shadow of doubt that India is a land of destiny and our Prime Minister is a man of destiny. We must always bear in mind the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and work ceaselessly for building a new, prosperous and glorious India. With faith and confidence in the purity of our mission, with goodwill towards all and ill-will towards none, we should march forward with discipline and determination towards our cherished goal of a classless and casteless society in which there will be ample scope for the free and full development of both the individual and the community.

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FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND COMMUNITY IN INDIA

By J. N. WILSON, M.P.

LAST year on the 15th April, Hon. Dr. K. N. Katju, Home Minister, Government of India, made a statement in answer to a question in the Council of States regarding the work and activities of the Foreign Missionaries in this country. In that statement the policy of the Government of India in regard to the import, activities and work—specially the work of evangelicism and proselytization was made clear. This statement became the subject-matter of a great controversy which is still going on. A large number of letters by Christian and non-Christian friends have appeared in the Press. Responsible leaders of the Indian Christian Community have issued statements. More questions on this subject have been since put and answered in some State Legislatures and Parliament. One State Government has set up a Commission to enquire into the working of the Foreign Missionaries. Charges have been made against some of them for carrying on subversive activities in some places, specially in the Naga Hills. The methods of work in the field of evangelicism and proselytization have come under severe criticism. Resolutions opposing the policy as announced in the Home Minister's statement have been adopted by several Christian Associations. Amongst the large number of statements issued to the Press so far mention may be made here to a Statement issued jointly by nine members of the Christian Community including Rev. Dr. Ralla Ram, Executive Secretary of the U.P. National Christian Council and Mr. E. C. Bhatty, Secretary, National Christian Council of India from Nagpur and Rev. John A. Peters, Executive Secretary, Punjab Christian Council.

I have read all these statements and letters, etc., with the care they deserve and have given my most anxious and prayerful thought to this very important question.

Since then Dr. Katju is reported to have made another statement in this connection on the 14th March at Raipur; this and the statements made by Sri Datar, Deputy Home Minister on the 15th March and by Doctor Katju on the 16th March on the floor of the House of the People have made the Government policy absolutely clear. It is evident that the Government have adopted a very liberal policy and we are grateful to them.

All the statements issued by the Christian leaders and the resolutions adopted at various Christian gatherings do not, I very much regret to say, put forward any concrete proposal regarding the activities of the Foreign Missionaries to be carried on nor any directive to the

Church and the Community as to how they should work, now under the changed condition of our country. The policy which has been hitherto pursued by the Foreign Missionaries in respect to our Church and the treatment meted out to the Christians cannot be allowed to be tolerated for ever. The sooner they change the better for all concerned. This raises a question. What is the Indian Christian Church and the Community? Is it not composed of the Foreign Missionaries and a handful of the topmost Indian Christians? The middle class and the masses are nowhere to be seen in this picture. Is it not a house hopelessly divided against itself? Are we not still rotting in the same old rut and dominated by the Foreign Missionaries as we were before the advent of Independence? However, I shall deal with these points on some other occasion. In the present article my object is to deal with the question of Foreign Missionaries. I sincerely feel that the time has come when we must deal with this grave question in a most frank and straightforward manner.

The Foreign Missionaries' work in our country is generally divided in two categories: (1) Social work and (2) Evangelical work.

In the field of social work they have, no doubt, rendered yeoman and valuable services to our country. Their educational and medical work is praised at all hands. Our leaders of all political thought and others have spoken very highly of their valuable and useful service to our country and we are grateful to them for this. The Educational Institutions and Hospitals run by them with the help of Christian nurses and other workers are even today better managed and more disciplined than those run by the Government or private agencies. But in the sphere of Evangelical work they have utterly and dismally failed.

In the beginning of the Foreign Missionaries era in our country very good, generous and noble missionaries came. They were really imbued with the spirit of Jesus Christ. They did very noble and heroic work. But since about 250 or 300 years a different kind of missionaries began to be imported. Their greatest mistake was that they based their work in contravention to the spirit of Christ. Christ based His work on love and compassion. "I first loved you". "I have great compassion on the multitude," said Christ. These Missionaries based their work on prejudice, malice and hatred. "I am not come to destroy but to fulfil," said Christ. The Foreign Misionaries based their work on destruction and condemnation of all even the best in India's culture and civilisation. The high ideals of India's life and philosophy which are regarded with great respect and esteem throughout the world were condemned outright. They tried to westernise Christianity—a religion born and bred up in Asia. They tried to denationalise us, and crush our national aspiration. The work of evangelicism was and has not been carried on the model of Jesus Christ. The methods adopted in conversion were not always free from motives other than pure religion and in many cases were improper. Their treatment towards Indian Christians has always been unkind, degrading and to put it mildly un-Christian.

As regards their taking part in our politics and carrying on subversive activities I cannot say anything about the alleged charges against their work in Naga Hills and elsewhere but I say from my personal experience and knowledge that they did take part in the politics of our country and carried on subversive activities in the British regime, specially during our struggle for Freedom. It is an open secret that they condemned the movement and prevented Indian Christians from taking part in it. What will be their attitude in the future it is for Government to decide and satisfy itself.

Of all the acts of commission and omission committed by the Foreign Missionaries in our land the worst and most sacrilegious one is the sale of the property which is called the Church or Mission property or by any other such name. When they first came to India they needed land for building churches, schools, hospitals, etc., and other property to carry on their work. For the creation of this property contributions in cash and land and buildings and in various other forms were made very liberally by Indian Christians and by many Rajas, Maharajas and Zamindars and other charitably disposed persons. The then Indian Government also rendered great assistance by acquiring land and buildings under the Land Requisition Act free of cost or on nominal price. Thus a huge property was created in this fashion for carrying on work by the Foreign Missionaries in India. Now for the last many years the Foreign Missionaries began to sell this property in part or in whole all over the country. The property which cost a few hundred or thousand and in some cases secured as free gifts was sold for lacs and proceeds were sent out of India under one pretext or the other. Even the Church buildings have been sold and where the purchasers refused to take possession as they looked like "place of worship," the Foreign Missionaries removed all such signs, such as 'Cross' 'Altar' and 'Pulpits', etc. Some of the church buildings are now used as place of business or wine shops. Our Lord Jesus Christ had great regard and respect for churches. He called them 'The House of My Father.' This house of His Father has been desecrated and profaned by His white disciples in India, of course, with the active help and support by some of our Indian Christian leaders. This act has deeply wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Indian Christians and lowered their prestige in the eyes of the Indian public. This continued till about a year back. The Indian Christian Association and other Christian bodies raised their voice against this most undesirable act but to no effect. Was it legally and morally right on their part to usurp a property which was formed with money and labour of both Indian Christians and Foreign Missionaries?

Now I shall endeavour to deal with some important points raised in the various statements, specially in the joint statement issued by nine leaders of our community.

Mr. E. C. Bhatty, Secretary N.C.C. and other friends have questioned the propriety of the Fundamental Rights in connection with propagation and conversion of religion by the Foreign Missionaries. Hon. Dr. Katju and other friends have made this point clear and I need not say anything except that the Indian Constitution does not put the Foreign Missionaries on a par with the Indian Nationals.

It is said that the Foreign Missionaries have become part and parcel of the Christian Church in India. May I very humbly ask what will become of such churches in case of any hostility arising between India and U.S.A. or U.K. or any other European country from which these missionaries have come? Will they not be considered as foreign pockets in India?

It is repeatedly asserted that we are loyal to the Government of the day. It means we were loyal to the British Government in the past. Today we are loyal to the present Government and tomorrow we shall be loyal to any other Foreign Government that may happen to govern our country. If we keep this attitude may I ask national of what country we shall be? In my opinion we should be loyal to our country. Our first and foremost loyalty is no doubt to our Lord Jesus Christ and then our wholehearted loyalty should be to our motherland. Mention has been made of the Ramakrishna Mission spreading Hindu faith in U.S.A. and other European countries and an effort has been made to compare the work of that mission with the work of the foreign missionaries in India. For obvious reasons the comparison does not hold good.

The nine leaders also point out in their statement that to stop Foreign Missionaries to do spiritual work and allow only to do social work savours of 'subtle materialism' which appears to me beside the point. When in the beginning the Christian Divines came to this country with the message of Christ they were always welcomed.

Now I venture very humbly to lay before our leaders some suggestions as to how we shall cope with the present situation.

Our greatest need of the present time is the establishment of an Indian Church—a Church of Christ in India—absolutely free from any control of the Foreign Missionaries. Was not this the main object of the Foreign Missionaries to come to this country? I would very earnestly appeal to all Foreign Missionaries to help us in building an Indian Church and the greatest help they can render in this direction is to "Quit" from the scene of all Christian work—social and evangelical and hand over all management to the Indian Christians. There is no use of assuring us that the work is being transferred gradually in instalments. I sincerely assure the Foreign Missionaries and all those concerned that a great section of the Christians subscribe to this view. They sincerely feel that the time has come when they must go. Their only apprehension is the paucity of funds to carry on this huge work. To solve the pecuniary difficulty I would make a suggestion. We should draw up a five-year plan. Our population is about one crore. We should raise at the average of one rupee per head per year. This will bring us about five crores. With this sum and with the income which will accrue to us from the property which will be made productive we shall be able to manage all our work easily.

The second need is the unity. There are a number of missions which are dividing us. Besides this, there are also a number of unions and associations with different aims and objects working all over the country. An All-India Organisation should be formed to coordinate the activities of those bodies. Great unity will be achieved when an Indian Church is established.

The third need is that a radical change should be brought about in the present Constitution and set up of the National Christian Council. Its present leadership which is predominantly influenced by the Foreign Missionaries does not command the respect and faith of the rank and file of our community. It has not been able to solve any of our problems nor it has identified itself with the daily toils and tears of the life of our people.

Now I would say a word to our Government. We the Indian Christians are also a limb of this Great Secular Republic and as such I would appeal to the Government to pay its attention to our grievances and backwardness.

Firstly, I would request to appoint a high level commission to enquire and report into the working of the Foreign Missionaries vis-a-vis the condition of the poor Christians who mostly live in the slums of the mission compounds.

Secondly, Indian Christians being very poor cannot afford to give higher education to their children. Hence they are backward in education. I would request the Government to include them also in the benefits which are given to other members of the backward communities.

Thirdly, I am bringing a Bill before the Parliament to enact a law for transferring all the property which is called mission or church property or by any such name as mentioned above to the churches of various denominations in India and would request the Government to accept this as a Governmental measure. The Indian Christians are the legal beneficiaries of this property and the Government should help them in this matter.

In the end I would very earnestly appeal to Foreign Missionaries and the leaders of our community to read the writing on the wall. The Foreign Missionaries should have long ago said in the words of John the Baptist, "He must increase but I must decrease." Let the Foreign Missionaries decrease and let the Indian Church increase. And to our leaders I would request to rise to the occasion. Don't let the larger interests of the Indian Church be sacrificed for our misplaced love and affection for the Foreign Missionaries.

BENGAL IN MANBHUM, DHALBHUM AND ADJOINING AREAS

By CHUNI LAL RAY

II

A HUNDRED and twenty years after Bengali was prescribed by Regulations IV, V and VI of 1793 as Court language, in addition to Persian, in Courts in the area which had originally formed part of Subah Bangala, a notification No. 379J dated 21st August, 1913, was issued by the Government of the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa, making the following changes :

Bhagalpur Division, subdivisions of the Santal Parganas district other than Godda : Both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali. (Godda subdivision, having come from Subah Bihar, had Hindusthani already, and had no need for alternate Court language Bengali, the Bengali-speaking population being only 11,000).

Chota Nagpur Division : Both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali in Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district.

Very large numbers of Hindi-speaking people had immigrated into Dhanbad, Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara Pakur and Rajmahal during the 120 years from 1793 ; and there was clear necessity of providing, for their benefit a Court language which they could understand. The Census of 1911 showed for Dhanbad, Hindi-speaking population 177,000 of whom over 70,000 had migrated from Hindi-speaking districts of Bihar, for work in the alfield area. In the Santal Parganas, the Hindi-speaking population figures were, in 1911, 256,000 in Deoghar, 166,000 in Dumka, 121,000 in Rajmahal, 54,000 in Jamtara and 29,400 in Pakur. The phenomenon referred to in page 66 of Vol. XXII of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (edition of 1908), *viz.*, steady "large influx from adjoining districts west of a line drawn approximately through the centre of the district, *i.e.*, from Bhagalpur, Monghyr, and Hazaribagh" and the pushing out of Santals (and, along with Santals, some Bengalees as well) to "districts east of this line, to Purnea, Malda, Murshidabad, Birbhum, rdwan and farther away, those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of quasi-laterite known as the Barind" had further gained in strength by 1911.

Some minor verbal changes were made in a notification of 1933 ; the words "Nagri or Kaithi" were replaced by "Hindusthani to be written in the Nagri or Kaithi script," and the words "Bengali in the rest of the Division" (Chota Nagpur) were changed to "Bengali in the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum district and in Pargana Dhalbhum." A notification of a year later, *viz*, of November 1934, brought in a material change, by extending to Pargana Dhalbhum in Singhbhum district both Hindusthani in the Nagri or Kaithi script, and Bengali," same as in Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district. Tatas' Iron and Steel works had attracted to Jamshedpur immigrants from all over India ; and, by 1931, Hindi-speakers numbered nearly 50,000 (possibly nearly 60,000 by the end of 1934), more than 90 per cent being temporary immigrants. As a result of notifications up to 1934, the area of only Bengali was brought down to the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum district only ; Bengali and Hindi or Kaithi were to be alternative languages in Deoghar, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur and Rajmahal subdivisions of the Santal Parganas, in Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district and in Dhalbhum subdivision of Singbhum district.

A much more far-reaching change was effected in June 1948, less than a year after attainment of Independence for the Indian Union. The Government of Bihar declared "in supersession of all previous notifications and orders on the subject, that Hindi to be written in Devanagri character shall be the language of the Courts in the Province of Bihar : Provided that, in the Sadar Subdivision of the district of Manbhum and in Sadar, Pakur, Rajmahal and Jamtara Subdivisions of the Santal Parganas district, Bengali to be written in the Bengali character shall be an optional language of the Courts." The effect of this was, first, insistence of Devanagri instead of alternative Kaithi script for Hindi, secondly, the banning of Bengali as one of the alternate languages for the subdivisions of Deoghar, Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, and thirdly, Hindi prescribed for Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum as the main Court language, Bengali being relegated to the inferior position of an optional language in this subdivision and in Sadar, Pakur, Rajmahal and Jamtara Subdivisions of the Santal Parganas.

The Bengali-speakers' dislike for relegation of Bengali to "optional" status as against alternative language status of the past is, of course, more a sentimental than a real grievance. But this cannot be said of the banning of Bengali, even as an alternative or optional language, in Deoghar, Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, on grounds which it would be difficult to justify. Dhanbad has to-day 1 lakh and 86 thousand Bengali-speakers, at least 70 per cent of whom belong to permanently resident families ; and this is a larger number than the Hindi-speaking population of 1913 (about 1 lakh and 82 thousand, of whom at least 75 thousand were temporary migrants from Hindi-speaking districts of Bihar) for whose benefit Hindi had been prescribed in 1913. Dhalbhum also has a Bengali-speaking population of 1 lakh and 86 thousand, at least 70 per cent permanently resident, which is much larger than the Hindi-speaking population, not only of 1931 (which was less than 50,000) but also of the 1 lakh and 25 thousand of 1951, including 12 thousand immigrants from Uttar Pradesh, 18 thousand from Madhya Pradesh, 3 thousand from Rajasthan, 12 thousand from Ranchi-Hazaribagh-Palamau and 19 thousand from districts of Bihar proper. Even Deoghar's present-day Bengali-speaking population of 39 thousand in rural areas plus about 10 thousand in towns exceeds the 30 thousand Hindi-speakers which Pakur had in 1913 when Hindi was prescribed for their benefit as an alternative Court language. Permanently resident Bengali-speakers find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the denial to them of facilities equal to what were provided in 1913 and in 1934 for the benefit chiefly of floating populations of Hindi-speakers, much fewer in numbers.

The order relating to the language for publication of electoral rolls for Dhalbhum subdivision excluding Jamshedpur city is in pleasing contrast to the orders relating to the Court language. Rules promulgated as recently as the earlier months of the present year 1954, provide for Bengali as well as Hindi, a clear recognition of the importance of the Bengali-speaking population in this area, It would indeed be very graceful if the Bihar Government take cognizance of this in respect of Court language also, reconsider the order of 19·8, and again recognise Bengali as an alternative language with Hindi in Courts and public offices in Dhalbhum. Still more graceful would be reconsideration of the orders, not only about Court language but about the language for electoral rolls as well, for at least the eastern portion of the Dhanbad subdivision, if not the entire subdivision with its Bengali-speaking population of 1 lakh and 86 thousand. Under orders passed by the Governor in Council in 1921, Nirsha and Tundi thanas in the eastern end of Dhanbad subdivision got their Records of Rights written in Bengali, (while other thanas got Hindi Records). Electoral rolls also were being published in Bengali for these two thanas; but the new rules promulgated this year have made Hindi the only language for electoral rolls for the entire Dhanbad sublivision. Nirsha is predominantly Bengali-speaking, colliery labour in this area being drawn mostly from the adjoining villages (while the Jharia coalfield depends chiefly on immigrant labour). Tundi is peopled by Bengalees and by Santals, the latter being bi-lingual, with Bengali as their second language. Conditions intermediate between the two prevail in the portion of Govindpur thana that intervenes between Nirsha and Tundi, and also in that further portion of Govindpur thana east of the Baliapur road, which, having no coal or other industry, has not attracted immigrants. Hindi-speakers certainly predominate in the rest of the subdivision; but, here too, Bengali-speakers number about a lakh, and they feel the need for Court language Bengali, in addition, of course, to Hindi.

The following extracts from Settlement Officer Mr. B. K. Gokhale, I.C.S's Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in Manbhum, 1918-1925, will possibly not be out of place in this connection :

> "There was no controversy about the language of the Record in Sadr. The language question in Dhanbad was, however, the subject-matter of some agitation. As early as 1918, agreeing with the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum and the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad (Mr. Luby), the Board of Revenue recommended that the Record of Rights for the whole of Dhandad subdivision should be written in Hindi; this recommendation was accepted by the Government in their letter no. 5107. R-S-139 dated 7th August, 1918. Four memorials were then submitted to Government protesting against this decision. These were supported by the Additional Deputy Commissioner Mr. Hoe and by the Board, but the Government adhered to their original decision which they declined to reconsider. In 1921 the question was again examined by the Governor in Council, and it was then decided that the Record of Rights should be prepared in Bengali for the revenue thanas Nirsha and Tundi, and in Hindi for the rest of the subdivision.* * *No useful purpose would now be served in discussing the reasons for, and against, this decision. Almost all the documents and papers produced by landlords and raiyats in Block E* were, however, found to be written in Bengali, and there *was much difficulty in getting landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record.** *Now that the Record of Rights has been prepared in Hindi, it is desirable that every effort be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all vernacular schools in the area, so that, in a short time, there will be at least one man in each village who can read the Record and thus enable the villagers to take full advantage of it."

No comment is necessary on Mr. Gokhale's observations, except that his hope of "at least one man in each village who can read the record," and that also to materialise " in a short time" is positively pathetic.

Records of Rights for the entire Dhalbhum subdivision were prepared in Bengali only. Hindi-speakers were practically unknown—they were less than 4 per cent of the total population at the time of the last Settlement operations—though it has since been claimed that Dhalbhum is part of the Biharees' homeland. For the Santal Parganas, the statement below shows the languages used in the Revisional Settlements of 1922-35 and also in the previous Settlement :

Subdivision	*Language used in writing records* Last Settlement	Revisi Settlem
Jamtara	Bengali	B
Pakur, zemindari and Damin	Bengali	B
Dumka South	Bengali	B
Rajmahal, zemindari and Damin excluding Sahebganj thana	Bengali	Be
Deoghar, taluk Koron	Bengali	Be
Deoghar, excluding taluk Koron	Bengali	Hi
Dumka, Damin-i-Koh	Bengali	Hi
Dumka North	Bengali & Hindi	Hi
Rajmahal, thana Sahebganj	Bengali	Hi
Godda, zemindari and Damin	Hindi	Hi

Mr. Gantzer, the Revisional Settlement Officer, notes that "during the course of the revision operations of taluk Kesri in Dumka petitions were filed by tenants of taluk Kesri in Dumka subdivision and taluk Saldaha in Deoghar subdivision praying to have their records written in Bengali as in the last settlement. * * These applications were rejected."

That, for taluk Koron in Deoghar subdivision Bengali was retained as the language for the R of Rights, is a fact suggesting that, for Deoghar subdivision also with a Bengali-speaking population of 39,217 in rural areas and possibly some 8 to 10 thousand more in the towns of Deoghar and Madhupur, recommendation similar to what has been made, in a previous paragraph, in respect of Dhanbad, would not be an unjustifiably liberal concession to Bengalee sentiment. Pakur and Jamtara got Hindi as alternative language in 1913 for the benefit of Hindi-speakers numbering no more than 29 thousand and 54 thousand respectively.

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* Block E is the portion of Dhanbad subdivision with the lar- gest proportion of Hindi-speakers, *viz*, the Hindi-speaking lies of Nowagarh and Katras, Hindi-speaking Bhuyyans and grants from Hindi-speaking areas.

The following figures relating to linguistic distribution of the population in Manbhum, as recorded in successive censuses, are of interest.

Entire district, including Dhanbad Subdivision

Year of census	Total population	Mother-tongue		
		Bengali	Hindi	Santali
1881	1058228	880878	109781	100047
1891	1193328	907890	121798	161374
1901	1301364	942575	162864	181687
1911	1547576	983338	327768	218355
1921	1518777	1035386	289356	204219
1931	1810890	1222689	321696	242091
1941	2032146	not available		
1951	2279259	991126	979258	262526

Separate figures for Dhanbad Subdivision, available only for 1911, 1931 *and* 1951.

Year of census	Total population	Bengali	Hindi	Santali
1911	384122	138285	176696	65301
1931	521092	176036	259421	73377
1951	731700	186063	475951	49205

Of the figures noted above, the following need special examination: (1) the very large increase in Hindi in 1911, followed by a substantial fall in 1921, and (2) in 1951, the remarkable decrease in Bengali for the district as a whole, the remarkable increase in Hindi in both Sadar and Dhanbad and the remarkable fall in Santali in Dhanbad.

The first of these is explained entirely by different meanings given at different times and by different persons to the word Kurmali. In the August number, I concluded with the note that Dr. Grierson's and Mr. Coupland's figures justified the assumption that, of Kurmis in Manbhum, only about 20 per cent spoke the Bihari-based Kurmali dialect, but that the remaining 80 per cent had Western Bengali (sometimes described as Rarhiboli) as their mother-tongue. But the word Kurmali is very misleading (as Dr. Grierson had noted); and this was responsible for a very curious mistake that was committed in the later stages of the 1911 Census, susequent to a mysterious disappearance of many lakhs of Census slips for several thanas of Manbhum and Ranchi districts from the Divisional Compilation office in Hazaribagh. Mr. Allderson, the Compiling Officer, thought that it would be possible to work out the Language Tables without further local enquiries in the thanas for which the slips had been lost, simply by taking the figures for Kurmi caste (Caste Tables had already been compiled) as equivalent to the numbers of persons speaking the Kurmali dialect and the others as Bengali-speakers in Manbhum and as Mundari or Hindi-speakers in Ranchi. Nobody noticed at the time the absurdity of the resultant increase at one bound in the numbers of Kurmali-speakers, from 44,214 in 1901 to 211,411 in 1911, or by 378 per cent in Manbhum, and from 183 to 20,875 or by 1,130 per cent in Ranchi. Even the Privincial Superintendent of Census fell into the error of propounding the thesis that "Kurmali, as the name implies, is the language of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur" in para 730 of his Report, the very same para in which he quoted, without dissent, the report from Mayurbhanj that "the mother-tongue of the Kurmis of Mayurbhanj is Bengali, with the peculiar intonation belonging to them." Other points irreconcilable with the thesis were the facts that Hazaribagh did not return a single Kurmali-speaker, in spite of its Kurmi population of 84,589, and that, of Ranchi's 56,535 Kurmis, only 20,875 were shown as Kurmali-speaking. Mr. O'Malley's own observation in para 721 that "in some parts, Kurmali is said to be unmistakably Bengali" was yet another point against his thesis.

The mistake of 1911 became quite evident during the Compilation stage of the 1921 Census, when even the most meticulous search failed to bring out more than 49,675 entries for Kurmali in Manbhum (no mention was made of the number found in Ranchi). There were 24,520 entries for Khotta, Khottahi, etc; and although Mr. Tallents, the Census Superintendent, found it "impossible to say that Khotta is either Hindi or Bengali," he added the 24,520 Khotta to the 49,675 Kurmali "as it (Khotta) had been treated as Hindi in 1911." Reduction in the Kurmali-Khotta figure from 211,411 of 1911 to 74,195 in 1921 was only a return to the original and correct meaning of the word Kurmali, *viz.*, the Magahi dialect with some admixture of Bengali that is spoken by Kurmis and also by others who have migrated from the Ranchi plateau, where Hindi is spoken, to the sub-plateau area of that district and the adjoining north-western part of Manbhum district. Unfortunately, however this was not clearly mentioned in the Census Report, and there was no formal cancellation of the very incorrect thesis that "Kurmali is the tribal language of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur."

There was nothing unusual in the Census of 1931, except that separate mention of the Kurmali dialect and of its speakers was quietly dropped. There was no compilation of Language Tables in the Census of 1941. The 1951 Census Superintendent's Report reveals a strange phenomenon, *viz.*, "social and political consciousness among the Kurmis and other indigenous tribes of Manbhum and the Santhal Parganas who are mostly backward socially and politically," and of their "preference to return Hindi as their mother-tongue, and Bengali as the second language," as a sequel to "increased awareness among Kurmis and other indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect." But another observation by the Census Superintendent that "there is some admixture of distinctly Bengali elements in the Bihari dialects spoken in Manbhum, and it is not always easy to distinguish between these Bihari dialects and the western Rarhi form of Bengali which is spoken in

Manbhum," makes it pretty clear that the "increased awareness of the language spoken at home being a dialect of Bihari" was a mere delusion. Equally delusive would be the classification as Hindi or Bihari (either Magahi or Maithili or Bhojpuri) of the sentence from Santal Paraganas district, "*Amon darogar moton offisera aschhe je dekhe bhoi hoi**" which was reproduced in the Bihar Legislative Assembly on the 26th March, 1949 by Sri Brijlal Dokania, M.L.A. from the Pakur-Rajmahal constituency. It is strange that statements made under such evident delusion should have been left unchallenged by the Census staff, and should have been accepted as correct statements eligible for record in Census slips. If bearded men of a fairly advanced age, in religious frenzy of worshipping Sri Krishna in Gopika fashion, made statements that they were milkmaid girls of 16 or 17 hailing from Brindaban, such statements would certainly not be accepted, and may even lead to prosecution if the statements are persisted in. Is any better treatment due to statements of mother-tongue Hindi by persons who cannot speak a word of Hindi, persons who speak, in their homes, a language which the Census Superintendent finds it difficult to distinguish from the western Rarhi form of Bengali as spoken in Manbhum, and, who, in their conversation with outsiders, speak in what is admittedly Rarhi Bengali? Why, further, are such people described as bi-lingual, when, both at home and in conversation with outsiders, they speak in Rarhi Bengali or in some language which it is not easy to distinguish from Rarhi Bengali?

A recent report from Manbazar police-station adds piquancy to the situation. While, for 40 long years and more, we had been treated with dissertations, even in judgments pronounced by the Judicial Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, about, "Kurmali," the tribal language of aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur" being "a subdialect of Magahi" (which the genuine Kurmali is, as spoken by immigrants from Ranchi plateau into the subplateau Panch Pargana area of that district and the adjoining north-western portion of Manbhum district), a leaflet under the name *Navodaya* that was posted on walls of shops in the marketplace of Manbazar on the 26th July last, a few days subsequent to ex-minister Sri Binodananda Jha's tour in Manbhum district, declared that Maithili was the mother-tongue of every one in Manbhum district except of the band of 11 foreigners who accept Atul Ghosh as their leader and have formed themselves into a bogus Lok-Sangha.

It is indeed strange that, while a highly educated gentleman like Sri Ranchhor Prasad, I.A.S., the Provincial Census Superintendent, finds it difficult to distinguish between the so-called "Bihari dialects spoken in Manbhum and the western form of Rarhi Bengali as spoken in Manbhum," and presumably also to discover similarity with any one of the genuine dialects of Bihari, unsophisticated villagers of Manbhum, so far away from Bihar proper, should have acquired the fine sense of discovering kinship between the language which they speak in their homes and Magahi as spoken in the districts of Patna Division and in South Monghyr or Maithili as spoken in Sahafsa and Da

Yet another point worth mentioning in this nection is that, in the nineties of the 19th century, brilliant Bihari Deputy Collector, Munshi Nundjee was working on the Ghatwali *paemaish* among Bhumijes of Barabhum and Manbhum parganas, suspected that these Bhumijes had the least inkling Magahi or Maithili or of any other Bihari dialect; he invariably wrote his *roobakaris* in the plain Beng language which he believed to be the mother-tongue the Bhumijes and also of the majority of others whom he was working. Fifty long years passed Munshi Nundjee's time without any material change the situation. But the Independence of 1947 has last aroused an awareness, and an awareness that steadily increasing, although this awareness is only illusion, that the language which Bhumijes of Bara and Manbhum parganas speak in their homes is a lect of Bihari—it does not matter much whether it a subdialect of Magahi or of Maithili or even of Mu Nundjee's Bhojpuri. And the Bihari craze has spread also to Bauris, even though they may be the people as those in what Mr. Oldham described as Bauriland of Bankura and Burdwan; it has spread to Desaoli Santals and even to Adibasi-speaking Sa whose number in Dhanbad has, on this account, from 73,377 in 1931 to only 49,205 in 1951. In D bhum the number of Bhumij-speakers has, for the reason, come down from 22,828 in 1931 to a mere in 1951. In the Santal Parganas, the craze has affe males more than females, among the Malto-speakers least; and 67,042 Malto-speakers of 1931 have be replaced by only 23,774, of whom 18,030 are fem and only 5,744 are males!

Sri Ranchhor Prasad deserves thanks for hav found out the main cause for the growth of this aw ness (or delusion) of indigenous castes of Manbh and Santal Parganas about the language spoken at ho being a Bihari dialect.

> It is, in his opinion, "the opening of a la number of Hindi schools in the border areas. the course of the last 6 or 7 years, Hindi has be introduced in most of the schools which were ex ing from before. In addition, 400 Hindi sch teaching up to the Upper Primary standard, and night schools, which also teach Hindi, have be started in this district (Manbhum). * * The dency to claim Hindi as the mother-tongue at 1951 Census appears to have been accelerated by opening of a large number of Hindi schools."

"Accelerated" is the word used by the Cen Superintendent; but a more appropriate expres would be "created" or "generated." It is only a motion (or power) has been generated that acce tion can come in; and there had been no gene the awareness (or delusion) about the language sp at home being a dialect of Hindi or of the prefere return Hindi as the mother-tongue, prior to the ope of the hundreds of Hindi schools in purely Be speaking areas.

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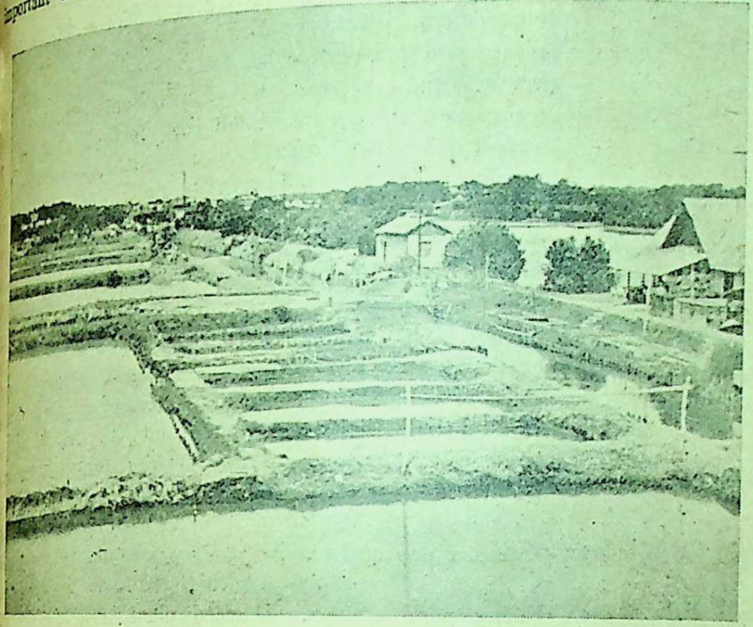
* एमन दारोगार मतन अफिसारेरा आसछे ये देखे भय

PHILIPPINE FISH CULTURE

BY WALLACE E. McINTYRE

THROUGHOUT monsoon Asia, fish culture in ponds, rice paddies and shallow bays occupies a prominent part of the land utilization pattern. In general, it is most important in the heavily populated areas of intensive population pressure. Thus in China, Japan and Indonesia, fish products are grown in conjunction or alternation with the regular crop mainstays. However, fish culture is by no means a universal practice throughout southeast Asia, even in areas well suited to such a crop, and for this reason the development and improvement of fish culture represent a significant addition to the food resources of many of its regions.

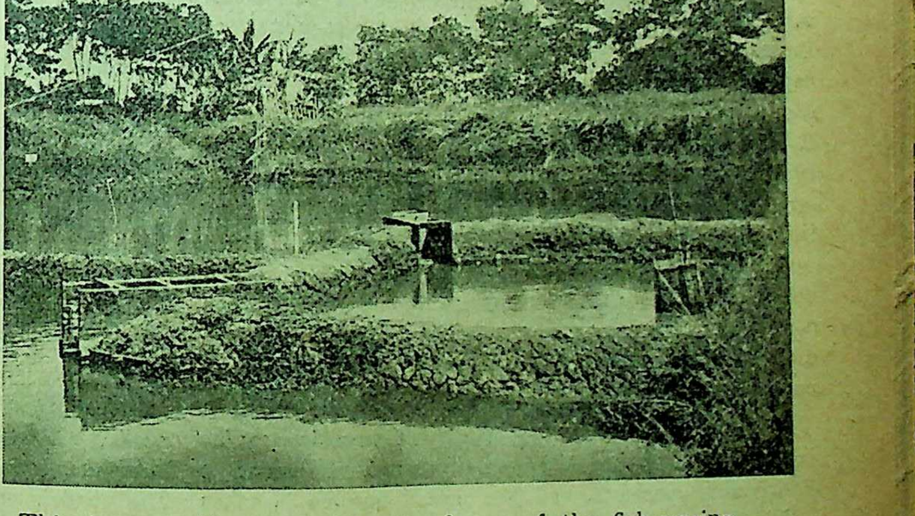


At these experimental ponds at the Dagatdagatan Saltwater Fishery Experimental Station new techniques are being developed

Since 1902, population of the Republic of the Philippines has grown from about 7,000,000 to 20,000,000. This increase, plus the traditional emphasis on production of export agricultural products, brought about a marked pressure upon the food resources of the islands. With a rice and fish national diet, the nation finds itself in the predicament of being a rice and fish importer. Estimates of the Institute of Nutrition place the normal per capita consumption of fish at 25.55 kilograms of fish annually; this makes the fish needs of the country approximately 511,000,000 kilograms. Of this amount, 296,000,000 kilograms were produced by the Philippine fish industry in 1951. Yet the islands contain 600,000 hectares of swamp land plus extensive tide flats, lagoons and shallow harbors and bays, many of which are good sites for fish culture projects.

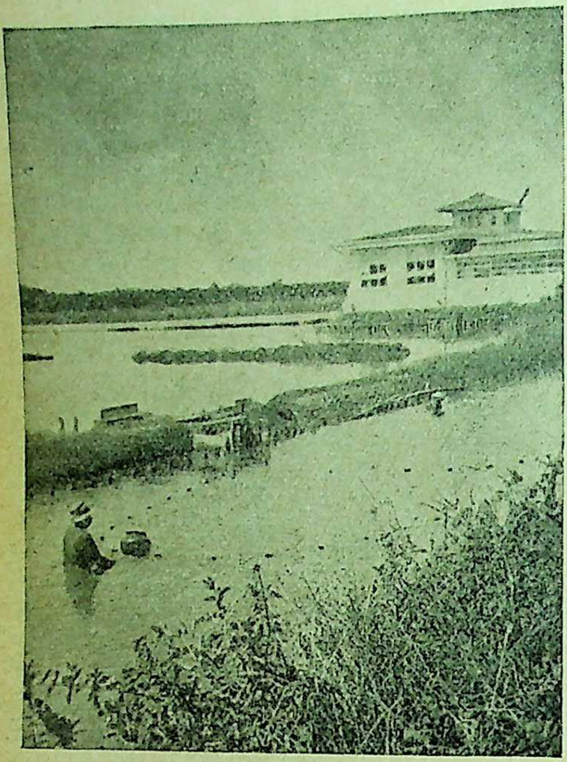
If all the unutilized waters could be used in fish production, a sufficient supply of protein food for the entire population undoubtedly could be obtained. It is toward this goal that the Bureau of Fisheries and other government agencies of the Republic of the Philippines have been working, by establishing model fish culture centers, introducing new fish types, training fishermen, financing fish pond construction, leasing public lands, carrying out research in fishery problems and similar activities.

In the Philippines, only estuarine waters are used for fish culture. Salt-water swamp lands are utilized for pond rearing of the bangos or milk fish; shallow bays and inlets serve as sites for oyster farming. The Philippine Bureau of Fisheries estimates that estuarine waters are two to five times more productive per unit area than agricultural land.



This is a catching compartment of one of the fish-rearing pond systems developed by the Republic of the Philippines Bureaus of Fisheries

Althoug the cultivation of bangos is an old industry in the Philippines, it is only recently that research and modern techniques have been applied to show the full possibilities of fish culture. At the present, bangos culture has developed three separate phases or operations in some areas. Catching and handling of the fry has become an established industry, while rearing the fry to a fingerling stage has been separated from the production of marketable fish.



Recent development in the cultivation of bangos or milk fish, an old industry in the Republic of the Philippines

Although acclimated to brackish and even freshwater under artificial conditions, the bangos is a natural inhabitant of the open sea and will not reproduce except in its native saltwater. Depending on the locality the fry season lasts from March to August with a peak in May and June. The fry are caught in many areas, such as Balayan and Batangas Bays, and along the sandy coasts and river mouths in Mindoro, Marinduque, Samar, Leyte, eastern Luzon, Zambales, Oriental Negros, southern Panay and others. Tiny and almost transparent needle-like fry are caught in abaca cloth push nets and a variety of seines and traps. They are placed in earthen jars with fresh seawater, about 2,000 to 3,300 fry each.

Fishermen are paid for their catch according to the quantity. The fry are sold at the beach to representatives of fishpond operators, and the unsold surplus is taken to Manila by train, truck and airplane. Fishpond operators near Manila Bay obtain the fry from wholesale depots.

Although the practice of raising the fry to market size in a continuous operation still is common, certain fishpond owners limit their activities to raising fry only to the fingerling stage. In turn, the fingerlings are sold to other fishpond owners who continue the process to the marketable stage.

Nursery ponds for fingerling production range in size from 500 to 5,000 square meters, separated into units by low partition dikes with inlet and drainage pipes. Prior to stocking, the ponds are drained and leveled, after which a series of flooding, draining and drying activities is carried out in order to rid the pond of predators. For operating conditions, the pond depth is maintained at three to five centimeters in order to prevent the growth of filamentous algae, while encouraging the growth of lab lab, the food of the young bangos. Lab lab consists of a large assemblage of microscopic plants and animals closely associated with the bottom soil. It develops at the pond floor in a greenish, brownish or yellowish mat or scum.

When the pond is covered with lab lab, it is stocked with an average of 30 to 50 fry per square meter. Nursery pond water remains quite salty, receiving only occasional changing with new tidal water. During a hard rain, the water level is raised to prevent a rapid change in salinity and temperature. In time, the supply of lab lab becomes exhausted, necessitating artificial feeding. When this happens, rice bran is broadcast over the ponds twice a day at the rate of 5 to 12 kilograms per hectare.

After one and one-half to two months, the fingerlings are 5 to 10 centimeters long, and may be sold to rearing pond owners. By controlling the food supply, however, the fish may be stunted at this stage for one to two years, thus maintaining a supply of fingerlings throughout the year. Despite the fact that bangos spawn but once annually, multiple cropping in the fishponds is feasible.

Good rearing pond systems include three compartments: the catching pond, the holding pond and the rearing pond. The catching pond is a small subdivision 10 to 30 meters on each side, located near the main gate. As do many other fish, the bangos tend to swim against a current; so, by admitting water to the pond the fish can be concentrated in the catching pond for harvesting.

Fingerlings are kept for some time in the holding pond. The food provided in the deeper water of the rearing pond is filamentous algae (lumut). A stay in the holding pond helps the fish in this change of diet from lab lab to lumut, and also enables them to grow a bit larger and thereby to be more capable of withstanding enemies in the big ponds.

Finally, rearing ponds are stocked with 1,000 to 1,500 fingerlings per hectare, and from then on the fish need little attention. The water goes stale eventually, but since it is stocked, it cannot be changed completely. The pond is merely freshened by admitting water through the main gate during high tide and allowing it to escape during low tide. When the food is exhausted, algae from outside sources are planted, and certain types of seaweed are added as substitute food.

Depending upon the food available, bangos reach marketable size, about 1-1/2 pounds, in three to six months. With the development of the fingerling industry, so that fingerlings may be ordered throughout the year, and the use of substitutes for algae as food, two to four crops of fish may be produced each year. Each crop should amount to at least 1,500 pounds per hectare, and would far exceed the expected return per hectare of rice.

Concomitantly with the bangos, giant shrimp fry also are placed in the ponds. Shrimp and other fish often enter during the freshening activities, to add further to pond production. Some crustacean pests which bore holes in the dikes are also edible.

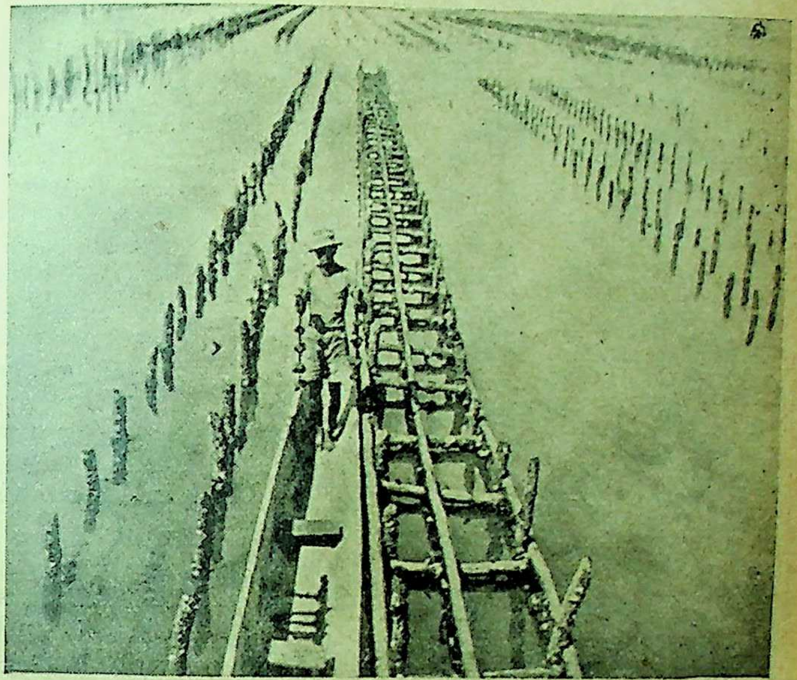
Despite the abundance of freshwater swamps, artificial reservoirs, irrigation canals and paddy fields, no freshwater pond cultivation of any importance takes place in the Philippines. Farmers catch dalag, the interesting air-breathing fish, in rice paddies. Several other native fish are caught and trapped in paddies, and streams, but none of this is planned fish culture. Yet in many areas of Indonesia and south-east Asia, freshwater fish are cultivated in large numbers in rice paddies, door-yard ponds and reservoirs, and in Thailand, even in wooden boxes. Fresh-water fish culture not only provides a convenient source of protein and increases productivity of the land, but it also overcomes the lack of transportation and refrigerating facilities which contribute to the expense and scarcity of fish in inland areas.

In order to encourage freshwater fish culture, the Bureau of Fisheries has introduced several proven species, such as the gouramy from Indonesia, and the plasalit and tilapia from Thailand. Demonstration fish ponds have been costructed, literature has been made available to the public, and fry of gouramy, plasalit and tilapia have been raised and distributed.

Shellfish culture in natural brackish and estuarine waters, not considering fish ponds, represents another potential source of protein. At the present, only a small amount of oysters and kapis (windowpane shells) is produced by farming techniques, although oysters are common in many coastal areas of the Philippines.

Oysters are found in tidal rivers, creeks, salt marshes and landlocked bays where the bottom ordinarily is semi-sandy, hard and sticky. For many years, small plots of oysters have been cultivated at Bacoor Bay (southeastern Manila Bay), in tidal streams and lagoons just north and south of Manila and in several other points along the western and northern coast of Luzon. Bacoor Bay in Cavite contains about 200 hectares of privately owned oyster farms, while 10,000 hectares await development in Lingayen Gulf.

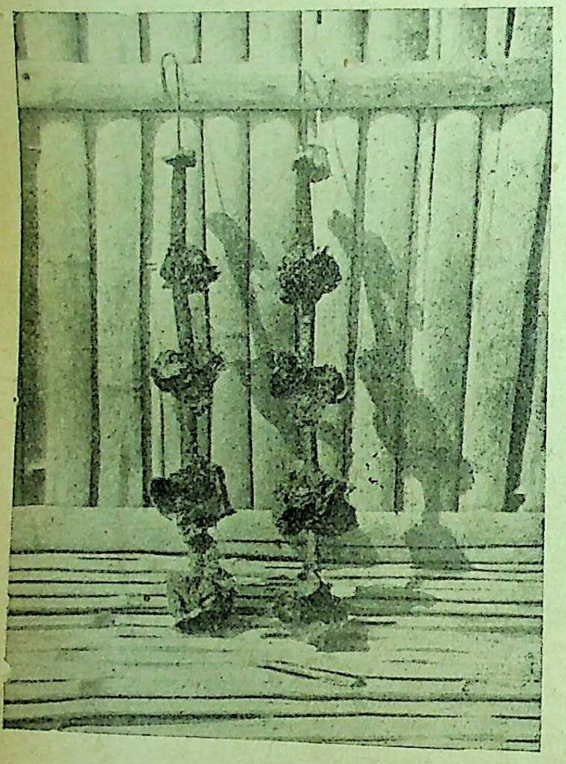
In the Bacoor Bay-Manila region, oyster rearing areas do not provide the firm bottom most suited to oysters, and commonly are mudchoked shallows rapidly filling with silt. In order to prevent smothering of the oysters, and also to utilize the water vertically, several types of hanging methods of culture were copied from Japan, and the tray method from Australia. The first method used, and one commonly observed in the more sheltered tidal streams and lagoons, is the stake or tulus method. In this case, bamboo stakes are driven into the mud, with old oyster valves or tin cans impaled upon the stakes to serve as spat collectors. In less protected or larger areas, sturdy bamboo posts are driven into the bottom as supports for long horizontal bamboo poles which are placed at levels within the tide range. For the hanging or bitin method, wires with a crook on one end are hung vertically from the horizontal poles. Old valves are threaded on the wires as cultch, thus enabling the growing oysters to live above the muddy bottom and to use efficiently the available space. In many shallow areas, a variation of this method is used, whereby long slender poles threaded with cultch are suspended horizontally between the bamboo posts. Usually four 20-meter "long lines" are spaced about 8 inches apart on a frame. This is the line or sampayan method. The tray or screen method consists of placing cultch on chicken wire or bamboo screening which is built in the form of movable trays. These are easy to move from place to place and are convenient for fattening marketable oysters, or for improving undersized oysters collected from stake or hanging methods.



Oyster farms abound in the Bacoor Bay-Manila region in the Republic of the Philippines

In more remote coastal areas, several more primitive techniques are used locally. Bamboo logs are staked to the bottom at the margin of tidal creeks so that oyster spats may attach themselves to the bamboo. Where big stones and coral rocks are available, the stones are arranged in suitable areas along the shores of a cove. Oyster spats eventually attach to the rocks.

No attempt has been made to obtain statistics on oyster production in the Philippines. Many are produced only for subsistence. There is little demand for them on the market. Lack of ice and adequate transportation is a handicap which presumably can be overcome in time if the market justifies it.



Oysters growing on wires, in the hanging or bitin method, is one of several techniques used in the Republic of the Philippines in the practice of fish culture

An interesting product usually associated with regular oyster farming is the windowpane shell, known in the Tagalog dialect as "kapis." This shell is a pearl oyster, Placuna placenta, whose entire shell, including the meat, is about one centimeter in thickness, whereas the average short diameter of large shells is about 12 to 14 centimeters. Because the right valve is flat, it is more valuable than the slightly convex left valve. Kapis beds are widely distributed throughout the Philippines. Conditions favorable to oysters are favorable to Kapis. However, the shell is free and unattached, and sometimes it is thickly covered with mud and debris.

Utilizing the extensive low tide flats of Bacoor Bay, the Philippine Bureau of Fisheries operates an experimental and demonstration oyster and kapis farm near the village of Binakayan, Cavite, which has served to arouse interest on the part of private oyster farmers in the Manila Bay area. Seedlings are planted in favorable areas which are surrounded by protective fences of bamboo brushes and sticks. Often the fences are used simultaneously as cultch for oysters. When planted in November, kapis may be harvested the following June.

After the kapis are harvested, the meat is removed and the shells are soaked in water to clean them and to produce a characteristic luster. For 100 years, kapis shells have been utilized as windowpanes throughout the Philippines. This is especially true for the sliding window. Tiny translucent pieces about three inches square are set in rows within large frames to form distinctive windows. Many novelties are manufactured from the shells for local as well as for tourist consumption. Although rather infinitesimal, the meat is considered to be a delicacy and is used in a variety of dishes such as chowder, kapis omelet and adobo.

The new Philippine Republic is beset with many problems as a result of its change from territorial to independent status. One of these is the need for greater self-sufficiency in food, a need fostered by a rapidly growing population, a desire to industrialize, the necessity to conserve dollar reserves and the long-established agricultural and cultural patterns which need modification.

The presence of large areas of undeveloped or poorly developed swamplands and shallow coastal areas provides a most promising possibility for overcoming the present shortage of protein foods. The scientific production of bangos and oysters in brackish and salt-water sites, plus the development of freshwater fish culture in inland swamps, paddy areas, reservoirs, and irrigation systems conceivably can provide a sufficient amount of protein in itself, to serve the needs of the entire nation. Fish from backyards and farms is a reality in much of south-east Asia, and should be a reality in the Philippines.—From *The Scientific Monthly*, *U.S.A.*

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* Photographs : Courtesy of Dr. Wallace E. McIntyre.

GLIMPSES OF PRE-HISTORIC MALWA

BY V. S. WAKANKAR, G.D.

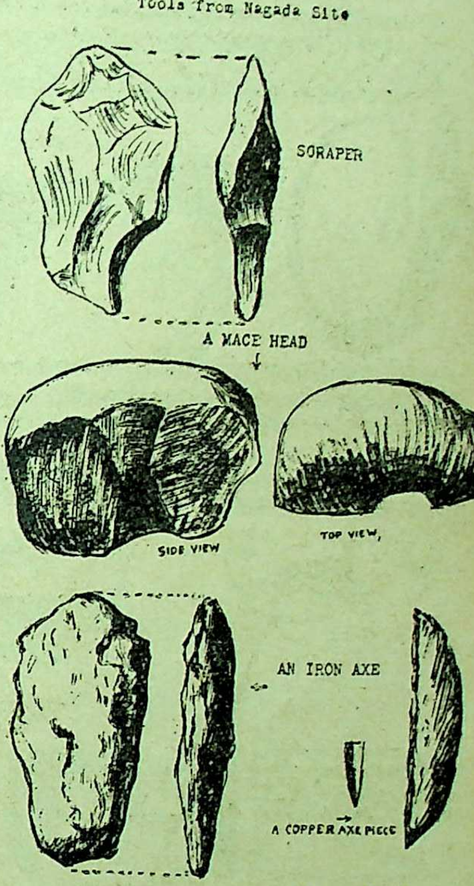
INDIA has a hoary and interesting past. The tropical climate of this vast heterogeneous land was never drizzly and the land never thickly vegetated like the jungle-belts of Central Africa or Malaya during the known historical period, but it is not likely that this country would have been much different during pre-historic times.

Archaeologically, although more intense research has been done in the regions of Greece, Italy, Palestine or Egypt, the more ancient land of India is still in the primary stage of archaeological studies. The less vegetated rocky South India is every year exposing new finds of older ages and also exposing remains of buried cities and civilisations. The beginning made by the discoveries of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa cultures in the Indus bed has been followed by finds in the Frontiers, Hastinapur, Bihar, Narmada, Chambal, and Brahmaputra Valley and other places. Hindus call the earth Ratnagarbha (one who treasures gems in her bossom), and devoted explorers are every year unearthing hoards of gems from her bosom in the form of remains, skeletons, stone implements, potteries, beads, coins, etc. Finds in the Indus Valley have already pushed back the antiquity of Indian civilisation to the fourth millennium B.C.

The author sojourning in the jungles of Central India which is less occupied by man, brought to light many such relics and remains, numbers of which have been deposited in various musuems and many of which are still lying in the wilderness. There is a mention in the Purana (Skanda Purana) of the origin of the aboriginals of Malwa, the Bhils, the Nishadas, etc., who are said to have been born out of the churning of the thigh of King Vena; and the story of Prithu Vainya, the son of Vena, the first of the kings of human race in the days of Chakshusha Era (*Manvantar*) is very interesting. It is stated that prior to this first king (Adi Maharaja Prithu) who founded a settlement in the vicinity of the river Narmada (Padma, 88, Ch. 27), men lived near the banks of rivers and lakes, ate fruits and roots, and lived in the wilderness without a social order (Padma, 24, Ch. 28). This perhaps is the first mention of the pre-historic civilisation of Malwa or Avanti, and Malwa (Central India) has since then been a torch-bearer of art and culture, and ever famous for the valour and prosperity of the people.

In this land of Avanti (Ujjain of Central India) Daksha Prajapati, the father-in-law of Shiva practised penances for the increase of his family stock and it was here that the demon Andhakasur was killed by Shiva, and Tripur was defeated by him and was confiscated of his wealth and property (in Sanskrit *ut* means wealth and *jaini* means winner). Ujjaini was the capital of Avanti. Avanti was so called because it protected its inhabitants from the wrath of Asuras (*ava* means to protect). Ujjaini was also called Pratikalpa, *i.e.*, as old as the beginning of the Kalpa. The Kalpa in which we live is Shveta Varaha Kalpa of Vaivaswata era (Skanda, Avanti, Ch. 41, 71, 7.).

Hitherto the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus Valley was supposed to be the oldest culture in this ancient land, but now the discoveries of Bikaner, Narmada Valley, Rangpur, Chambal Valley and the Deccan have revealed new find spots of the Stone-Age culture. The pre-historic paintings of Bhopal and the palaeolithic implements of the Upper Narmada Valley were the only pre-historic finds of this (Malwa) region so far, but now centres of core and flake microlithic industries have newly been discovered.

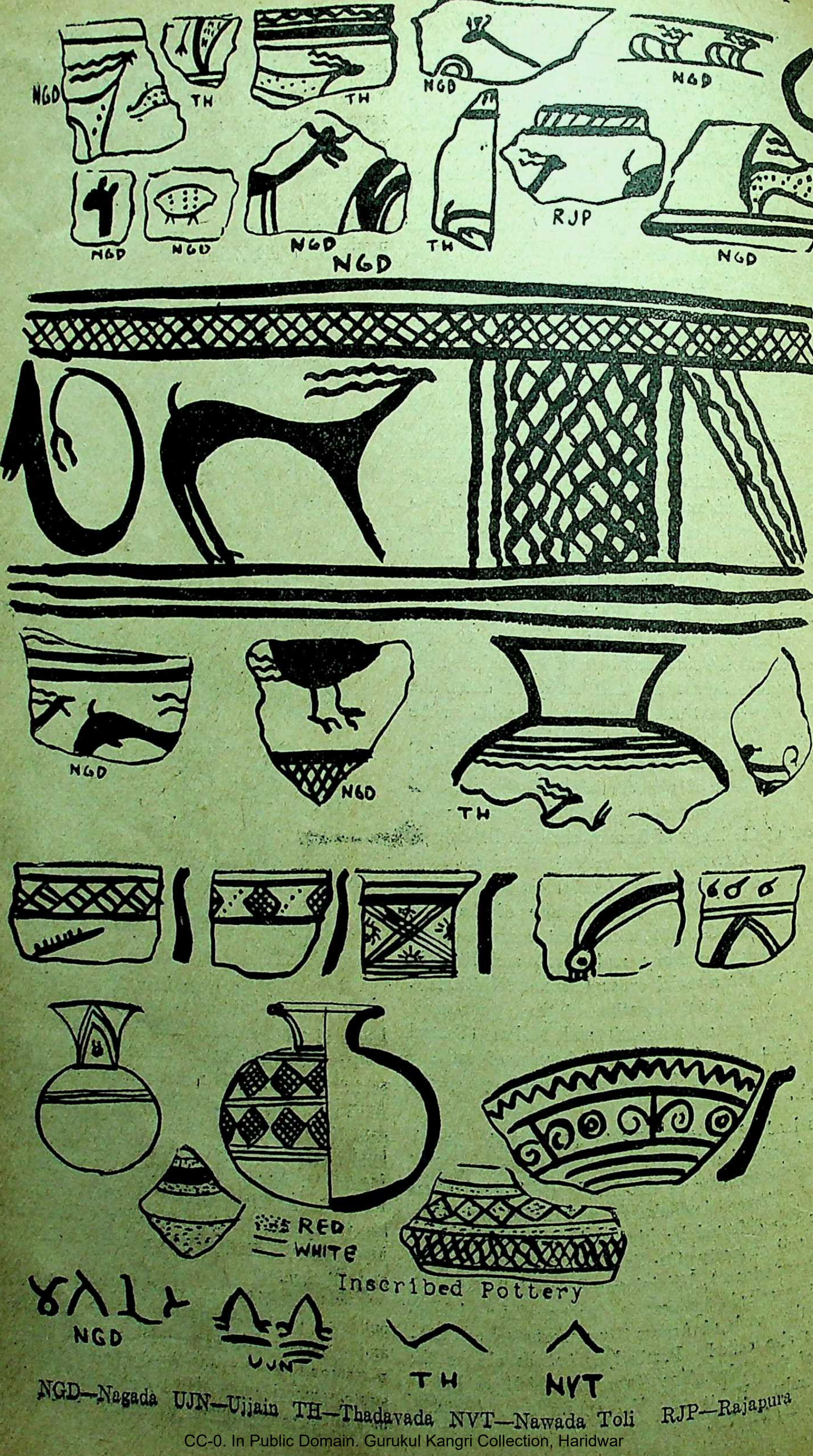


Some tools from Nagada site

The writer had the opportunity of travelling along the banks of the Narmada, Chambal, Kalisindh and Shivana. Pottery belonging to the microlithic age was found at several places in this region; it is identical with that of Amri-Nal, Channu-daro, Rangapur, Harappa, Mohen-jo-daro, Kulli and Rangaghudai pottery. There are several high level mounds at Nagada, Rajpura, Takara-wada, Bhilsudi, Machakda, Kesur, Kanwan Runija, Badanawar Bilpank, Karamdi, Sejawata, Jaora, Rojana, Badawada, Uncha-kheri, Songher, Ujjain, Chikalda, Maheshwar, Choli, Mandauur, Neemuch, Barwet and Amaliakheri, Maksi and Digthan.

While making surface explorations, the writer found out clay beads, one broken copper axe, one iron axe and terracotta figurines, uncoloured and mono- bio- and polychrome pottery and several stone implements. The stratographical study of these mounds, especially Nagada mound, gives the following results.

PAINTED POTTERY FROM CHAMBAL AND NARMADA VALLEY


NGD
TH
TH
NGD
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TH
RJP
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NGD
NGD
TH
RED
WHITE
Inscribed Pottery
NGD
UJN
TH
NVT

NGD—Nagada UJN—Ujjain TH—Thadavada NVT—Nawada Toli RJP—Rajapura

At the bottom everywhere we get the Basaltic Formaion of the Deccan Trap rock. The layers just above e trap rock are of gravel mixed with sand. This layer an be further divided into two groups, the upper greyish ravel and the lower greenish gravel. The lower one ndicates its priority in formation and we can safely ll it the lower gravel. Though the upper gravel is istinctly clear and at a height from the lower gravel, at other places it rests at this side of the mound just above he lower gravel. A scraper-*cum*-engraver was recovered om this gravel which was made out of trapian core. Typologically it is difficult to put it into some definite roup of artifacts.

Over and above these layers is the beginning of the re-historic debris stratification. At Nagada and hadavada the stratographical sections are clearly marked ut through the cuttings caused during rains. We shall dy here the Nagada Mound A stratography.

At the surface is the layer I which has yielded a man skeleton 5′ 3″ long, its head is in the north and s a little tilted to the right. The bones are found rushed, the broad pelvis bones denoting its female sex. o inscribed pottery or seal was found in this layer and t seems that it belongs to a much later age. The ttery is of rough texture, coloured red and slightly lished. Brick masonry is found at some places. here are some signs of burning in the south-east corer but that does not lead us to the conclusion that ere might have been a sacking or invasion.

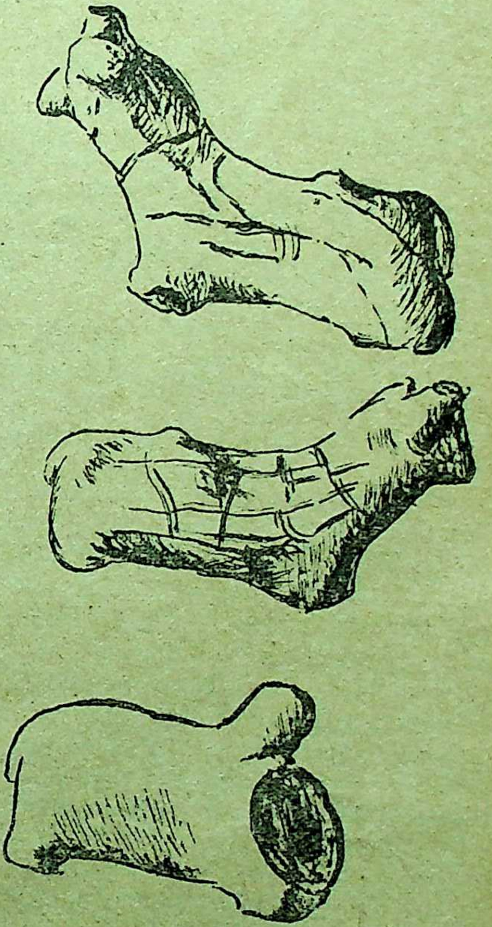
The layer II which is 3′ below the surface yields the me type of pottery as above but is slightly harder, re reddish, and polished. Brick masonry is abundantly nd in this layer but the bricks being very fragile no mplete brick could be found. Some pieces of sandne mortar were available. In this layer 1 a coin and an scribed potsherd were found. The characterstic of the er is Brahmi of the second contury B.C. This layer ongs to the early historic period. The coin resents hallow cross tree in the railing, lourine symbol d swastika on obverse and an elephant and a rider on e reverse.

The layer III is a layer of burnt charcoal bricks, ery pieces and ashes, probably indicating an invasion some foreign tribe or enemy, or a local fire. The tery is similar to the above layer but a few pieces of k potsherds were found which are black in colour and ished in appearance inside and outside (Shat Wahan ery). Some pieces were red inside and black outde. Brick masonry is rare in this layer.

There is little difference between layer III and r V, but in layer V a few pieces of N.B.P. pottery e found and a few pieces of black polished pottery with tched designs are also found with them (Megaic pottery). A few cremation pots or urns were d in the southern side of the mound in this very r.

The layer IV which is seen clearly in the southcorner of the mound is a heap of ashes with the potsherds of the layer V type. One iron spearhead and one nail were also found along with charred bones and terracotta in layer V. A rusted iron axe typologically resembling the copper axes of early periods was also found in this layer.

Now, beneath these layers come the layers which are full of coloured and designed pottery. The layer VIA is a burnt representation of the layer VIB. The layer VIB is 4 to 6 feet thick and gives varied and interesting bowels with square hatched designs and many artistic motifs. The bowls vary in size (diameter of 4″, 6″ & 7″ and height 4″ to 6″). Their bases are generally round, their outer and sometimes inner surfaces are coated with fine red slip and then designed with dark brown, ivory black and sepia lines. Microliths (fluted cores, serrated blades, knife blades, trapezial lunates) are associated with this layer.



Nagada terracottas

Thadawada presents a different layer at this stage which yielded pinkish yellowish buff pottery with horizontal red lines coated with thick dark sepia paste. The texture is very hard and the pottery gives a metallic sound. Serpentine lines are drawn vertically to decorate some of the pots.

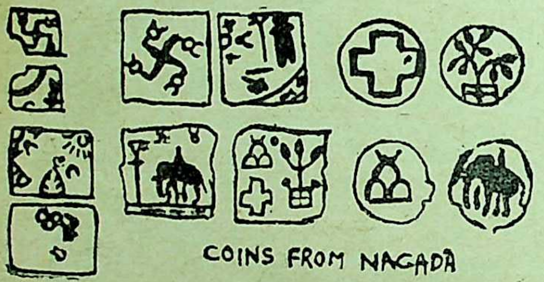
The Nagada layer 7A is the burnt representation (as above) of the coming layer 7B, which supplies us bigger vessels with artistic motifs in curvatures and geometrical forms. Some finely stylized animal forms have been found at Nagada and Thadawada. Deer is prominently represented. Different forms of deer, spotted deer with twisted horns, antelopes, and birds were drawn with sepia and ivory black lines on red surface.

Some microliths are also common in this layer. Some polychrome potsherds were also found in this layer.

Layer VIII is again the burnt remains of layer VIIA. This layer gives us the pottery of the same technique but the crudeness of drawing shows the evolutionary stage of the preceding layer VIIB.

The last black soil layer which touches the virgin soil of the yellow bed, presents the hand-made pottery of three types: (1) Buff-coloured, (2) Pots made with the help of baskets, (3) Crude hand-made pottery. The layer VIII is a layer of black cotton soil with orange ware and hard crude black ware. The number of the microliths is hardly five but 2 big flakes of jasper were recovered from this layer. Typologically we may put them in end-scrapper group of protomicroliths.

This layer denotes the existence of heavy forests during the period when man had just begun to settle and collect foodstuff.



COINS FROM NAGADA

Now we come to the study of the stone implements found in these layers. Throughout the mountain regions of the Himalayas, the Vindhyas and the Deccan, the implements of the pre-historic man are scattered. The early stone implements were called palaeoliths and belonged to a very remote period when man was in his early stages of life. Stuart Pigott called it a period of immense monumental inanition over millennia.

There was a tendency to conclude that the tool-making industry was first started at the end of the third Glacial period but now the farthest limit is pushed back to the first and second Inter-glacial period and more importance is attached to the first one. According to Zeener, the Achullian period is as old as 430,000 to 450,000 years and the Levellusion one is 23,000 to 40,000 years. Some archeaologists stress that the tool-making industry should be related to the second Inter-glacial period only.

Some of the implements from the Chambal Valley which were found in the lower gravel (consisting of greenish sand and gravel) belong to the early palaeolithic group. (Narbada and Shivana). The use of the stone implements continued up to the first millennium B.C. They were found in existence even in copper age and thus the culture is called chalcolithic culture. The stone age is an age of remote antiquity and ide centres of this industry are found in many distant pla The latest implements are those which were regu chiselled and edged by rubbing the surface or flaking to required shapes. They are classed as protomicroli and microliths. Stone axes, arrow-heads and spear-heads were made out of stone by the said process. It has been observed through excavation that man invented these implements before he learnt the art of making pottery and continued with this industry till the period in which he could produce high classical decoration in colours wi copper implements, *i.e.*, up to the 3rd or 4th millennium B.C.

References to stone implements are found in ma mythological tales of Puranas and of epics like th Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Valmiki's Ramaya mentions warriors equipped with *shila*, *pashan*, *shirsagra* and Shaila stone implements. (62.27, 37.6.15.55.).

Agni Purana mentions Shila as *panimukta ayudha* *i.e*, implement to be projected freely with hand o Drashad was also a stone implement. The Veda mention such implements as Ashma Hamna (Rig 7.104.5, Ath. 8.4.5.) and Ashma Chakra (Rig 10.101.7).

The pottery stratification presents interesting materials to the archaeologist and the artist. The hand-made pottery was not generally coloured yet a few coloured pieces were recovered from places like Nagada and Gangadhar. The coloured pottery may be classified under the following groups. These classifications are only for general guidance, and scientific analytical study can be obtained only after scientific excavation. The mounds at Nagada. Thadawada. Bhilsudi. Gangadhar, Kanwan, Maheshwar, Meen Rajpura. Mandasaur and Neemach are richly stratified and very regular stratum deposits of different phases of pre-historic pottery are clearly marked out through cuttings.

GROUP 1. Hand-made pottery.
    Class 1. Uncoloured hand-made pottery ma with the help of baskets.
    Class 2. Hand-made pottery (without the help of baskets) but uncoloured,
    Class 3. Hand-made coloured pottery.
GROUP 2. Wheel-turned pottery.
    Class 1. Uncoloured pottery.
        Type 1. Uncoloured burial urns of rough texture with ugly shapes containing bone and ashes. They generally belong to mediaeval and early historic period.
        Type 2. Uncoloured crude bowls and flasks.
GROUP 3. Class 1. Coloured pottery with hand stru and fine fabric and painted desi (Pre-historic pottery).
    Type 1. Indian red surface and lining wi black colour.
    Type 2. Light red surface lining in se colour.
    Type 3. Deep Malwa red surface lining w black colour.

Type 4. Tan surface lining with burnt siena.

Type 5. Greenish surface with green core and Indian red lining.

Type 6. Cream surface with dark sepia lining.

Type 7. Reddish surface lining with red and black and with surpentine line decoration.

Class 3. Dark red surface with incised designs & white triangular line decorations.

Class 4. Dark tan surface with Indian red lining and inscribed or incised designs.

Class 5. Cream-coloured light in weight.

OUP 4. Class 1.

Type 1. Upper half and the inner surface black in colour and with surpentine lining on the outer surface.

Type 2. Coloured as above but the upper half is painted with deep red.

Type 3. Pots with white spots in the core and painted half in red and well-polished (Late-historic).

Type 4. Pots with mica powder with the slip (Late-historic).

OUP 5.

Class 1. Pots with poor fabric and rough texture.

Class 2. Type 1. Buff surface with sepia lining (Late-historic).

Type 2. Buff surface with light red lining (Late-historic).

Class 3. Thin black unslipped ware (Late-historic).

Class 4. Thin red unshipped ware (Late-historic).

OUP 6. Rough texture but burnished slipped wares.

Class 1. Light pink surface with lines of sepia, black, white, red and light blue (Late-historic).

Class 2. Red slipped ware with rosette designs and relief works (Gupta and Parmar).

Class 3. Red polished with scratch designs. (begins with Pre-historic layers).

Class 4. Red and tan pottery with burnished surface. (Satwahan).

Class 5. Same as Class 4 but with scratch designs. (Megalithic type).

OUP 7. Fine fabric and hard structure.

Class 1. Highly polished, giving a steel metal lustre and known as Northern black polished ware.

Class 2. Fine red polished ware of the same fabric.

Class 3. Roman red ware.

UP 8.

Class 1. Orange core and sometimes surface painted with sepia or black.

Class 2. Black ware of the lowest layers.

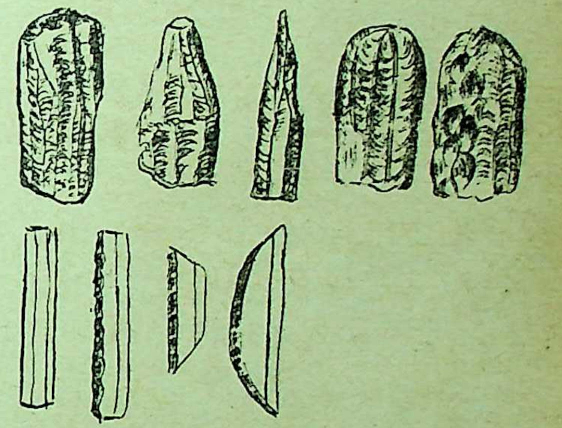
Class 3. Greenish grey core with painted surface.

Class 4. Dark grey ware.

(Group 8 belongs to the black cotton soil layer.)

I have given here a brief account of the pottery ifications which I have done on the basis of colour d texture. The process of pottery-making in many parts of India is still the same as it was practised by the Indus potters. The colours, designs, and texture have altogether changed. Polishing of pottery was a special feature of the ancient R.B. pottery and was done by rubbing laminated clay and sand while the pots were hot (*Lucas. Jour. Anthrop.* 1929). Application of thin slip of resin, gum, lack and oil was practised to get a polished surface. It was a common way of American and African potters. In India, juice of Abatition Indicum was applied to the pot to get a black polished surface (*Annual Report, Arch. Dep. H. H. Nizam Dom,* 1915, p. 5). Even today the Indian potter applies a thin slip or red clay (*hidumchi*) and oil and then allows the pot to dry to be rubbed by agate, quartz or glass pebbles to get a polished surface.

The colours which were used in those ancient times and are still used to decorate the pottery, are made out of local clay. The clay is finely powdered and is mixed with the extract of Mirobolan and Inknut, Kher and Babbol barks and liquid gum.



Core and flake tools from Chambal Valley

Though kilns have been found in many sites of Indus Valley no kiln was seen in this area. It has generally been found that the pots of Chambal Valley were irregularly heated and the scars of over-heating have changed the colours of many pots.

References to pottery-making are abundant in Vedic literature. The name of the potter is scarcely found in the Vedas but one verse gives us an inference of seven craftsmen.

"And so were brought seven craftsmen from the Heavens and they sang songs all day long and worked."

These seven craftsmen are mentioned in Shastras as Painters, Sculptors, Dancers, Poets, Singers, Masons and Instrument-players. Potter is a *shilpi* (Sculptor). The Unadi Sutra mentions him as Kullal 1-117 ; he is also called Chakinah, *i.e.*, one who uses wheel for making pottery. Parashar and Ushanas called him Kumbhakara (*kumbha* means pot).*

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* *Vaishyayam Vipratschauryat Kumbhakarat Sa Uchhyate*
—USHANAS.

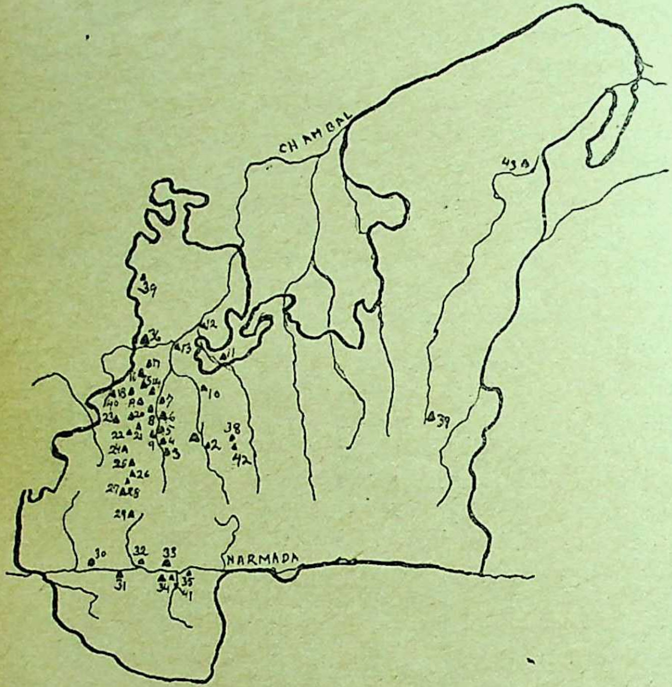
Malakaratkarmakarah Kumbhakarovyajayat
—PARASHAR.

The following are the various Sanskrit names of the pots mentioned in Vedic literature.

Ghata, Kalasha, Patra, Bhajan, Sthali, Ookha, Rijushan, Chamass, Kumbha, Kumbhini, Ghatabharta, Ghatamedanak, Ghataraj, etc.

The process of pottery-making is given in Yajurveda. The process of making Mahaveer sacrificial pot is given as follows:

PAINTED POTTERY SITES IN MALWA



1. Ujjain. 2. Amlyakhedi, 3. Bhiisudy, 4. Takrawada, 5. Metwas, 6. Nagada, 7. Rajapura, 8. Parmarkhedi, 9. Tungani, 10. Mahatpur, 11. Gangadhar, 12. Kheda, 13. Gada, 14. Thadawada, 15. Sejawata, 16. Jaora, 17. Rojana, 18. Songada, 19. Meen. 20. Unchakhedi, 21. Runija, 22. Bilpank, 23. Karamdi, 24. Bokharada, 25. Kanwan, 26. Machakda, 27 Dhar. 28. Nepawali, 29. Digthan, 30. Chikalda, 31. Khedi. 32. Pipalda, 33. Maheshawar. 34. Navada Toli, 35. Makadkheda, 36, Mandsuar, 37. Neomuch. 38. Jhamsawada, 39. Besnagar. 40. Piploda, 41. Ujadakheda, 42. Makshi, 43. Pawaya

"Oh shining Dyava Prithivi, the water and earth which are brought from the sacrificial grounds on this surface of the earth, I with their help prepare the pot which is the head of the sacrifice......I take thee and mix thee with the water......I touch thee and polish thee......I heat and bake thee with the fire caused by the burning of horse dung......I take out of the hearth and sprinkle upon thee the sheep milk......Oh (Mahaveer) Pot, thou art as bright as the moon and as shining as the sun!"

In the 39th Kandika of Yajurveda the above-mentioned different acts are dedicated to different gods.

Terracotta figures are only a few, two bulls, one seal giving decorative relief, one head resembling Mohenjo-Daro head (probably belonging to the Kushan wash brushes of clay and a few cart wheels are the finds of this area. Bricks measuring 19 ins.×9 ins, 15 ins.×15 ins.×3 ins. 19 ins. ×15 ins.×4 ins. generally found in every site. At several places masonry is clearly seen through the cuttings of mounds.. At Tharavada fortification walls of are clearly visible. The use of bricks is ancient in India. Angiras was the creator of this art.

References to big cities are also found some places as 'Yasaya Puro Deva Krata' 'Devanam Purah.'

All these pre-historic places lie on main routes which join the ancient cities Dashapur, Ujjaini, Dhara and They are generally situated on the eastern of the rivers.

At present it is very difficult to who were the people who developed high culture; whether they were Asuras, or Nagas is a doubtful question. As mythological tales tell us of the slaying Andhakasur and the victory over Shiva it might be possible that Asura may have flourished here. The Vena also supports this proposition. Bhils, and Prithus were the outcome of the of Vena's thigh. They belong to non- element.

As it has been mentioned above that there some burnt layers at certain intervals charcoal, ashes, burnt pottery pieces human bones, we can only presume from that at these intervals Malwa was sacked burnt by some formidable enemy, attacks continued till the painted pottery ture either disappeared, degenerated or to some other region. Pottery group 4, 1 type 3 (Mandsuar. Jaora, Ujjain) such culture which must have degenerated afterwards either disappeared or the got intermixed with the conquerors. burnt layers were found in many Indus pre-historic mounds.

If we study the pottery to see whether this Valley culture had any relation with any other porary culture of that age we get the following

The potsherds from Nagada depict cross squares, curvatures with hook-like designs. The with rays is the common motif of the Rangpur Jhukar culture. The 6th layer of Rangpur and daro have yielded pottery which is identical with layer 7th layer. The Nepawalli tan pottery with red lining is identical with the 7th layer pottery of The buff and chocolate wares are also similar Rangpur 11th and 12th layer pottery which was in the lowest layers at both the sides.

The black-polished pottery with scratched designs from Nagada has a very close resemblance to Jorve megalithic pottery and burial urns. The Jaora tree leaves are similar to the pipal leaves of Kulli wares. The deer, the spotted deer, and the hind portion of an un-identified animal have a close resemblance to Harappa drawings. They have a leaning towards conventionalism rather than naturalism.

The spotted deer is a special feature of Diyala drawings. We have also seen that the spotted deer is the main animal decoration of Chambal pottery, but then instead of co-relating these two cultures I should say that this style of painting was not borrowed from Susa or Diyala but must have been an independent outcome of the Chambal potters. The piece from Nagada depicting a peculiar animal is an interesting subject for study. In drawing, the technique is different from other drawings, it is crude and is less stylised than the deer and shows the workmanship of an altogether different school.

The technique of painting decorations and specially the animal forms and plants is that of decorative stylised conventions. They generally encircle the pots. In many vases the deer forms are continuously repeated in lines at the upper part. Their symbolised forms give a panel appearance. It has been generally found that these decorations are drawn on the red wares; the buff ware group does not show any remarkable progress in motif drawing. We can extend the red ware and buff ware group now to this part of India.

At Thadawada one seal having a floral design was found and it resembles one of the Jhukar seals.

I have gone through the subject showing the affinity of the Chambal Valley pottery with other different pottery-yielding areas. There must have been a close contact of these far distant cultures. The great barrier of the Thar desert hindered the free exchange of artistic works, yet a few interchanges of pottery designs show the socio-political bargaining of the time.

The Nagada mound A from the North

Though these drawings show close relations with the Indus Valley culture, yet the Nagada, Rajpura and Thadawada pottery designs have a speciality of their own and particularly it has been marked that only a less surface of the pot is filled by the designs. The cross-hatching squares, the inclined stair design and the horizontal polychrome line designs are the special developments of the Chambal Valley.

There is the greatest need for excavating these sites. Mahishmati has been excavated under the guidance of Dr. Sankalia of the Poona University. I should like to call the attention of the Archaeologists to this region of antiquity.

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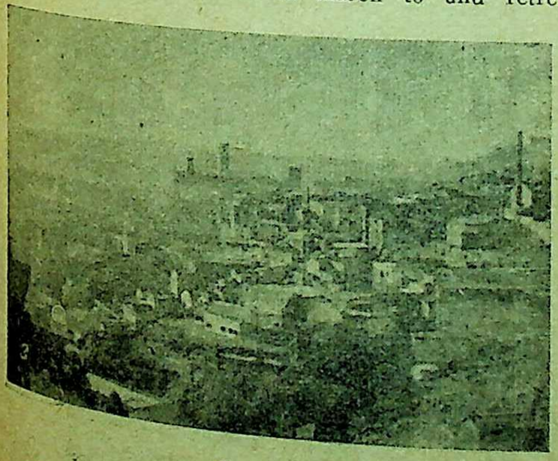
THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

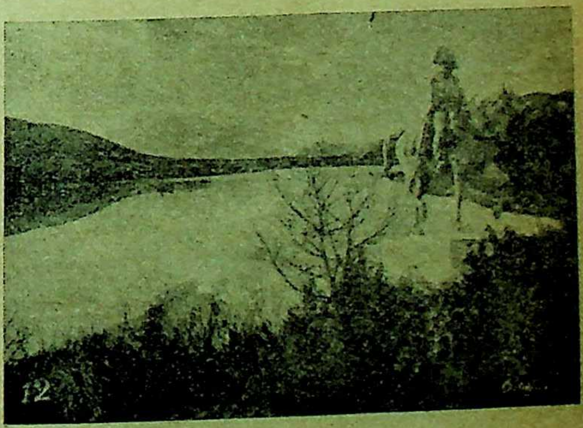
Cannes to Menton

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

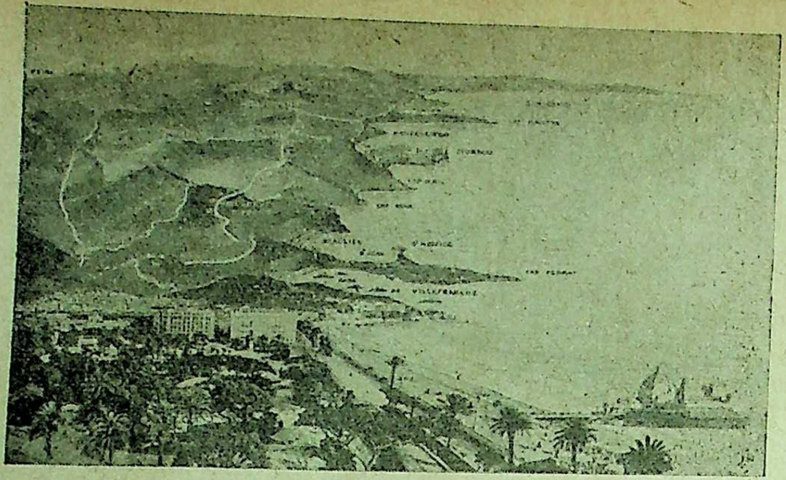
Napoleon had reached the zenith of his career before he embarked on the disastrous march to and retreat from Moscow. It was worse than the disaster that Hitler had to face not long ago, in his attempt to reach



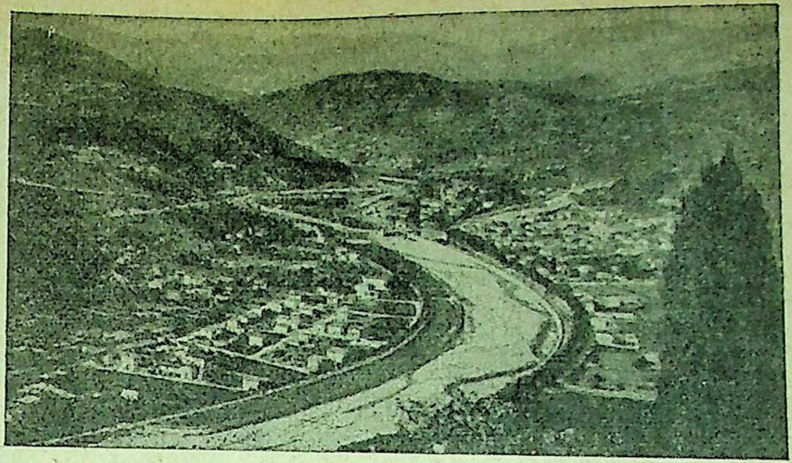
Grasse



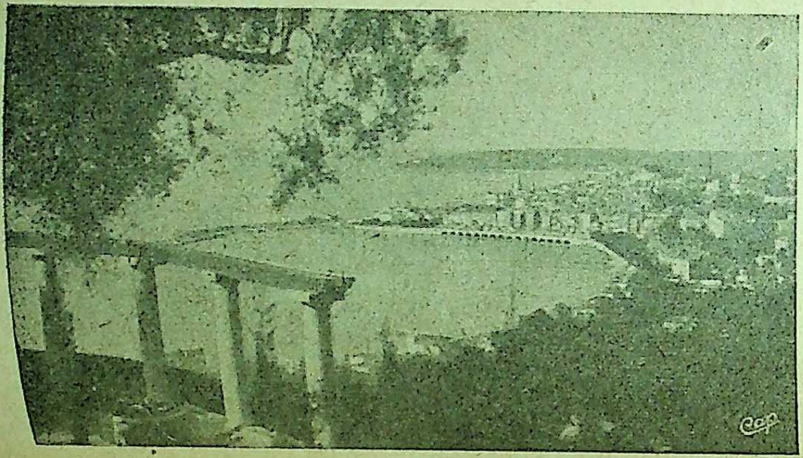
Napoleon's equestrian statue on Lake Laffray



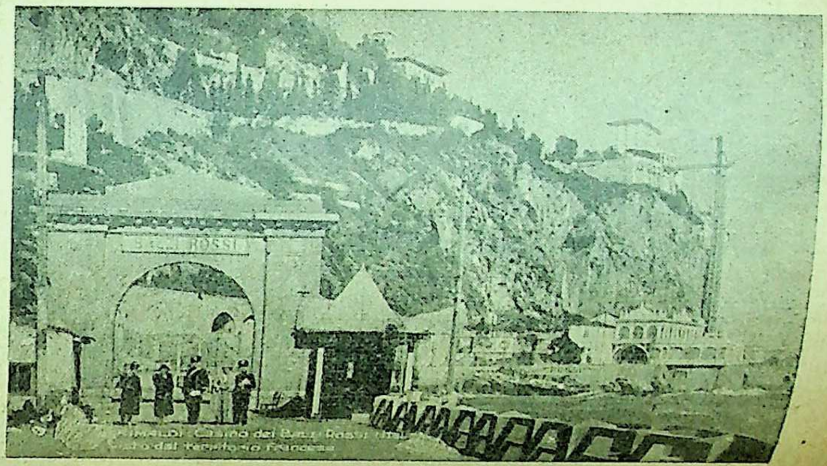
Cornice from Nice



Grand Cornice



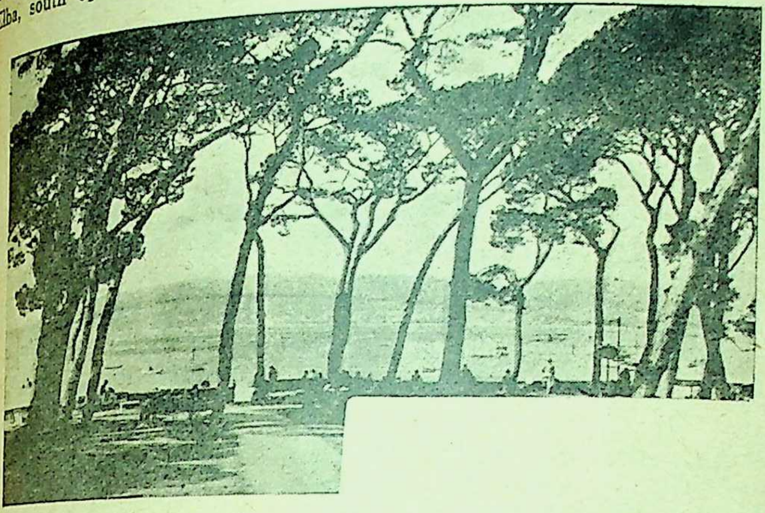
Menton



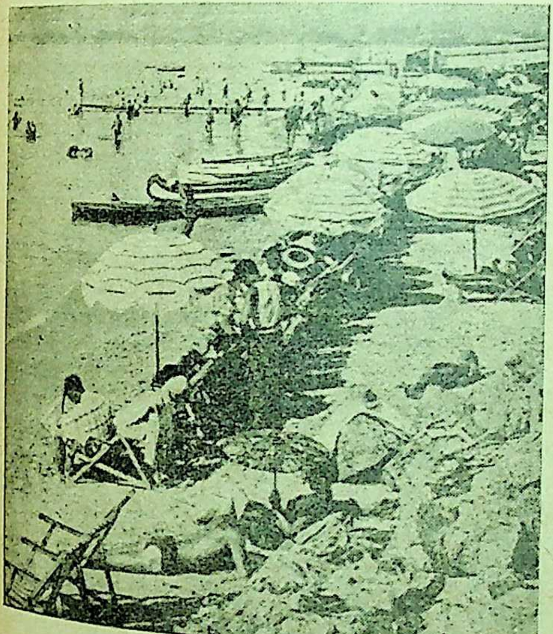
BALZI ROSSI
visto dal territorio Francese

The Frontier Gate

Moscow and other Russian towns. Nations repeatedly subdued by Napoleon, now joined hands and forced him back to Paris and then as an exile to the island of Elba, south of France. His attempt to retrieve his misfortune extending to the famous "Hundred Days," was as unique in the history of mankind, as his meteoric rise from glory to glory was romantic. One day he landed with a few followers from Elba at the Golf (Gulf) Juan, at present a bathing resort, quite close to Gannes. His route to Paris lay by Cannes through Grasse (the locality is at present the perfume centre of the world, where you come across the names of famous scent-makers), Barreme Laffray, (with his big equestrian statue on Lake Laffray) and Grenoble, as noted later. This is the celebrated Route Napoleon, which brings strange memories to visitors. There is the projection of the cape of Antibes towards Nice, with Juan-Les-Pins on one side and Antibes at the other. There are old Greek and Roman ruins and the present pine forests at the cape and a safe harbour at Antibes. But the silvery sand beach sheltered from the wind and pure crystal water of Juan-Les-Pins with all the sporting attractions draw inumerable visitors both for winter and summer seasons. It was at Valescure nearby that Llyod George played his most famous round of Golf, when he secured a hole in his first shot.

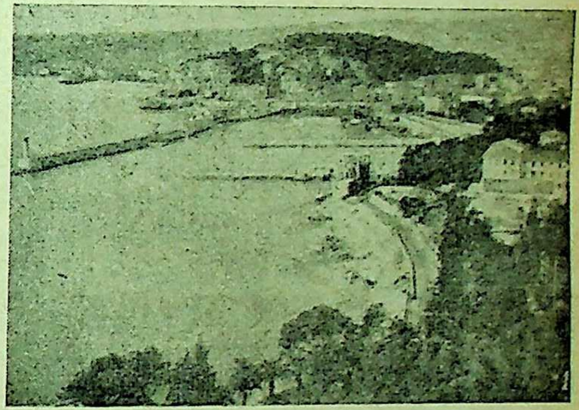


Juan-Les-Pins



Juan-Les-Pins

Near at hand is the pleasure city of Nice where thousands flock to bask in the sun, play with flowers during carnivals, gamble in the clubs and attend the famous tennis tournaments held here. This is where Shelley wrote and died and where Grimaldi, the unifier of Italy, was born. Queen Victoria spent five consecutive springs here. It is said that 300 days in the year out of 365 are fair. The island of Corsica, the birthplace of Napoleon Bonaparte, is seen at a distance and can be reached in 6 or 7 hours. Elba, where Napoleon was deported for a time, lies between Corsica and the West Coast of Italy. The famous Route Des Alpes to the North starts from Nice as well as the remarkable Cornice Roads along the coast to the East to Menton. Going by the Grand Cornice on the upper level, we returned by the coastal road through Monte Carlo. Menton, decked with flowers and fruits all the year round, has a lovely promenade leading up to the gate, where France ends and Italy begins.



Nice

SOME ENGLISHMEN WHO NURSED THE CONGRESS

BY P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

A RETROSPECT

FROM seven years of Independence in India (1947-54) to the first three years of the Indian National Congress (1885-88) is a far cry, but a study of the old papers has its own interest and lesson. We have travelled far since June 1888 when from 25, Craven Street, Strand, London, Dadabhai Naoroji, representative in Great Britain of the Indian National Congress, published a placard to the Britons with the words:

> "Without your aid our country and our countrymen will remain in their present backward condition and dire suffering. With your aid we shall become even as you are, and even as are our fellow subjects in the self-governed colonies; then, and then only, will India rise from its condition of poverty and backwardness and worthily take its place in the great British Empire."

The social and intellectual progress of India after English education was inaugurated, brought about a great upheaval in the religious, social and family spheres. The Theistic bodies like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, social reforms like the Widow Remarriage Act, brought in a new enthusiasm, and Raja Rammohun Roy was the first un-official ambassador from India to England.

The aggressive imperialism of Lord Lytton followed by the rule of Lord Ripon, which saw the foundation of constitutional agitation, had much to do with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The first assembly presided over by W. C. Bonnerji was essentially the meeting of a few intellectuals, and was different in character from the second assembly in Calcutta presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji. This was a great assembly of thinkers from all parts of India, and some of the resolutions that were passed indicated to the world that the Congress meant business. This meeting stirred not only the press in India but also the press of both the sections in England. The third Congress held in Madras presided over by Badruddin Tyabji had a special significance because of the attendance of a considerable number of Mohammedan delegates in spite of a certain amount of propaganda by the Mohammedans against the Congress, made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and secretly backed by the private and official influence of the Anglo-Indian community.

AGENCY IN ENGLAND

It was realised early, and very wisely too, that there must be an agency in London to supply correct and useful information to England in Parliament and to expose the distortions and misrepresentations catered to England by interested people. The work that was started by Raja Rammohun Roy by carrying on an agitation in England was followed by men like Keshab Chandra Sen, Lal Mohan Ghose, and others. They rendered great service in enlightening the British public on Indian matters both from the press and the platform. But their task was made easier because there were a few Englishmen to help them.

WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E.

We in independent India should reiterate our gratitude to the few Englishmen who carried on India's fight in England with the tenacity of John Bull. It was Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., author of *Prosperous India, India for the Indians and for England* and *India's Interest in the British Ballotbox*, who was charged with running the agency known as the Indian Political and General Agency at 25, Craven Street, London. To this man Digby, who looked a picture of austerity with his small beard, sharp nose, and eyes and broad forehead, India owes a debt which can hardly be exaggerated. Since his return to England in 1879 Digby lived for India, and he was the connecting link between India surging with a new political enthusiasm and John Bull who looked askance at what was going on in India. The Editor of two influential daily newspapers, a man who contested North Paddington as a candidate with India as an issue, Digby was the fittest man for being entrusted as the agent of the Indian National Congress. His work was all the more difficult and laudable because he was not a member of the House of Commons like Fawcett, who was known during his Parliamentary career as the member from India. Digby's two official collaborators were Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn.

The Indian Political and General Agency as the connecting link between India and England under William Digby did its work exceedingly well. The agency distributed Congress reports and political tracts, organised meetings, published papers and was able to induce some eminent members of Parliament to take up India's cause. It was due to men like William Digby and his collaborators that Bradlaugh took up India's case. Bradlaugh took up the work of India in Parliament after Fawcett. The constant efforts of Digby and his friends kept the torch burning and men like Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Hunter, Professor Stewart, Mr. Caine M.P. and others were induced to take interest in India. Powerful newspapers like the *Daily News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Christian World*, *British Daily Mail*, the *Freeman's Journal* etc., also evinded some interest in the cause of India.

II

WILLIAM HUNTER

Sir William Hunter delivered an address on the "Recent Movements in India" at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association on 3rd March, 1888, with Lord Hobhouse in the chair. Sir William Hunter mentioned that

> "Indian political reforms, as represented by the National Congress, proposes not a single new institution, but desires only to extend and strengthen existing institutions on a broader basis."

Mr. Caine, M.P., in the same year travelled in India, and on his return delivered a speech and said:

> "In a very few years the educated native will become a tremendous affair in the Indian society, and already he is knocking loudly at the door for some share in the responsibility of the Government of his native land. When India becomes generally educated, the education being based upon English ideas and English aspirations, it will be impossible to deny to those who by education are fitted for it, a full share in the privileges and responsibilities of the Government of the country."

In May, 1888, Sir William Hunter wrote to the London *Times* a few articles on the origin of the Congress, its proposal and the arming of India. He referred extensively to the third annual meeting of the Indian National Congress in Madras, which was presided over by Badruddin Tyabji, and after an analysis of the factors that had brought about the great upheaval in India mentioned:

> "No skill can anticipate the results of the vast new energy that is let loose each autumn upon the delta. We only know that nothing can stay its course, but that, throughout wide districts, it depends upon human forethought and human efforts whether the moving monster shall come as fertilising inundation or as a destructive flood."

Hunter also referred to interested Muslim propaganda against joining the Congress and mentioned:

> "But, with the exception of the province in which the Mussalmans were classed as 'backward races,' the Mohammedans of India have cordially joined in the movement . . . the truth is that a loyal but vehement old Mussalman finds it hard to comprehend the change which has come over the Indian political world. It is difficult for him to understand that the problem in India of the Queen is no longer how to divide and govern but, having united, to rule. The difficulty is shared even by some Europeans."

RICHARD GARTH AND EARDLEY NORTON

Sir Richard Garth, who was the Chief Justice of Bengal, and on whom pressure had been brought by Mr. Ilbert to retire earlier and to take leave so that Mr. Justice Mitter did not get a chance to act as a Chief Justice, did India a very great turn by his writings. As another of India's friend, Eardley Norton wrote in one of his famous despatches published in the *Hindu* of Madras:

> "Let us accord a warm praise and admiration to the just and fearless gentleman who, unlike so many who cared nothing for India once they have left the country, has ventured to lend the weight of his blameless name, of his legal reputation, of his long experience and of his Privy Councillorship to the advocacy of the people's claims. Were all officials as just and as true, the links which bind India to England could be rivetted in a fashion to defy the assault of time or trouble."

Garth wrote on the necessity of separation of judicial and executive functions.

More than a passing reference has to be made to Eardley Norton whose powerful pen and speech were always at the service of India. In several sessions of the Congress, Eardley Norton had supported the Indian cause and whenever he would be in England he would either be addressing meetings or publishing letters. In a meeting at Benshamgrove Gateshead, Norton made a famous speech in 1888 in which he instanced some scandalous cases of maladministration of justice, owing to the autocratic power of the Governor and said that it was to the eternal honour of Lord Ripon that he insisted on the release and restriction to their families of a large number of people who had been transported by Grant Duff for no other offence than that they were present at, or did not quell, the riot. Norton also referred to the howl of indignation that the Ilbert Bill evoked from the European residents in India. He also characterised it as shameful that the Governor of Madras had turned down the desire of the Indians to join the volunteer force as a bulwark against the Russian invasion.

In the months of July to October, 1888, Norton was in England and contributed a few letters that were published in the *Hindu* of Madras. These letters show the man. Deep in sympathy and very outspoken in nautre these despatches should be treasured in the history of Indian National Congress. In one of the letters he writes:

> "The only way to appease Irish discontent and remedy the Irish misery is to endow Ireland with the freedom of Home Rule. So shall it be with India, in the years to come. The movement is irreprssible . . . they may hide the truth in India, and Viceroys may suppress the facts in despatches framed to serve a party purpose. But here the full sunshine of people's sympathy will burst into the darkness of Indian officials and drag to daylight and to death the miserable sophistries that would keep you all a nation of slaves for ever."

His estimate of the Indian decorations is clear when he speaks about William Digby:

> "I should like him better if he did not own a C.I.E. in common with such gentlemen as Forestor, Webster and Abdul Haq."

About Charles Bradlaugh, Norton says:

> "Sprung from the people, the people have no warmer, bolder advocate . . . Mr. Bradlaugh has turned his attention to India. He has unlimited influence with the masses. He is a most powerful speaker. He never touches in what he does not believe."

BRADLAUGH

In a speech on 9th August, 1888, in Parliament when the Indian budget was being discussed, Bradlaugh made the very prophetic statement:

"They have no right to rule by the sword alone. The strongest Government would one day become feeble; the strongest wrist would become paralysed and then in the hour of danger those men would turn against them whom they might have knit to them by affection."

The contribution of Sir William Hunter, Director-General, Statistics, by several lectures and by his articles in the *Contemporary Review*, of Sir William Wedderburn by his addresses, in several cases was quite considerable.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

Mrs. Annie Besant, even during the infancy of the Indian National Congress, was taking interest in India. She wrote an article on "Mr. Bradlaugh at Home" in 1889, where she fondly refers to Alen O Hume as the moving spirit in Hindustan and mentioned the great efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji and W. C. Bonnerji to arouse English interest in Indian affairs. She ended her paper by the fond dream: "It would be a strange revolution of a wheel if Charles Bradlaugh so essentially incarnating the radicalism of our time should evolve into Secretary of State for our Oriental Empire with its conservative civilisation and its venerable antiquity."

GLADSTONE AND ROBERT KNIGHT

The story of India's debt to some Englishmen for the evolution of the National Congress cannot be completed without a reference to Gladstone and Robert Knight. Gladstone received at his house before Bradlaugh's bill came up, a delegation consisting of Hume, Digby, Bonnerji and Mudholkar. Norton was to have been present but he was unable to attend. It was a difficult task, and Gladstone's comment on the review of the situation was very sympathetic. The London correspondent of the Hindu published an excellent account of this meeting. Another much misunderstood man in his time was Mr. Robert Knight of the *Statesman* of Calcutta. In his own way, and he was a man born out of time, he did India a very good turn with his passion for justide and love for India. His career was a failure but that was his misfortune and not his fault. After his death a reference was made about him that he could have shaped his own career if he had commenced his Indian life in 1880 rather than in 1856.

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M. N. ROY : REVOLUTIONIST AND THINKER

By ARVIND MALAVIYA

MANABENDRA NATH ROY—more frequently known as M. N. Roy—breathed his last quietly, unwept and unsung at Dehra Dun on the eve of the Republic Day last year. Almost a generation has grown up without having heard of Roy, and the present generation remembers him only as a terrorist and ignominously connects him with the Quit India movement. Except a handful of his followers, both in India and abroad, only the "Old Guards" of the nationalist movement know his true worth.

LIFE—A GREAT ADVENTURE

Roy's real name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya; the name by which he was later known all over the world was given by the Indian litterateur, Nanugopal Mukherjee, while the two were together in America. Born in February 1893 in Nadia, Bengal—the cockpit of the Indian revolutionary movement—Roy came under the stress of the anti-partition agitation in Bengal in his teens, and was influenced by Swami Rama Tirtha, Vivekananda and Aurobindo. At 14, he left school and joined Aurobindo's National University.

By the time he had grown into a youngman the Bengal Government had a price on his head for raids, dacoities and terrorist activities, outstanding among which were the Howrah Conspiracy Case of 1908 and the Garden Reach Dacoity Case of 1914. He was kept in police custody for 20 months, during which time he studied books on philosophy and metaphysics. After his release, he hesitated and thought like Aurobindo and became a *Sanyasi*. But his turbulent spirit could not be suppressed for long and again he returned to active political and revolutionary life.

After the exposure of his plot with Germany to bring armaments for the Indian underground revolutionary movement, he became "dangerous" and could not return to India. Then began his series of voyages to the Middle East, China, the U.S.A, Latin America and Europe.

It was in the U.S.A. that he studied Marx. Roy's eyes turned to the land where, according to the Webbs, a new civilization was taking shape. He looked to Russia for inspiration. Later he founded the Mexican Communist Party and went to Russia where he rose to be a member of the Politbureau. With Stalin, Molotov and others he was the right-hand man of Lenin, and, in spite of some differences his beloved disciple. He also edited the *Vanguard* and the *Masses* and was a member of the Comintern and the head of the Eastern University at Moscow. He knew 17 languages and wrote in four—German, French, Russian and English. *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution, The Russian Revolution and New Humanism* are some of his notable works.

He came to India secretly in 1930 against the advice of his European friends, and under the guise of Dr. Mahmud attended the Congress session that year, and was frequently seen in the company of Shri Nehru. A few months later he was arrested in Bombay and sentenced to six years' imprisonment for "waging war against the King."

After release he entered Indian political life and contested for Congress Presidency in which, however, he was defeated by Moulana Azad.

ENEMY OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

When the war broke out in 1939, Roy, with his dispassionate analysis, called it the "People's War" and openly canvassed for its support in the face of public opinion. This sealed Roy's doom on the Indian horizon. His alliance with the British against the Congress in the name of the "People's War" not only cost him all public sympathy but he was branded as the "enemy of the freedom struggle."

After that Roy just faded out of the Indian political picture. His League of Radical Congressmen later became the Radical Democratic Party.

The end of the war showed that Roy was right. Britain lost her imperialist moorings; a Socialist Government came into power which withdrew from India.

RADICAL HUMANISM

Radical Humanism is Roy's creation. This is a synthetic philosophy exhibiting the influence of political philosophies from Plato to Marx. He based his philosophy on the reputation of the economic determinism of Marx. If everything is determined economically, how can man make history at all? he asks. For him the sovereignty of man is sacred and inalienable. In an atmosphere stifled by the ruthless operation of economic laws, Roy pleads for freedom.

> "Freedom", he says, "is the progressive removal of all restrictions from the unfolding of human potentialities."

For *Radical Humanism* man is the measure of all things. His concern is for a "rational political theory" and a "moral political practice." He stands for a "secular rational morality." He rejects the extremely controversial contention of Jung, Needham and MacDougall that man is irrational. Man, according to him, is essentially rational as the universe (of which he is a part) is essentially harmonious and law-governed. The difference between the two is that whereas the universe is inherently law-governed, man is a free and moral agent.

> "Spiritual liberation is the precondition for social and political liberation," says Roy.

Man started with a struggle with his environment for survival. This struggle for freedom is fundamental and eternal. All human achievements are its by-products. In the largest sense, man's environment is the whole universe. His conquest of environment implies a knowledge about them. So, freedom implies knowledge. In the course of and as a result of man's quest of knowledge, he discovers truth. This truth is nothing abstract or metaphysical; it is the content of man's knowledge—an objective fact. Thus, the hierarchy of Humanist axiology is: (a) Freedom; (b) Knowledge; and (c) Truth.

> "They are not autonomous but inter-related logically as well as ontologically. Therefore, freedom cannot be attained by immoral means nor can an enlightened man be a liar."

Here Roy is definitely in the camp of Tolstoy, Gandhiji, Huxley, Ignazio Silone, Lassalle and a host of others who insist on the purity of means.

NEW HUMANISM

The dissolution in 1950 of the Radical Democratic Party—which Roy dissolved on the ground that the age of party politics was over—was a testimony to his courage of conviction. In fact, his seemingly romantic and adventurous career cannot be explained on rational grounds; always and everywhere he acted as he believed. It, moreover, opened a new chapter in the course of his political philosophy. With the acceptance of the goal of the Welfare State by nations, he said, the conventional meaning of Left and Right had lost their significance; and, accordingly, he started the *New Humanist* movement which aimed at creating a society of spiritually free and voluntarily moral men.

His philosophy is no cry for the moon. It has been acknowledged by the humanist movements of America and Europe, where they are growing into popular movements opposed to the ideologies of Communism and Dollar Imperialism. Roy is the first modern philosopher to weld into a systematic philosophy humanistic ideas and principles.

PARADOX

It is a strange paradox that this man who created a lasting impression in various countries could not impress his own countrymen. In a sense his fate in his motherland was foredoomed. Like all pioneers he was too advanced for his times and suffered from the proverbial curse of the prophet in his own home. Roy never thought and felt like an Indian; he was a true cosmopolitan humanist, and, like Tom Paine, would have said: "Where freedom reigns there is my country."

Nevertheless, if some of us live to see a world where man becomes 'man' and lives a happy life, then Roy's name will be inscribed in bold relief amongst those who cherished this vision and fought for a new society. His proper assessment is in the safe custody of the future historians of political and social thought. India today is poorer by one more great man—one more of her illustrious sons now belongs to the ages.

SWAMI ANANDACHARYA IN EUROPE

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Like Swami Ramatirtha, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhava and Swami Yogananda, the late lamented Swami Anandacharya was a Hindu monk who following the sacred footsteps of the great Swami Vivekananda had marched to the West and devoted his whole life to the spread of Vedanta there. Swami Anandacharya spent more than thirty years in Europe and taught Vedic wisdom to European men and women through his contemplative life, thoughtful writings and inspiring speeches. The polar country Norway was the main field of his cultural activity. On the mountain peak of Ostardlen he established a monastery and lived there nearly twenty-eight years and wrote about thirty books in English and Norwegian language. This Bengali monk has left an indelible impression on the religious life of the far distant countries of Europe. The domestic name of Swami Anandacharya was Surendranath Boral. He was the eldest son of Gobordhan Boral and was born in the Hooghly town in December, 1881. His father was a worthy descendant of the charitable and well-to-do Boral family. Surendranath studied up to First Arts in the Hooghly College and graduated with Honours in Philosophy from the Duff College of Calcutta. In 1908 he appeared as a non-collegiate student at the M.A. Examination in Mental and Moral sciences and got through it to his unique credit. In 1910 he was appointed a professor of philosophy in the Burdwan Raj College. As a professor he worked secretly for some time for the Revolutionary Movement of Bengal, as well as kept close company with the saints of various religious sects and also seriously practised Yoga. At last he renounced his lucrative post and sweet home and embraced the monastic life from Shivanarayan Paramahansa and was named Swami Anandacharya. Most probably in 1912 he sailed for Europe at the instance and inspiration of his enlightened Guru. He got a shelter in London at the Students' Hostel of a friend for some time. There he was eager to do research work in the Department of Philosophy of the London University but failed to get any opportunity to satisfy his noble aspiration. Then he began to make a profound and voracious study in the famous British Museum. At that time he had to give up all hopes of monetary help from home and had almost to face starvation. Many a day he had to spend with one meal and some days with no meal. In those days of rigorous hardship and pecuniary straits he lived in a village on the Thames, twenty-one miles away from London. He remained there as the guest of a peasant and spent his days mostly under the trees in attentive study and deep meditation in the midst of beautiful surroundings. Whenever any opportunity arrived he hastened to London and contacted the intellectuals of the great city. Gradually he was selected as a member of the International Psychical Society and delivered private lectures under its auspices to appreciative audience on Indian Thought. At the request of some English friends he accepted honorary lecturership at the London University. Professor J. Urwick presiding over one of such lectures observed, "Prof. Acharya has by his learned eloquence pulverised our brains into atoms." This lecture was published in the *Christian Commonwealth* under the heading "In the Wake of Sorrow." Attending his lecture on the Ideals of Indian Womanhood some educated English women approached him and promised that they would be initiated into the sacred vows of Hindu women and dedicate their lives to its cause. Along with lecturing he directed his attention to the writing of books. The *Samhita*, his maiden work, based on the Ashtavakra Samhita was printed and published in 1913 by Messrs Frances Griffithes & Co. of London. The chapter on self and not-self in this book is particularly interesting and enlightening.

The *Bikramorvashi*, a Sanskrit drama of the great poet Kalidas, was translated into English in 1914 by him and published in London. The preface to this book contains a learned and lengthy discussion on the life and philosophy of Kalidas. The drama was subsequently played in a stage of London while he was there. At that time he suffered from severe eye-troubles due to excessive study and writing, went to Weisbaden of Germany for treatment at the advice of friends and stayed there for three months. He spoke very highly of the Sanskrit studies in Germany and was surprised at the profound Sanskrit-knowledge of a German lad. On the eve of the First World War he returned to London from Germany quite cured of the optic troubles. Sometime in 1915 he went to Norway at the request of a religious friend. He Ramsden. There in the home of his friend in the city of Oslo he began to preach Hindu religion and philosophy and was gradually appointed a Professor of Hindu Philosophy in the Christiana University. In that arctic country he used to wear snow-shoes and ride a white pony. His articles and lectures there were published in the various well-known weeklies and monthlies of the European continent in Norwegian, Swedish and other continental languages. In 1917 his book *Brahmadarshanam* or "The Intuition of the Absolute, being an Introduction to the Study of Hindu Philosophy" was first published by Messrs Macmillan & Co. of London. It is a work of vast learning and profound thinking.

Though he was awfully engaged in the spreading of Hindu philosophy and religion in the European countries he never forgot his beloved Motherland. From Norway he encouraged the Vedodbodhini Sabha of Banaras to publish the Rig-Veda and bore the entire cost of publication of its twelfth part. Apart from his cultural activities he was deeply contemplative in the silence and solitude of his hermitage on the Osterdlen peak and kindled the light of spirit in the lives of hundreds of European aspirants. He lived for about twenty-eight years in this hermitage and breathed his last on 8th May, 1945, there. According to his last wishes his mortal frame was buried on this mountain peak at sun-rise. Just then the following peace-chant composed by himself in an inspired mood was sung in chorus by his male and female disciples in both English and Norwegian languages :

> "Peace to earth, to the air, to the uttermost heavens
> Peace to the dwellers in rivers, in lakes and in seas,
> Peace to crops and the fruits, to the creepers
> and trees.
> Peace to radiant spheres that shine in the mid-air,
> Peace to the children of men, ever craving a boon,
> Peace to the Cosmic Order which happiness yieldeth,
> Peace to the self-upheld Fathers who dwell in the
> moon.
> Life, be thou sweet, be thou fragrant as the honey
> of lotus,
> Tranquil as mountain-tarn waters, unstained as
> the sky,
> Guard thou the space-dwellers' Peace as the Golden
> Bird guardeth
> The season's fair offspring with ray-wings of fire
> from on high.
> Still thou all life, twixt silent infinities throbbing,
> Peace, holy peace to our heart and our purpose be
> high."

After the passing of Swami Anandacharya, this peace-chant, along with a photo of his was distributed free by his disciples among the European elite. A booklet entitled *Footprints on the Sands of Time* wherefrom the following homage is quoted, was published in memoriam of this late Hindu seer :

"A most remarkable truth-seeker has been laid to rest in Norwegian soil. The Hindu profressor called Anandacharya came to Alvdal in 1917 and bought a saeter-hut on the slopes of Tron and settled there. He was born in Bengal, in that ancient Home of culture, where the Aryan race, thousands of years ago, settled and began to worship the bright powers of Nature. And the many intellectual movements of the present day which have originated there show that Bengal is still the centre of Indian Life. In that land Sri Anandacharya grew up and his mind was moulded by the various influences around him. Besides studying Hindu Philosophy with its wide range of thought, he also studied the Quran and the Bible and having taken degrees at the University of Calcutta he became a professor there at an early age. Ultimately he came to the conclusion that the soul is the only true life and that the aim of life is to learn to know the Soul and to love mankind; because man is one with the Soul. He then set out on his wanderings on the wide world first in various parts of India and later on to countries which he could otherwise never have dreamt of seeing. He has lived in the Himalayas, on the shores of the Indian and Arabian seas, in England and in Sweden but for the last twenty-eight years his home and his kingdom was his Gourishankar high up in the Norwegian hills. From his saeter, which he named after the highest peak of the Himalayas, he looked out over the endless stretch of the forest along the valley of the Glaama and away to the mighty snow-regions of Dovre and Rondane. There he has sat and meditated on problems of life and written poems full of deep philosophy on the grandeur of Nature and the destiny of man, all woven into a web of Indian sunshine and Indian mysticism. And there a few weeks ago he left this life. Swami Anandacharya was deeply interested in all that interested human society though he never took any active part in public work. He used to say that the first duty of every state is to work as much for world-peace as for his own peace. He said, 'I have seen the dawn above the distant heights and I wish I could call to mankind from the top of Gourishankar. Awaken, my brothers, it is light."

In a letter written in 1929 to an Indian friend Swami Anandacharya gives as follows an idea of what he glimpsed years in advance intuitively about the second World War :

"In the long icy nights of winter and in the bright night of summar here in the silence of hills I have meditated only on the peace of the world. I am like a metereologist in a mountain observatory. Now I see in the far distance a dark cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, but rapidly growing pregnant with frightful thunder and lighting and thousands of angry storm-gods follow in its train. So great will be man's sufferings and misery that they will believe they were for ever damned and in the agony of their hearts they will cry, 'O Satan, destroy us, but torture us no more'."

Who will deny that the Swami got through his protracted meditation an infallible insight into the immediate future? He was a lover of mankind and a dreamer of world-peace. In 1921 was formed the Brahmakul which is a committee of friends and disciples to publish all his writings and broadcast his great thoughts all over the world. After his death this committee has resolved to erect a suitable memorial of this deceased saint and to open a publication department under its auspices. Sister Sambida and Sister Seva, secretaries of this committee in a letter to the surviving younger brother of Swami Anandacharya, write:

"Our only object in life henceforth is to continue the Swami's life-work spreading his books throughout the world, in every land and every language. India is naturally our first thought and care as it was nearest to his heart that his teaching should spread there. Our greatest wish, therefore, is to bring out his books in India in as cheap a term as possible without any consideration of profit, so as to reach as wide a public as possible. We are, however, completely ignorant of the present conditions in India, whether still English is widely read or has been superseded by Hindusthani or whether it would be necessary to publish the Swami's work as quickly as possible in some of the vernaculars, first of all in Bengali. We should like to send the English editions for distribution in India but the cost of transport would probably be prohibitive. We trust that our letters will give you a clear idea of the situation and of the grave responsibility of continuing the Swami's work......His heart was always in India."

Swami Anandacharya has composed as many as thirty books of which seventeen are in English and the rest in Nowegian and Swedish languages. A few of them are books of poems and hymns with original fervour and pathos. Of his English works, besides the *Samhita, Brahmadarshanam* and *Bikramorvashi* mentioned above, *Yoga of Conquest, Snow Birds' Wide Science,* etc., are mentionable in particular. Through these books he widely known in the cultural world. Thus a great monk, a profound scholar, a thoughful writer of Bengal passed away in Norway shedding his spiritual lustre quietly in the religious world of the Western hemisphere. Will Bengal care to commemorate the life-work of one of her immortal sons in foreign lands by some worthy and permanent memorial? A society may be started in Hooghly, his birth-place, or elsewhere to continue and commemorate the noble mission of this dedicated life. It is a pity that no memorial meeting however small was organised in Calcutta or anywhere in Bengal after the demise of this Bengali Saint.

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IS MAN REBORN?

By C. L. BANERJEE

Human mind today has grown very sceptic about the greatest truth ever told about man that he is reborn. It has ever remained a 'faith' and has never been proved by modern methods of science. As such it needs some sort of scientific treatment before it can claim the status of a 'fact' rather than a 'faith.'

Before any scientific investigation of the subject is proceeded with, it should be remembered that science has its limitations. Its scope stops with the flesh, blood, bone and the nerves; their formation and development; their action and reaction; in short, all that is 'material' and pertains to the 'material.' Beyond these science can know nothing about a non-material entity hidden within man; whether at all it exists or does not exist; whether it had a life before birth or would have another after death. Nor can science claim any authority on a subject-matter like this. The theory of rebirth, therefore, shall have to be settled more by psychological evidence rather than physical.

Facts, however, can be divided into three main categories:

(1) Facts which can be directly observed by the senses;
(2) Facts which can be checked and verified through the senses under controlled conditions;
(3) Facts which are deduced from other facts of the above two categories.

Facts of the third category are generally called 'implied' or 'suggested' truths. Physicist's hypothetical ether is an example of this category. The 'ether' cannot be observed, checked nor verified. But on the assumption of its existence alone, certain factors can be scientifically explained, checked and verified. In that sense only existence of 'ether' is a fact because certain factors observed, checked or verified imply or suggest its existence.

Our present subject-matter that "Man is reborn" falls in this category.

Now, death is the *dharma* or nature of the body. Being composed of all matter, it is subject to dissolution by time. So, if man is only his body, he is sure to meet his end some day. To show therefore that he is reborn, it will have to be shown that he is not merely his body but something more which does not follow the laws of 'matter,' hence not destructible by time.

Materialistic theory does not accept the existence of anything other than matter in man. According to this view, the mind or consciousness exhibited in human behaviour is not the characteristic of a non-material 'psychic' element within.

They say that it is true the 'mind' does not possess any of the properties of 'matter' like mass, weight or size; nor does it occupy any space anywhere. But it is affected by 'matter.' Admittedly quite a number of instances can be mentioned where it can be observed that 'mind' and 'body' are closely inter-related and does affect one another. One of the two therefore shall have to be resolved into the other, else this interaction can not be explained.

Nineteenth-century physics suggested that 'matter' having passed through innumerable permutations and combinations of changes in the course of evolution, has reached such a stage where it has become conscious of itself. It is like a 'glow' surrounding the brain and its function is to reflect the events in the brain-cells. For example—suppose a mosquito stings on my hand. This constitutes a stimulus (a message) which passing on through my nerves, ultimately reaches my brain and causes some disturbance in its finely organised nerves. The function of the 'glow,' or 'consciousness' is to light up these events occurring in my brain, and I am said to know or become aware of the mosquito.

This view was further supplemented by well-known Pavlov's experiments. Assuming no previous knowledge in the readers, only a couple of these experiments, which will be critically dealt with later on, are being described below.

Suppose a plate of food is brought before a hungry dog. His mouth will produce saliva at the sight of the food. The plate of food, thus, is the natural cause or stimulus which will make the dog's mouth water.

Experiment starts with ringing a bell along with the plate of food when produced before the hungry dog. This was done continuously on a number of occasions. Suddenly on one occasion only the bell was rung without producing the plate of food. It was found that the dog's mouth still produced saliva. This is called 'conditioning' of a stimulus and the sound of the bell is the 'conditioned' stimulus in this case.

The conditioned stimuli can be inhibited. In the experiment, the plate of food was not produced with the conditioned stimulus (the sound of the bell) continuously for several times. It was found that the dog's mouth stopped producing saliva at the ringing of the bell. This is called inhibition. But this inhibition is temporary. Because it was found that after a few days' gap of any experimentation, the dog's mouth again watered when the bell was sounded.

On the basis of such experiments, Pavlov tried to prove non-existence of the 'mind.' He held that the human organism, like the dog's, reacts automatically to certain stimuli and the 'mind' or 'knowledge' gradually develops in the organism. He thus resolved all human activities into sets of stimuli,—natural, conditioned or inhibited,—and their responses. He outined the human brain as a receiving station of varied impulses coming from different parts of the organism. Even man's faculty of thinking was resolved as responses to impulses resulting into movements of the larynx and the brain.

Mind or consciousness, according to the mechanistic view, is only a by-product of bodily processes and not a characteristic of a separate non-material entity. Man, thus, becomes completely a moving, acting and thinking machine entirely composed of 'matter.' In other words, he is matter in motion adjusting and adapting himself according to environments.

A few questions here arise which have to be satisfactorily answered. What about the free-will so often exhibited by man? How far can it be maintained that 'man' merely reacts and adapts himself according to environments and circumstances? Does he not display a 'conscious' effort to select and even change his environments?

Latest findings have proved that a 'conscious' effort is exhibited even by lower animals to *select* his environments. For example, salmons have been observed to undergo strenuous hardships while going a strong upstream, jumping over hurdles and obstacles (even attempting again and again until it succeeds) and ultimately selecting an appropriate and safe place where it can lay its eggs.

That man, being a higher animal, would possess this feature in all the more developed form is unquestionable. For example, in the case of self-control or self-abnegation, there is a definite conscious and wilful attempt to act differently from the natural responses. Freud, the great psycho-analyst, explained these features in man as instinctive 'renunciation.' But a question has obviously been side-tracked by him. These instincts clearly manifest a faculty of 'reasoning,' or selection and rejection. How far, then, can it be maintained that they are 'blind' natural forces and do not possess the feature of consciousness?

However, it can further be observed that the different parts of the organism, though they appear to act independently, always reciprocate and co-operate with one another for the good and benefit of the 'whole.' Obviously this 'whole' cannot be the aggregate of the different parts of the body. It is something more and different from it. Because the body evidently serves as an instrument of this 'whole' which consciously controls and directs the different parts as he pleases. How could the instrument become its own master?

The mechanistic theory stretches itself beyond limits to explain these features in man and other animals as responses to instinctive 'conatives.' Instinctive conatives are strong natural impulses of the kind which cause responses like eating, or making love for procreation, etc. They are different from the ordinary stimuli—both conditioned and unconditioned. Desires, aspirations, etc., fall under the head of conatives. But here also the same doubt prevails. Whether this impulse (conative as it is called) is not directed by a conscious element?

Even in Pavlov's experiments, on the basis of which he tried to prove non-existence of any separate conscious element within, it can be shown that there is a subtle display of consciousness in the organism at every step of its responses, and the responses are not automatic or mechanical.

In the experiment, the dog's mouth produced saliva at the sight of the plate of food. Ordinarily it would appear that the natural stimulus applied caused directly the mouth to respond with saliva. The response was therefore considered to be automatic and machanistic. But a subtle psychic event involved in between the cause and the effect was not taken into account. The stimulus must have raised a thought or knowledge that the object is food which he would like to take with the mouth.

Surely, it cannot be maintained that only the stimulation of the dog's optic nerve caused stimulation of saliva-producing glands through the medium of brain nerves! Because in that case it would mean that the sight of any and every object would cause the same biological response. To support the mechanistic theory, however, it could at best be said that the brain nerves stimulated with the same intensity and in the same manner as done by the sight of food, will cause the same response. But then, the conditioned stimulus would mean to be causing stimulation of the brain nerves in the same manner and with the same intensity, since it causes the same response. If that be so, the conditioned stimulus should also produce the same biological response when applied on any new subject of the same variety. This it does not. The fact that this does not happen obviously establishes that the natural stimulus must have raised a thought. The 'conditioning' of a stimulus is nothing but its association with the thought or desire which is generally raised by a 'natural' stimulus. Inhibition also clearly shows that there is a conscious element in the organism which comes to know that the stimulus applied is of no significance. Consequently there is *no* desire and the mouth does *not* respond. The response, thus, though it appears to be automatic, is only dependent on the importance attached to the stimulus in the form of a desire by the psyche of the dog.

This point will be more vividly understood if the above events are further analysed in detail.

Physical events: The plate of food is brought before a hungry dog. This constitutes some influence emanating from the plate of food in the form of light waves. These light waves caused certain disturbance, through the optic nerve, in the brain cells of the dog.

Psychic events: The psyche compared and collated this event with his previous experiences.

(That the psyche consciously does this act is obvious from the fact that a new subject, having no previous experience of the 'conditioned' stimulus, does not respond to it automatically whereas the conditioned subject does).

He then inferred the stimulus to be a plate of food.

(Without this inference there would be no desire to take the food. This inference on the part of the psyche is evident from the fact that a new subject does not respond to the conditioned stimulus, because having no previous experience he could not infer that the stimulus would bring the plate of food).

Lastly, the psyche desired to take the food with his mouth, and then the mouth responded to his desire and *not* to the stimulus. If there had been no desire, the mouth would not respond, as seen in the case of inhibition.

The psyche of the dog is not so developed. Hence he readily submits to his above inference in the shape of desire. But in the case of man, the psyche is more developed. He has, therefore, a still more improved faculty of inference and a greater control over the desires apt to be raised by his inference of the object. Accordingly, he acts as he pleases.

From the above analysis it is obvious that responses arising out of the stimuli are not automatic and mechanistic. All responses are born of one other desire. This 'psyche,' then, is not merely the 'glow', reflecting the cerebral events, as advanced by the nineteenth century Physics. Evidently enough it has a 'wilful' part to play.

Now, as far as these 'wilful tendencies' remain confined in reactions in the natural way (just like men and creatures) they may, in a way, be attributed to material nature or its forces. But when they take the form of persistent volition, as so often seen, to remain diametrically divergent from the 'natural' way, it is really difficult to conceive them as 'blind' material forces without any element of consciousness. Because such an act of volition undoubtedly manifests the faculty of selection and rejection which can only be done by a conscious element.

However, another line of investigation is taken up to enable readers form their own convictions.

The conception of 'matter' itself is in an extremely fluid state. The previous conception of atom, which all 'matter' is composed of, as a microscopic ball of hard homogeneous stuff, has now been abandoned. The atom has now been picturised as a miniature solar system containing packets of electrical energy. Although different views exist about the arrangement of the packets of energy in the atom and also about the nature of the 'electrons' (or 'neutrons' as they are called by some), but opinions are more or less unanimous now on the point that the atom is a combination of 'energy' and *not* any material substance.

As a corollary to this conception of atom when considered along with the process of man's perception as disclosed by Physiology, 'matter' would at once appear merely as 'convenient names and forms' supplied by some hidden entity within man to his various experiences and feelings arising out of some force or set of forces, acting upon him. Colour, temperature, smell, size, even touch and taste—all forms of perception reach the brain cells in the form of some nerve stimulations. From these nerve stimulations only the psyche infers the cause and the linguistic expression of these inferences is the so-called matter outside.

Such findings led even eminent scientists to accept that psyche alone is fundamental.

> "I regard consciousness as fundamental. I regard matter as derivative from consciousness. We cannot get behind consciousness. Everything that we talk about, everything that we postulate as existing, requires consciousness."

This statement was made by Prof. Planck, the world-renowned physicist, in an interview with J. W. N. Sullivan (*Observer*, January 25, 1931).

Attention of the readers may also be drawn to the Vedic name given for what is called 'nature.' 'Nature' as we know is "Swabhava." In Sanskrit "Swa" means 'own' and "Bhava" means 'mental conceptions, ideas or moods.' Thus "Swabhava" means 'one's own conceptions or ideas.'

It can thus be established that 'matter' (including the body) itself is an inference of the 'mind.' It is, so to say, purely an effect of a psychic event and therefore can never be its cause. The body thus is itself an effect of some psychic processes and *not* vice versa.

To think that the 'psyche' also is destroyed with the destruction of the body will be as much a folly as it would be to think that the radio waves are destroyed with the destruction of the receiving set.

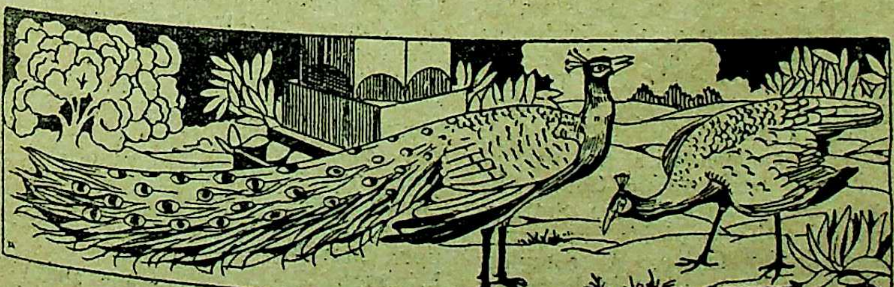
The body serves only as an instrument, created and possessed by the psyche, to record as well as transmit a certain event. The destruction of the instrument does not mean that its creator and possessor also is destroyed! Or, that its creator and possessor cannot create and possess another instrument as he pleases !

That the psyche does this will be evident from the finding of Driesch's (a German biologist) experiment. He made several sections of an embryo by sharp cuts and found each section developed into a complete whole. (Quoted in *Science, Religion & Reality*, by Joseph Needham, p. 236). From this it was clear to him that there did exist some sort of 'knowledge' in the embryo, otherwise the sections could not have developed into complete wholes. It was definitely a 'conscious' effort on the part of the conscious element within to attain a complete form and structure even in spite of outside interference. Furthermore, any section of the 'embryo' could be made to assume any part of the body or even the whole as and when necessitated. Certainly, this feature goes a long way to show the dominant part played by the 'psyche' in forming the body and maintaining it.

Ordinarily one does not feel this. This is because of nescience of the active forces that cause such events and also because of indentifying oneself, through nescience, with the 'personality' which is nothing but a mental frame—a cohesion of qualities which one would like to possess or dispossess—although this is a *sine qua non* for one's development. To comprehend these would lead to the 'Karma' theory of Hindu Philosophy. It is outside the scope of this article to give a detailed exposition of the theory here. But it could however be mentioned that if a "law of cause and effect" holds true in the physical plane, surely the same must equally hold true in the mental plane within !

> "In fact there is within his being a power of development, a power of change, or in the language of our modern conceptions, an evolutionary power. His nature is what it is because he has so made it by his past; he has induced this present formulation by a precedent 'will' in his spirit. He has risen to humanity by the force of his spirit and by the power of the All-Soul out of the vast possibilities of universal Nature. He has developed by his own long evolution of that humanity the character and law of action of his present individual being; he has built his own height and form of human nature. He may change what he has made, he may rise even, if that be within the possibilities of the universe, beyond human and to or towards superhuman nature. It is the possibility of the universal Nature and her law that determines his natural being and action, but it is part of her law to be subject to the spirit, and she will develop in reply to an insistent call; for then she must respond, she must supply the needed energy, she must determine the acts in that direction, she must assure its issue. His past and his present nature and the environment he has secured may present constant obstacles, but they must still yield in the end to the evolutionary 'will' in him in proportion to its sincerity, wholeness and insistence. All the possibility of the All-being is in him, all the power of the All-will is behind him. This evolution and all its circumstances, his life, its form, its events, its values arise out of that urge and are shaped according to the past, present or future active 'will' of his spirit. As is his use of the energy, so was and will be the return of the universal energy to him now and hereafter. This is the fundamental meaning of Karma."—Maharshi Aurobindo in his *The Problem of Rebirth.*

Thus alone, it can be seen, the problem presented by the strong urges exhibited in individual men and creatures, which have all along been side-tracked by the mechanistic view by calling them 'instinctive conatives' or 'instinctive renunciation' without giving any satisfactory explanation of their origin, finds a far better answer in the theories of 'Karma' and 'Rebirth' !



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

PHILIP MEADOWS TAYLOR—A CRITICAL STUDY: *By Gobind Singh Mansukhani, M.A., Ph.D., with a Foreword by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt., Bombay, 1951. New Book Co., Ltd., Pp. 247. Price Rs. 8.*

This is the first complete account of the career of a British Indian administrator of the admirable type represented by Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone, who played an honourable (though not distinguished) part in the political history of the Deccan for a period of more than thirty years (1824-1860) and whose series of Indian novels earned for him a secure place in the annals of Anglo-Indian fiction. The author has collected his material with exemplary industry. For he has laid under contribution State archives (*Hyderabad Residency Records* and *States Records*), old files of periodicals (*Asiatic Journal, Bombay Quarterly Journal, Calcutta Review* and *Edinburgh Review*), as well as many rare works in English and a few in Persian and Urdu. His introductory chapters describing the Age of Taylor (under the heads Political, Cultural, Economic, Social and Anglo-Indian Background) show a fine hisorical sense accompanied with painstaking research. In the second chapter the author describes the life of his hero with a general estimate of his work as an administrator, a man of letters and a pamphleteer. The rest of the book (comprising fourteen chapters) deals exhaustively with Taylor's literary contributions. The author, after a short introduction on Anglo-Indian fiction in the immediately preceding period gives us a detailed analysis of each of Taylor's Indian novels. These comprise a picaresque novel (*Confessions of a Thug*), two historical novels (*Tippoo Sultan* and *A Noble Queen*) and lastly, and above all, a trilogy of historical novels (*Tara, Ralph Darnell* and *Seeta*) bearing on three successive epochs in the history of our country, *viz.*, the rise of the Maratha power under Sivaji, the emergence of the British as a political power in India and the crisis of the Indian Mutiny. A short chapter deals with Taylor's minor works, including his *Manual of Indian History.* In the concluding chapter the author deals with considerable critical acumen with the various aspects of Taylor's literary workmanship (under the heads Gift for Story-telling, Characterization, Settings and Style) and a general estimate of his importance in the history of Anglo-Indian fiction. A complete bibliography of Taylor's works, a select bibliography of works bearing on Taylor's life and times and an appendix containing a chronological account of his career bring this highly useful and informative book to a close. We cannot conclude without referrin the bad paper and the worse printing which de very much from the merits of this work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE FOUNDING OF THE KASHMIR STAT (A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, 1792-185 *By K. M. Panikkar. Published by George Al Unwin Ltd., London. Price 15s.*

The volume under review is the second impres sion of the author's work *Gulab Singh* first publish in 1930. The learned author has spared no pains t explode the myths about Maharaja Gulab Singh, th founder of the *ci-devant* Dogra ruling house o Jammu and Kashmir.

Maharaja Gulab Singh is known to the averag student of Indian history as an "over-grown feuda tory" of the Sikh Durbar who took the fulles advantage of the confusion which followed the deat of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 to carve out a kingdom for himself. This is not the whole tru however. The materials laboriously collected, criti cally handled and presented in a lucid style by the learned author leave no room for doubt that Gula Singh is one of the most remarkable figures on the Indian political scene in the first half of the 19t century. He was yet "traduced, slandered and open accused in his lifetime by the champions of the Sikhs, by the imperialists and annexationists of the day, and by anonymous writers in the press, to wh his towering personality offered a unique target f attack." (Preface, pp. 4-5).

Gulab Singh's brothers and nephews had bee murdered at the instigation of the Sikh authorit He himself had been jailed and publicly humiliat Yet he was not actively hostile to the Lah Government out of "loyalty to the memory o Maharaja Ranjit Singh." He strained every ner to secure the best possible term for Duleep Singh at the conclusion of the first Sikh War. Cunningham the famous author of *History of the Sikhs*, was a admirer of Gulab Singh. Even he admits that the latter would have liked at the end of the war to serve the Sikh State as the Vice-Regent of Dulee Singh. It was only when the intrigues of Lal Singh the then Prime Minister of the Lahore State, ma such an arrangement altogether impossible th Gulab Singh turned to the alternative of indepe dence. The so-called purchase of Kashmir was fo upon him by the shrewd diplomacy of the S Minister.

Gulab Singh was noble and generous. His pe sonal life was on the whole a pure one. He was saint however. He would not hesitate to have course to questionable methods in case of necessity. But we must remember that he was "trained in a hard school, where lying, intrigue and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics" (p. 152). By his conquest of Ladak and Baltistan, Gulab Singh became the only Indian ruler to extend the geographical boundaries of India. He gave peace and settled Government to Jammu for the first time in history. What has been said above and much more have been brought out clearly by Mr. Panikkar, and his slender volume of less than 200 pages is well worth a perusal. It should have been more moderately priced to suit the average book-lover's pocket.

Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji

THE LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLE (A Study in Social Combat): *By Bertram N. Gross. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. New York, Toronto, London. Pp. 458. Price $3.50.*

LEARNING PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE: *By Alice F. Sturgis. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. New York, Toronto, London. Pp. 341. Price $4.50 Text edition.*

Messrs. McGraw-Hill should be highly commended for the publication of these two books as part of their political series. The subject-matter dealt with in both these books is common to a great extent, as they both discuss the general rules of Procedure in the U.S.A. Congress. The second half of Mr. Gross' book and the entire book by Alice Strugis, deal with similar matter, but their method of approach is so different that they act as foil to each other. However, the first half of *The Legislative Struggle* is worthy of a somewhat detailed discussion.

Mr. Gross analyses the legislative processes of the United States Congress in a most interesting manner. The orthodox American author of political literature usually places his material under broad general headings, mainly devoted to the procedure of Legislative business on the floor of the American Congress. Mr. Gross, while dealing with this important aspect of the subject, provides an interesting and absorbing section on the powers that be behind these processes. He maintains that there are three major groups competing for power: Private Organisations, Parties and Government Agencies. The range of private organisations, cited by Mr. Gross is extensive, embracing such organisations as the American Federation of Labour, The Baptist Church, The American Wild Life Institute, and the General Motors Corporation. The most powerful and developed organisations are connected in the main with business and agricultural interests, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, The United States Chamber of Commerce, The American Farm Bureau Federation, The National Farmers Union, etc.

Of the Parties discussed, the Democratic and Republican Parties are naturally presented in detail, although various minor parties as well as their factions are also mentioned. Neither a one-party domination nor the idea of a multi-party system in the United States is advocated. Mr. Gross is of the opinion that "the major recognition given to the multiparty set-up in American political thought lies in the observation that minor parties represent a germination center for ideas that are often picked up and used by the major parties."

Pondering on electoral matters, Mr. Gross finds that the nomination of candidates for Congress appears to have one grave disadvantage. Whereas in Great Britain, the central party organisations pick candidates for parliamentary election, in the U.S.A., nominations for Congress take place through the local primaries, which consequently means that the local party bosses can be very dominating, and also that so much stress on local organisations leads to lack of development of unified national parties.

The Agencies of Government discussed, cover Congress, the Executive Branch, the Judiciary, Local and Foreign Governments. The first half of Mr. Gross' book deals, in a very general way, with the problems facing the smooth working of the various branches of these agencies, the powers of each section and their limitations. It is in the second part of his book that Mr. Gross deals with the actual workings of these agencies, and therefore it is here that we at last come to the practical exposition of Legislative business. The Bills and Laws comprising legislative action are dealt with in detail, the initiation, sponsorship, objectives, drafting, discussing and final legislation of them. At every level, *viz.*, through the Lobbies, Committees and the floor of the Legislature, propaganda and party pressure based on local interest plays a tremendous part, sometimes acting as a serious obstacle to the bill being sanctioned, occasionally quickening the process.

Learning Parliamentary Procedure by Alice Sturgis is essentially a very practical exposition of the workings of parliamentary procedure as well as that of various types of organisations. The method of presentation is certainly very novel, and in considerable contrast to Gross' presentation of a similar theme. Great use is made of humorous verses and cartoons emphasising the important points in every chapter. The methods of literary satire have rarely been used to illustrate the main points of political procedure, specially in text editions of such literature, and thus it is a most effective medium of instruction for the average student of politics. The idea of organising mock-parliamentary debates at school and college level, is the best way of educating young men and women in their political duties as citizens of Democratic States, as it makes alive to them a system of procedure (which in the normal course of things, is presented in the driest forms possible), and gives them knowledge and confidence in the ways of public life.

In conclusion it may be said that while Mr. Gross has an extremely fine academic approach to the subject-matter at hand, the Sturgis book throughout maintains a very practical exposition of the subject under discussion. Both are out of the ordinary in their treatment of such a very prosiac subject as Legislative Procedure. For, knowledge of the legislative procedure of the political institutions of any country, not only that of the U.S.A., has been in the past the prerogative of the few who have found their way into the "sacred chambers" up to now, or of those scholars who have dabbled in these sciences. Mr. Gross and Madame Sturgis bring this knowledge, in their own way, to all who are interested—laymen as well as experts.

Lakshmi Chatterjee

TEACHING AND APPRECIATION OF ART IN SCHOOLS: *By K. K. Jeswani, Lecturer in Art and Visual Education, Central Institute of Education, Government of India. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. 82 Line-drawings and 16 Reproductions of paintings. Pp. 133. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a valiant, though very futile attempt to provide a hand-book for Teaching and Appreciation of Art in Schools. The author has missed the valuable experiment made in the Calcutta University (1940-1950) in teaching Appreciation of Art and the methods employed to achieve a great success in this neglected branch of education. He has made a clumsy attempt to present the fundamental Principles and the Grammar of Art-Composition, and most of the demonstrative illustrations are un-happy and in-appropriate. He has cited only one drawing from Ajanta and has relied on several examples of a modern artist. If he had seen Dr. Nanda Lal Bose's *Rupavali*, he would have realized the fallacy of citing modern paintings and drawings to illustrate fundamental Principles of Design. There is no living artist who can approach the draughtsmanship and the technical mastery of Dr. N. L. Bose, who has, yet, with commendable judgment, carefully abstained from citing his own handiworks for teaching Art to the novice. In teaching appreciation of Literature, the golden rule is to cite the old masterpieces which has stood the test of Time. In teaching Art, the German and American Art-teachers rely on old masterpieces and not on their modern imitators. The author's appreciation of Art is confined to Painting neglecting Sculpture and Architecture. His summary History of Indian Art (chapter 17) is the best chapter in the book, but a History is an academic irrelevance in a course of teachings in the fundamentals of Art. We would recommend the author to study the text and illustrations in Prof. O. C. Gangoly's *Silpa-Parichaya* (translated in several languages), used as a Text-book in the Schools of Calcutta for the last ten years and recast his Text-book on sound foundations.

AGASTYA

TOWARDS BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE SICK CHILD: *By Miss Gauri Rani Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil. Published by the author at 105-109, Ghodbunder Road, Audheri, Bombay. Pp. 76. Price Rs. 3-12.*

As man has a body, his physical ailment is unavoidable. And ailment of any limb, organ or part of the body affects the whole being both physical and psychological and constitutes an emotional state that requires sympathetic dealings and deep understanding of the patient. But unfortunately, in most cases the diseased limb or organ of the ailing person is treated in the hospitals to the utter indifference to the patient's emotional self.

The author of this neat volume who is a medical and psychiatric social worker looks upon the patients in hospitals from a thoroughly humanistic and psychologically correct angle. From her experience in this particular field of social work, she advocates a new approach to the hospitalised children which envisages a sympathetic understanding of the patient's emotional reaction and family environments.

The book deals with a number of concrete cases of hospitalised children and offers refreshing suggestions for those who deal with patients in the hospitals and others in the field of family and child welfare and also the lay public interested in social work.

We welcome Miss Banerjee's ideas and ideals and commend them to the persons concerend.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

1. INSPIRING SONGS AND KIRTANS: *By Swami Sivananda. Second edition. Pp. 240. Price Rs 3.*
2. SIVA'S TREASURE: *Compiled by Seth Moolji Dayal. Pp. 380. Price Rs. 3.*

Both the books are published by the Divine L Society, P.O. Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Dt. Dehra

Sri Swami Sivanada is a dynamic Hindu monk and founder of the Divine Life Society and the author of very many popular books on religion. From his hermitage at the foot of the Himalayas he has started a religious movement that has already spread c wide. He retired from his medical profession in Malaya in 1923 and since then has been in the Himalayas for over three decades with his mission of preaching and publishing.

The first book, under review, contains 125 songs and 140 kirtans sung by him in public congregation. Sankirtan for the purpose of mass revival was first introduced by Sri Chaitanya Deva of Bengal. Other provinces learned this religious practice from Bengal. Swami Sivananada as an experienced teacher imparts spiritual instruction by means of Kirtans and Bhajans. So some of his devotees have called him Sankirtan Samrat. It is to his unique credit that a number of songs have been recorded by gramophone. The Kirtans and songs are given in this book in Roman characters and followed by English renderings.

The second book is a compilation from the various works of Swami Sivananda by Sri Mooiji Dayal, an active member of the Rotarian Movement in Bombay. The compilations are grouped under suitable headings such as guru, prayer, karmayoga, Avatara purusha, anecdotes, sayings, etc. The second chapter contains six life-sketches of Swami Sivananda by different savants two of whom are Europeans. A perusal of the book would supply inspiration to religious life.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WAIFS AND STRAYS: *By K. Chandrasekharan. Acton Lodge, 11, McNichol Road, Madras-10. Price Re. 1-8.*

This small volume contains eleven delightful essays, *viz.*, 'Pleasure of Pain,' 'Change 'On Thinking Too Much.' 'Brutus,' 'An Hour of Silence,' 'On Pedestrians,' 'The Naked Mind,' 'Appreciation,' 'The Temple Tank' and 'The Need of the Hour.' Reflective in nature, they are permeated by a literary flavour. In his foreword, Dr. Radhakrishnan has characterised the author's style as 'vigorous.'

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

NIRJHARA-SANGIT: *By Projjwala Ni Bharati. 3-1 M, Chhidam Mudi Lane, Calcutta. Second edition. Price eleven annas.*

These easy-flowing verses, sincere and unassuming, delight the reader spontaneously. Their graceful simplicity has a charm of its own.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

KARUNAMAY: *By Rajendra Kumar Shukla. Sathi Press, Shivaji Park, Lucknow. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Some of the episodes in the Ramayana have been re-visualized and re-interpreted by the author in this book, which, incidentally, sets a new pace in the writing of poetry. He has succeeded in making the descriptions of places and persons very vivid indeed, while all along the human note has been preserved scrupulously. Shri Shukla's deep devotion to Rama and Sita seems to be in his very blood. His present performance will help the reader to draw still closer to the hearts of these two ideal persons.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ZAMKRATI: *By Durgesh Shukla and Dr. Vasant Avasare. Printed at the Sadhana Press, Bombay-11. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 102, Price Rs. 3.*

Dr. Avasare, though a Doctor, has a literary bent of mind and has written a number of poems in Marathi. Before they could be published in Marathi, a poet friend of his, from amongst his many Gujarati friends, undertook to translate them into Gujarati and published them along with his works. This joint collection therefore represents the Doctor's as well as his friend Durgesh Shukla's handi-work. There is great poetic value in the work of both of them and the last poem of Shukla, Mirat-e-Mijaji is a striking sermon on the transitoriness of world's goods and affairs. The collection is printed in Devnagari script and is therefore likely to be read by those who know Hindi also. We are of opinion that if Bengali books, for instance, are published in Devnagari, they would find a larger number of readers as Gujarati is much akin to Bengali in vocabulary and syntax.

SARVANG SUNDAR JIVAN: *By Mavji Damji Shah, Religious Teacher, Babu Pannalal Jain High School, Bombay. Printed at Kishore Printing, Bombay-1. 1949. Thin paper-cover. Pp. 32. Price 8 annas.*

This pamphlet tells the reader how to live a life which is happy in every way. He mentions a number of human ailments, Blood Pressure, Paralysis, Piles, Pleurisy and a host of similar ones, and shows the way as to how to prevent them, alleviate them and cure them. Diet and resort to nature are the main remedies he suggests in addition to continence and control of the tongue.

K.M.J.

SADHUCHARIT TRIVEDISAHEB: *Edited by M. P. Deshai and P. G. Deshpande. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. October, 1953. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Prof. Jayshankar Prasad Trivedi, born in 1886, was a very popular figure, loved and admired by all who knew him. He had joined the P.W.D. but later preferred the educational service and joined the Agricultural Institute at Poona where his name became a household word for hospitality. As a matter of fact, this very hospitality or hospitable nature seemed once to bring him into conflict with the authorities, but his constancy and popularity lifted him out of it. "Love and service" was the motto of his life, and it was applied to social workers, students and even to Congressmen, sympathy for whom was held to be disaffection to the state in those days. When Gandhiji was in Yeravda Jail in 1922-24, Trivedi escorted Kasturba to the jail gate when she came down for an interview. And this also required courage in those days.

Prof. Trivedi was counted as a member of the Gandhi family in an extended sense, and the tie strengthened itself with the passing of years. Ailing, he went to Wardha, but passed away in May 1941, in spite of all the loving care meted out to him. "One in a thousand"—that was the popular verdict endorsed by Mahatmaji.

A memorial committee was set up, and the publishers have brought out this volume under review, consisting of three parts—his life; reminiscences recorded by 47 men from all ranks of life, Kishorelal Mashruwalla, Rabishankar Raval and others; and homage from many who knew him, beginning with Gandhiji himself. The book makes agreeable reading, a fitting testimony to this servant of Humanity.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Shri Vinoba Bhave and the Bhoodan Yajna

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Gurdial Mallik deals with Shri Vinoba Bhave, whose 54th brithday falls on the 11th of September :

Today the name of Vinoba Bhave is a household word in India. He is also widely known abroad because he has initiated in India a peaceful all-round revolution with the help of Love—that most potent weapon in the spiritual armoury of Man. The weapon is, no doubt, as old as the hills, but its use in cutting the Gordian knot of some of the crucial socio-economic problems of modern community life is almost new ; not quite new, inasmuch as Gandhiji had demonstrated its effectiveness in resolving the tensions of foreign rule and allied political issues. Vinoba is his spiritual heir. But what a long and laborious preparation of nearly 40 years he had to make before he could feel confident of proving the divinity and dynamics of love ! His whole life, it appears, had been tending towards the consciousness and completion of this momentous mission.

Vinoba was born in Gagoden, a village in Colaba District in the State of Bombay, on the 11th of September, 1895, the eldest of four brothers. His gradfather, a Chitapavan Brahmin, was known for his indepedence of thought and action ; he had invited "untouchables" to dinner and also had taken Muslim singers into the temple, when one flouting such taboos risked excommunication. His independence descended also to his son, Nahar Bhave, the father of Vinoba whose real name was Vinayak, "Vinoba" being the pet name given him by Gandhiji when Vinayak was living in the Sabarmati Ashrama. Not satisfied with the orthodox way of education, the father went to college but gave it up for industry and business.

In 1907, Vinoba entered the high school in Baroda. Greatly influenced by the stories of the lives of patriots like Shivaji and of saints like Ramdas, which he heard in his childhood, and by the songs of the saints he had heard his mother singing, he pledged himself at the age of 10 to lifelong celibacy. At that time began his unending study of scriptural literature, strenuous self-restraint and passionate pursuit of Truth. Sharing with others whatever he received came naturally to him ; indelibly impressed on his growing mind was the basic principle of integrated existence : "He who gives is a god, he who hoards is a hobgoblin." At school he took up French at his father's instance, who desired to send him abroad later for higher studies. This enabled him to read, among other books, *Les Miserables* by Victor Hugo, a book after his own heart. He topped the list of students in his class every year up to the Matriculation examination, in which, however, he secured a mere "pass," as he had, as he grew up, begun to participate more and more in extra-curricular activities, especially of the intellectual kind. Afterwards he went to college.

At that time the politics of the bomb and the bayonet had an irresistible attraction for many students. Vinoba, however, resisted this and resolved to tread the path of those who seek, with singleness of purpose and undaunted determination, the Supreme Reality. So, in 1916, while on his way to Bombay to appear for the Intermediate examination, he went off to Banaras—the age-old centre of the Indian pattern of culture of the spirit. Here he studied Sanskrit and sought self-knowledge with unusual diligence and unflagging enthusiasm. Just then Gandhiji visited Banaras, having been invited to a function of the Hindu University. His speech there, urging upon the rich and ruling classes a life of simplicity and service caused a country-wide stir. So Vinoba heard of him and before many days passed he obtained Gandhiji's permission to join the Sabarmati Ashrama.

While at the Ashrama, Vinoba, who had a very poor physique (he weighed only 98 pounds) impressed all by his astounding capacity for different kinds of manual work.

"How are you able to do all this ?" Gandhiji once asked him.

"Through the strength of my desire to work combined with unbending resolve," answered Vinoba.

His unswerving observance of the vows which every Ashramite had to take amazed Gandhiji. No wonder, then, that Vinoba has been able to master many languages, including English, French, Arabic and Persian; to acquire extraordinary proficiency in such domestic arts as cooking, spinning, corn-grinding and laundering, in dairy work and agriculture and even in stone-breaking and the work of a scavenger ; and, finally, to study intensively and extensively Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, Taoism and Buddhism. He even wrote poetry during his stay at Banaras, but he "dedicated to the Ganges," as he put it, all those poems which pleased him, and offered to the fire-god those which he did not like. He has a number of books to his credit, but of all these he sets the highest store by the *Gita-pravachan*, his discourses in Hindi on the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

Vinoba scrupulously kept away from active politics as he did from publicity. For humility is his greatest virtue, as wisdom is his greatest wealth. When it was necessary to assert, in the spirit of an ideal Satyagrahi, his country's birthright to freedom as a vital principle of life, and to go to prison for doing so he came out of his cloistered existence—in reality a beehive of constructive activities in the field of rual rehabilitation, in which he evinced the same urge for experimentation as in his spiritual life.

Gandhiji chose him in 1940 as the first of his co-workers to enter a moral protest against the dragging of India into the second world war—claimed to be waged in defence of Freedom—by the Government that had so long denied freedom to her.

Then in 1942 came the "Quit India" Movement, which drew into its vortex, so strong was the current of Government repression, even constructive workers who had all along confined themselves to their respective projects and programmes. So once again Vinoba found himself in prison. It was at this time, however, that the realization came to him that, unless educated people like himself mingled with the labouring class, the latter could not labour with faith in themselves and with fervour for the well-being of the whole community.

On the 15th of August, 1947, India became free. But, before Gandhiji had time to consolidate the freedom that had come under his inspiration and leadership, he was shot down, on January 30th, 1948. Therefore, to carry on Gandhiji's herculean work for Hindu-Muslim unity, Vinoba once more came out of his seclusion and travelled in the affected areas, preaching the gospel of good-will and substantiating it by his own shining example. But hardly had the fire of communal fanaticism been put out when Communism raised its head in Telangana, in Hyderabad (Deccan), where proprietors of land and peasants had been terrorized, with consequent death, destruction and destitution. This set Vinoba thinking furiously about the problems of the tillers of the soil and he soon came to the conclusion that to the spinning-wheel, which supplies cloth, would have to be joined the plough, which furnishes food. He also came to another important conclusion, namely, that there should be only one political party in the country, because all the established parties and those newly springing up alike sought the economic well-being of the sons of the soil, though they differed in their means to achieve this end.

Accordingly, in 1949, in his Ashrama at Paunar near Wardha in Madhya Pradesh, he strated an experiment in community living on a "labour-economy" basis, doing away with money as a medium of exchange, and also gave the formula for an integrated life: Cleanliness within and without, manual labour for meeting one's primary needs, peace through the religion and practice of neighbourliness and the spirit of self-consecration toward that end. The experiment being successful, he went in 1951 to Telangana from Wardha—a distance of over 300 miles—on foot, so that on the way he might meet the villagers and learn at first hand the nature and extent of their many problems. As he understood these and thought deeply about them, again and again the words of the ancient adage rang in his ears, "All land belongs to the Lord."

Vinoba sought the practical application of the adage, which is but a variation of the central truth of Indian religion and philosophy: the whole world is enveloped by God; therefore, enjoy whatever is given to thee in the spirit of a trustee without coveting any one else's portion. The answer was vouchsafed to him at Pochampalli, where the landless "untouchables" appealed to him to get them some land on which to eke out a bare existence, whereupon one of the villagers donated, then and there, 100 acres for distribution among the landless. "Here is an effective answer to Communism," Vinoba seemed to say to himself. "More powerful than physical force is the fervour of fellow feeling." And he began to preach sharing in the spirit of love, which binds all to one another.

Vinoba's Land-gifts Movement is gradually making people cultivate a new attitude towards private property as well as possession, so that the present-day distinction between the have's and have-not's, which leads so often to exploitation and oppression in some form or other, may be reduced to the minimum.

Vinoba does not aim at the abolition of property, as will be seen from the manner in which the land is donated and redistributed and has to be managed.

After donations of land—large and small—have been received Vinoba sets up a non-party, representative Board. The Board installs committees of a similar character district-wise. The title-deed is drafted and copies are printed. With these in hand the members of the committees go into the villages and the land is surveyed in the light of Government records. After ascertaining all the relevant facts, a meeting of the whole village is convened, where the landless villages are also present. The villagers themselves recommend that these landless fellow villagers should be given land, whereupon the latter are given at the rate per family (not per joint family) of one acre of wet and five acres of dry land. This proportion, however, is varied in different States in order to make the unit sufficient to maintain the family. The receiver of the land-gift has to accept certain conditions: first, he shall not sell the land, nor shall he mortgage it; nor, after his death, will the land pass on to his family unless the latter undertake to till the land themselves. Otherwise the land will be passed on to a family who will agree to till it.

Actually, it is understood, no effective provision has yet been made for ensuring that each donee is securely launched as a landholder, with food to tide him over till the harvest and the necessary wherewithal for farming; but the ideal is that, in addition to the land, the needy peasant shall be given agricultural implements, a pair of bullocks, seed, etc., while a well or a tank is

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dug for irrigation purposes, with the help of money donated by those who have no land to give.

Thus began the "Land-gift-through-love" Movement which during the last three years has been gathering strength with snowball rapidity. Over three million acres have been given to Vinoba. People have been seeing with their own eyes the wonderful working of the way of love and this has started a revolution in the life of the community. To the gifts of land are being added gifts of money by those who have no land to give, of intellectual and legal ability and assistance, and of free labour for the common good. The spirit of sharing is indeed aroused. And it now remains for the Government and non-official organizations to harness the enthusiasm and energy released under the impact of Vinoba's example, influence and inspiration. To miss doing so would be not only to let slip by a golden opportunity to create a non-violent society based on the twin axes of mutual service and sharing, a society all of whose members shall be for each and each for all, but also to be faithless to the call of the ages as well as of the times. It is a fact in history that such a call has always been given by those who have been clothed in the might of love and *ahimsa*—a Buddha, a Jesus, a Gandhi or a Vinoba.

The Aim of Bhoodan Movement

Acharya Vinoba Bhave writes in the *Bharat Sevak* :

We aim ultimately at abolishing the ownership of land. It should be free and not subject to individual ownership as it is at present. Land is the mother of us all. It is the foundation of life. We need it not only for maintaining our life but also when we die. It is obvious that such a thing cannot be allowed to be the subject of exclusive ownership. The first thing therefore we have to do is to see that everyone is provided with some land. There should be no one in the village without land. After this we will ask the people to collect all their land and make it the joint property of the village and cultivate it co-operatively on a planned basis. They would find out what things they needed and in what quantity and grow the different crops accordingly. At present, there is no such planning; they grow just those crops which seem to promise the maximum return in money, with the result that, notwithstanding our unsatisfactory food position, about eight and a half lakh acres of the country's land are being used for growing tobacco !

There is a new kind of landowining class growing up lately—the farm owners. They too do not live in the villages. Like God Mahadeva in his Kailas they also live far away in the cities beyond the reach of the labourers who work in their farms. I would like to tell all concerned very frankly that the labourers and the workers must have the same share in these farms as their proprietors or this disguised introduction of commercial exploitation in the sphere of agriculture would not be tolerated. After all the people are the real masters and anything which goes against their interests will have to be scrapped. It is to arouse the people to their rights and their duties that I am moving about from village to vallage.

I not only ask for land but aso for the gift of their intelligence from the landowners. I want them to take up this work as their own. It would give them real prestige. What prestige have they today ? Only yesterday a labourer came to me weeping. Utterly tired after the day's work, he had begged leave to go home whereupon the master not only did not allow him to go home but also beat him very severely. I ask—what prestige is there in this ? People forget that the workers are also entitled to a sense of self-respect. What should be the plight of the so-called owners, if the labourers—because one of them had been unjustly beaten—were to declare that they would not work ? Would they not be reduced to utter helplessness ? Well; if the owners do not mend their ways, it is going to be so in India. In the same way, the workers also have to change some of their ways, before they can justly claim equality of status and respect. They must be honest in their work. They must not fight among themselves and they must give up evil habits, such as drinking, etc.

When a big landowner gives me only a hundred out of his one thousand acres, I am asked how I am going to get the remaining nine hundred. I reply I do not worry about it, for I am sure that they will come to me automatically even without going through the formality of the filling in the gift-deeds once the poor get well-organized. Let the poor give away all their lands and become united; it will produce such a big army of Bhoodan workers that none will need to go to anybody and yet the work will get done in no time.

Only the other day, there was land distribution at Senha in Palamu District. The distribution ceremony was performed by the Governor of the province. How did it come about ? All the small landowners gave away their lands. Only one big landholder, who did not even live in that village, remained. The workers wrote to him that all the villagers had given away their entire land and it was now for him to give his. This had immediate effect and he answered that he was also giving his entire land. He also wrote that at the time of the distribution he may also be given a few acres. In his speech at the distribution, the Governor referred to this incident and said that there were very clear indications that the Bhoodan and the Sampattidan Yajna were going to bring about the social revolution. Now what happened at Senha can also happen in every other village. The Senha people are just ordinary men and women like you; the only difference is that they have realized the importance of the Bhoodan Yajna while others have not till now.

The Communists say that I am doing injustice to the poor by asking for land from them. One Communist asked me why I was robbing the poor. I told him that this was a non-violent fight which had its own peculiar technique. It requires that first we rob the near ones and then only the distant ones. Like charity it must begin at home. But the Communists do not understand this supreme art of a non-violent fight. I have received three lakh giftdeeds till now of which more than two and a half lakhs must have come from the poor. It is this which has prompted the big landlords like those of Ramgarh, Darbhanga and Palkot to offer their big donations. The mother and the sister of the Raja of Ramgarh have donated their jewellery. Once the good comes over to our side, no one will dare pit himself against us. We will then become absolutely irresistible. The year 1957 is drawing nearer and I tell you that by that year India will see the glorious rise of the Raj of Daridranarayana—the Poor. The rich are intelligent and we can be certain that as they see that fateful year coming closer, they will willingly give up at least half of their possessions. This is not meant to frighten the rich. In a non-violent fight no party suffers defeat; both win. We are not going to humiliate the rich; we will love them and respect them.

Solidarity Versus Freedom

Esme Wynne-Tyson writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

To the free man life without liberty of thought is a denial of his manhood and a living death. To the under-privileged slave of circumstances solidarity appears to be the only way to achieve the security which will enable him to live at all, and for this he is willing to pay any price, even that of total mental surrender, to a system that promises him sufficiency. These are the opposing viewpoints in the present war of ideologies, and unfortunately the slaves, especially in Asia, mightily exceed the numbers of free men. In that amazingly prophetic essay, *The Spiritual Conflict*, written in 1915, in which he clearly foretold the coming of the domination of the State, and the idea that the individual exists for the State instead of the opposite liberal belief that obtained at the time he was writing, A.E., the Irish writer and mystic, diagnosed the unrest and troubles of humanity through the ages as being essentially due to its oscillations between these opposing ideals of solidarity and freedom. He reminded us that the conflict could be traced throughout history, and it is interesting, as well as alarming, to do so. Especially in the case of Athens in her prime which, as Dr. Gilbert Murray has recently pointed out, was, in her liberal outlook although not of course in social conditions, so very like England before the outbreak of the 1914 war. And just as her fine liberality and freedom of thought was forced to give way to the solidarity made necessary by long drawn-out wars, conflicting ideologies and the resultant cult of violence, so has true Liberalism in England fallen by the wayside in our own era.

Plato's *Republic* also provides a blue-print of the decline from fredom to solidarity, from government by the Good-Principle, or King-Philosoper, through oligarchy and democracy to government by the tyrant or Bad-Principle who always comes to power when the lower elements of a State get the upper hand and fight among themselves. Violence can only be physically overcome by a greater violence, which means that the greater violence in the shape of a tyrant, is always enthroned by this method. But A. E., himself, cited as an example the 17th and 18th centuries in France, when the solidarity of a totalitarian Church was being undermined by well-meaning exponents of free thought, in particular the Encyclopaedists; a dangerous freedom, with no clear sense of direction, no foresight nor super-wisdom by which to assess the effect of unrestricted thought on mentalities unprepared for the impact. And what would Voltaire do in this world whose foundations he so assiduously helped to lay. What would he, an individualist, think of the enforced indoctrination of dialectical materialism? Precisely what he thought of the imposed superstitions of the theology of his day. But then there were loopholes. The total thought control aimed at by Ecclesiasticism was, in that age, by no means absolute. People could and did escape to no worse hell than the Church's displeasure. But how would Voltaire survive a People's democracy where to be a non-conforming individual is to sin against the Holy Ghost or the whole spirit of the termitary-state?

In reading A. E.'s essay one is at first reassured by the thought that this has all happened before many times throughout the ages, and that the reaction from solidarity to freedom, from freedom to solidarity, is inevitable, and the present situation a mere passing phase. But then one remembers that never before in the world's history have there been such efficacious and diabolical means to implement the condition of solidarity as there are to-day. Not only, or even primarily, the material armaments—the worst bomb invented has never and will never kill an idea while there remains one man in the world to hold it—but the mental weapons, the propaganda, the psychiatry, the indoctrination, the devilish modern means whereby a character may be changed or assassinated. These facts cause hope to falter, and one remembers Ouspensky's suggestion in that remarkable book, *A New Model of the Universe*, that the ants and bees are degenerate forms of consciousness that failed to evolve and develop into individuals, which this writer considers was the aim of the evolutionary urge. This fantasy, which Ouspensky's admirable reasoning makes almost to seem a probability, is alarmingly convincing. He traces the devolution of the thinking being who deliberately turns his back on the development of his mental and spiritual nature, and concentrates on collective living and progress, achieving with his fellow beings, through such single-mindedness, the perfect termitary state. "In the course of time their thinking capacities, absolutely unnecessary in a well-organised ant-hill or beehive became atrophied, automatic habits began to be handed down automatically from generation to generation, and ants became 'insects,' as we know them." As he points out, when efficiency reaches a certain pitch the termitary runs itself automatically. No individual intelligence is requisite or desirable. In fact it imperils the untilitarian community. "Intelligence could forget, could distort, could add something new. Intelligence could again lead to 'myself-cism', to the idea of a higher intelligence." And therefore intelligence had to give place entirely to the automatism of the perfect collective life.

As one considers the trend of the modern world, one inevitably finds oneself wondering if this is not indeed a pattern of history, if insect life, so closely resembling the totalitarian states, is not in truth a failure of the evolution of some higher species, and whether such a thing could happen again. It is all too apparent that men have lost much of their humanity and humaneness in this scientific age. Absorbed in their technology which somehow colours their whole lives, they remind us of the warnings of the clear-sighted brothers Kapek whose Insect Play startled the world in the 30's. This is true even in the Western world. The Communist community with its purely utilitarian outlook and absolute materialism already has the psychological ingredient for the perfect termitary life. It is, therefore, with a sense of relief that we turn again to A.E.'s essay, written in what seems in comparison with the present day, a

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peaceful, leisurely age, even in the course of the first world war, and find him prophesying, with the optimism of his period, the arising of a synthesis whereby the conflct of the two ideologies may yet be satisfactorily resolved. "What we ought to realise," he says, "is that these reactions take place within one being, humanity, and indicate eternal desires of the soul. They seem to urge on us the idea that there is a pleroma, or human fulness, in which the opposites may be reconciled, and that the divine event to which we are moving is a state in which there will be essential freedom combined with an organic unity."

So far, in the course of history this synthesis has failed to make its appearance. Or, more truly, it has failed to be recognized whenever it has appeared. For in point of fact it has always been provided by the Avatars, Saviours, prophets and seers of the human race who all taught that the Kingdom of Heaven could only be realized within the individual man's consciousness; that man himself and not the external world was what needed changing and regenerating. But those obstinately seeking to solve the problem of conflicting ideologies on the level at which it exists have always refused to consider the obvious metaphysical solution offered by the greatest thinkers of all ages. Yet, looking at the situation to-day how can it be doubted that the problem to be solved must be transcended? Neither side in the present ideological conflict could conceivably give way to the other. Those who value what Charles Morgan has called 'the liberties of the mind' will die rather than submit to total thought control, litarianism cannot possibly survive the inclusion thought. In referring to "a return to Ouspensky provides a clue to the way out *"impasse."* "Mysticism" in his sense of the word, a living belief in a higher intelligence than that collective human intelligence, an intelligence formed the great World-Teachers of the past, definite instructions and rules whereby men themselves at one with this higher Mind, and so the only safe and successful government man—self-government by God-government: within the laws of divine Wisdom, Truth and Love. most universal and essential of these laws, explicitly in all the major world-faiths, is that in Christianity as *The Golden Rule*. This one law would, if obeyed, ensure the security of mankind. it been kept by those professing to accept the which teach it, there would have been no atom or indeed, any warfare at all between men agreed this fundamental decency of life. So far, however, lip service has been given to this and the universally beneficent laws embodied in the metaphysical systems of the Masters. The alternative the termitary is now quite obviously their acceptance for the first time in history their practical application by mankind as a whole. This would both A. E.'s synthesis and Ouspensky's evolutionary necessity.

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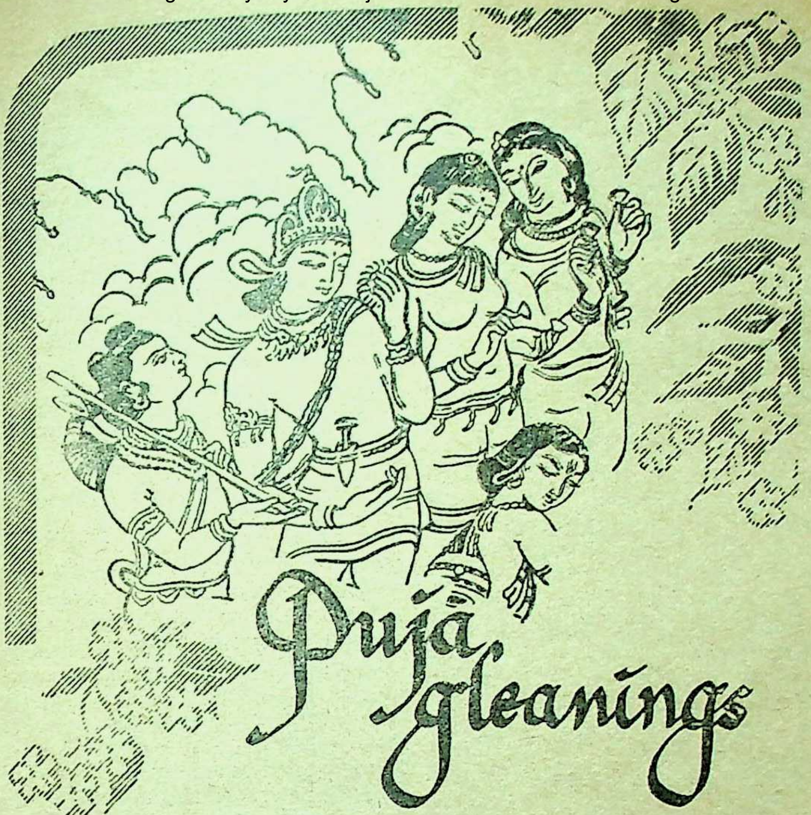

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Latium

Latium lies to the south of Tuscany and to the south-west of Umbria. It is an extensive region, with a long coastline of some 250 Kms, but with no ports worthy of note. (To the north of Rome is the artificial port of *Civitavecchia*, used mostly for traffic with Sardinia, and to the south of Rome is the little port of *Anzio*, which is used more than that of *Gaeta*, a good, natural harbour, used mainly as a military base). Latium has about 3,400,000 inhabitants, with a density of 195 per sq. Km, *this is due, however, to the fact that Rome comes within this region, and Rome accounts for at least half of the population of the region.* Apart from Rome, there are four provincial towns: Viterbo, Rieti, Frosinone and Latina, none of which are large, however. The economic and geographical reasons which caused *the greatest empire in ancient history, the power of Rome, to rise in this rather than in some other central region of Italy, remains on the whole a mystery.* All we know is that it happened, and this region thus became famous all over the world. Today it is a region of coastal plains and marshes, some of which have been reclaimed only during the last ten years (for example, l'agro Pontino); after this low-lying coastal area comes a chain of volcanic mountains, the old vocanoes having left several fine lakes, such as Bolsena, Vico, Bracciano, Albano and Nemi, and a soil which is excellent for vines and olive groves; then, further to the south, is a chain of calcareous mountains (the Lepini, Ausoni and Aurunci) which are very arid and sparsely populated; and finally the real Pennine Chain, also calcareous and therefore also arid and with a very sparse population, with the exception of the foothills which surround the higher mountains and which are quite fertile and cultivated (such as the Sabina province). Industry is rare in this region, with the exception of some small works at Tivoli; due to the electric power station built at the Aniene waterfalls, at Isola Liri for the same reasons, at Colle ferro and also in Rome. Neither is the zone very agriculturally fertile, with the exception of wine production in the Roman Castles and olive groves in Sabina.

To speak of Latium is really to speak of Rome, but to speak of this city in only a few lines is impossible. Its fame is due partly to history and partly to legend, but that it was indeed a great city is obvious from the numerous and stone edifices, built in different ages, many of which are still preserved; and from its great spiritual heritage which spread out to all the nations of the world through its literature, and then through the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which today numbers 460 million among the faithful.

Rome is therefore above all the "Eternal City", and also the "Holy City" for Catholics all over the world.

A small piece of land, measuring 044 sq. Kms and with a population of only 1,000, within the city, constitutes the sovereign state of the *Vatican City*. St. Peter's Square which is also included in this state, is nevertheless normally open to the public and subject to the power of the Italian Authorities and Police. The first place to visit in Rome is certainly St. Peter's, the largest basilica in the world, and the work of Michelangelo (the dome), Bernini (the doorway) and Moderna (the facing), and then to the Vatican buildings and museums which one can admire, apart from paintings and sculpture, and the Sistine Chapel, by Michelangelo. E Rome is too rich in historical edifices and monuments for it to be possible to name them all, and for one not to be guilty of neglect if one names only a few. We will therefore only say that Rome is an inexhaustible fount of interest for those who are interested in Roman archaeology, including its pagan heritage such as the Colosseum, the Roman Forum, the Palatinate, the Adrian Mole, the Appian Way and the Termal Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, as well as the Arches of Titus and Constantine, the Basilica of Maxentius and the Temples of Vesta, Janus, Septimus Severus, etc. There are the early Christian edifices, such as the Catacombs, and those of the Roman epoch (the various Basilicas). There is a lack of Gothic architecture, with the exception of the Church of St. Mary above Minerva, but there are wonderful examples of Renaissance and, above all Baroque architecture, given expression in all its artistic forms (buildings, churches fountains, sculpture and paintings). It is this Baroque architecture which is the great splendour of Rome. It dates back to the 17th Century, when the Popes commissioned two great rival artists, Bernini and Borromini, to design for them. The 18th Century is also well represented (the Trevi Fountain and the Trinita dei Monti), and certainly the 19th which had a great architect in Valadier, creator of the People's Square (Piazza del Popilo) and the Pincio.

After the unification of Italy when Roma became the capital of the Realm (after 1870), it was greatly enlarged.

Now quarters and new roads were built, not without notable works of art (such as the Esendra, by Kock and the Bank of Italy, also by Kock, the Gallery of Modern Art and the arrangement of Valle Giulia, both by Bazzani). Very grandiose and effective are the

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Victor Emanuel II Monument, and the Palace of Justice, built about 1910. The same may also be said of the more modern works of all the buildings which has taken place in the last 30 years and which has enlarged the city, making it the most populous of the Italian cities. Among the more recent grandiose edifices must be mentioned the Central Station, built after the war, and in modern style and the Olympic Stadium (holding 80,000 persons) near the Foro Italico, that great building dedicated to sport for youth, which often attracts the attention of tourists. But apart from its edifices and monuments, Rome is a city beloved by foreigners for its memories, for the mild climate it enjoys, for the variety of its walks, for the beauty of its countryside, for its green parks and its fountains of clear water, and for its many and varied ceremonies, of a religious, cultural, artistic and social nature.

Rome is rich in fine hotels, attractive shops, restaurants famous for their cooking, bars and cafes, theatres and cinemas. Since the end of the war, an international cinematograph industry has grown up which gives employment to some 40,000 people at the great Studios of "Cinecitta," and to which is due much of the notable influx of foreigners.

Not far from Rome are various places of interest which certainly merit a visit, such as *Tivoli,* with its lovely waterfalls and fountains and its famous villas; *Frascati, Rocca di Papa, Grottaferrata,* and *Castel Gandolfo* on the smiling hills of the Roman Castles, old and modern *Ostia* (the latter, the bathing resort of Rome), *Velletri,* in the hills, and *Anzio* and *Nettuno* on the sea. *Viterbo,* capital town of the province, rich in old walls, fountains, attractive buildings, etc., also merits a visit, as does *Bolsena,* situated on the lake of the same name, with its church of S. Cristina wherein the miracle of the bleeding of the Sacred Host took place, and *Tuscania.* Then, in the province of Frosinone, is *Fiuggi,* a famous watering place with a fine park and excellent hotels; lastly, there is *Montecassino,* famous for its Benedictine Abbey which was destroyed during the last war but which is in the process of being rebuilt.

The most important tourist events are the "Festa de Noantri," which is held in the Trastevere quarter of Rome each July; the Feasts in celebration of the Grape and Wine, which are held each year in the little towns on the Roman Castle Hills, particularly at Genzano, Velletri, Frascati, Marino, etc.; the floral procession at Genzano each May; the open-air Opera Season at the Terme di Caracalla and the winter Opera Season at the Opera House, both in Rome; and the Sacred Plays which are given at the Teatro Sacro Italiano at Sezze during the month of July.

Special dishes of the region are "l'abbacchio alla romana" (roast lamb), "carciofi alla giudia" (fried artichokes), and spaghetti "alla carbonara," whilst the wines from the Roman Castles, and particularly from "Frascati," are well-known.—*Italian Affairs,* May 1955.

China's Draft Constitution is of Socialist Type, says People's Daily

The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China is of a Socialist type, writes the Peking People's Daily on June 22 editorially.

Classifying existing constitutions into two types, the Socialist type and the capitalist type, the paper says that the constitution of a capitalist country belongs to the ruling capitalist class. Such a constitution, it notes, is a record and affirmation of the social and state systems favourable to the capitalist class. On the other hand, the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union is a constitution which affirms the complete victory of Socialism. Unlike a capitalist constitution which cloaks its essence with all sorts of hypocritical terms, a Socialist constitution does not deem it necessary to cover up its class nature, but openly declares that it is the embodiment of the will of the entire working people led by the working class. It gives clear expression to what the working people have won and in what direction society develops after the working class assumes power.

The contents of China's Draft Constitution, the paper goes on, indicate that it is a constitution for the period of transition during which Socialism is being built, a constitution that ensures the elimination of exploitation step by step and the building up of a Socialist society.

Dealing with the principle of the protection of private property, which the capitalist class plays up, the People's Daily points out that in capitalist countries, what the state really protects is only the property of the capitalist class, particularly that of the big capitalists. China's Draft Constitution, however, not only ensures the expansion of public property owned by the whole people but explicitly provides that the right of citizens to the ownership of lawful incomes, and of savings, houses and the means of life be protected. The Draft Constitution stipulates that the State protects by law the ownership of land, means of production and other property by peasants, handicraftsmen and other individual working people and encourages these individual working people to follow, on a voluntary basis, the path of cooperation so that they will once and for all be freed from the menace of poverty and exploitation. It further specifies that during the period of transition to Socialism the State protects by law the ownership of the means of production and other property by capitalists. At the same time, by carrying out a policy of "use, restrict and transform" capitalist industry and commerce and through different forms of state capitalism, the State will bring capitalist industry and commerce, step by step, under the ownership by the whole people. All this demonstrates that the principle followed throughout the Draft Constitution is one of Socialism.

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The paper says that the capitalist class formulated a whole series of measures restricting the people's right to vote, so that voting becomes a privilege of the propertied class. In China's Draft Constitution, however, there are a number of stipulations to ensure that all power in the State belongs to the people. The organisational principle for the entire state structure ensures that the mass of the people can constantly supervise the work of the state structure. According to the Draft Constitution the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at every level are elected by democratic means and are organs of state power. The National People's Congress is the supreme organ of state power and also the only organ exercising the legislative power of the state. The State Council as prescribed in the Draft Constitution is the executive organ of the National People's Congress, while the Cabinet provided for in the capitalist constitution stands in opposition to the Parliament. The State Council is of the same nature as the Council of Ministers in the Soviet Union.

In regard to relations among nationalities, the paper points out, the Draft Constitution also differs from the capitalist constitution. The capitalist class divides nationalities into "superior" and "inferior." They consider that different nationalities cannot and should not be completely equal. Thus their constitution reflects this viewpoint and aims at the rule of one nationality over another. In contrast to this, the Draft Constitution stipulates that all the nationalities are equal, that discrimination against and oppression of any nationality, and actions which undermine the unity of the nationalities, are prohibited' and that the various national minorities are to be assisted in their political, economic and cultural development.

A constitution of a Socialist type, the editorial notes, is not confined to giving civil rights a legal form, it lays emphasis on the material conditions with which to realise these rights. As is specified in China's Draft Constitution, "citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. The state provides the necessary material facilities to guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of these freedoms." Because the State has been providing the material conditions, the people have been for the past several years enjoyed these rights. Similarly, the people's rights to work, to rest, to education and other rights have been a reality for the past several years. In 1953, for example, the number of elementary school-children throughout the country already reached over 55 million, 135 per cent greater than the peak year in old China. In the same year, there were over 2,400 palaces of culture and 4,500 cultural stations at the disposal of the working people.

To ensure the people's right to vote, all the exp involved in elections to state structure are covered the state treasury. And such material condition ensure the enjoyment of civil rights will be expand continuously.

Continuing, the editorial calls attention to the fa that the capitalist constitution either brushes aside ci rights or ignores how citizens are to enjoy these righ because the capitalist class is never willing to see the realised. Although the constitutions in some capitali countries provide certain civil rights due to the people's struggle for them, these provisions have frequently bee violated by new laws and undermined by the cour police, special services and other tools.

Concluding, the paper says that the Draft Consti- tution is a true reflection of the realities which the broad mass of the people find in their daily life and that it has been written in as simple language as pos- sible. As a result, the Draft Constitution is under

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standable to the broad mass of the people. Furthermore, when the Draft Constitution was being drawn up, public opinion was solicited on a broad scale. And now the Draft Constitution has been published for discussion by the whole people. This shows that a Constitution of a Socialist type is a distillation of the people's wisdom as well as an embodiment of their will and therefore it is a Constitution belonging to the people and serving their interests.—*Hsinhua News*, June 22, 1954.

First Big Oil Refinery in India Ready for Production

Trombay: A 15,000-ton tanker tied up at the Bombay Port Trust's Pir Pau jetty last week, carrying an unprecedented cargo—110,000 barrels of crude oil straight from the oil wells of Saudi Arabia. In a few weeks, this crude, the first of millions of barrels destined for the new Bombay refinery of the Standard Vacuum Oil Company, will be converted into gasolene, kerosene and other petroleum products, inaugurating India's modern oil-refining industry.

The start-up of the Stanvac refinery, scheduled for the second half of this month, will crown 18 months of work and planning by a labour force which has numbered, at its maximum, 7,000 persons. Since December 1952 the 280-acre site has been transformed from a jungle waste into a complex array of gleaming spheres, towers, furnaces, pipelines and storage tanks that constitute one of the most modern oil refineries in Asia.

Simultaneously, while erecting its equipment, Stanvac has been building the men who will run the refinery. When the plant goes "on stream" this month, more than 500 members of the 550-man staff will be Indians, each of them especially trained from his particular task. Screened, tested and selected from hundreds of applicants, they constitute the spearhead of the men who will run the country's newest industry. The non-Indian technicians, who constitute less than 10 per cent of the initial labour force, will be progressively eliminated.

These Indian trainees were carefully coached in theory and its practical application before taking up their jobs. In the first weeks of their schooling, they were taught the fundamentals of the extremely complex oil-refining industry. Then came detailed instruction. The potential oil-men got most of their training at the refinery site, and they built up knowledge piece by piece, just as the last vessels and towers of the refinery moved into place. Thus, both men and machines were fitted into the refining pattern.

Typical of the hundreds of young Indians associated with this new industry is 23-year-old G. I. Bhagwan of Bombay, an assistant in the boiler and compressed air unit. A science Honours graduate and former apprentice in a chemical plant, young Bhagwan gets a tremendous thrill from his new work. He was on hand when the boilers, capable of generating 54,000 pounds of steam per hour, were fired for the first time. Wearing the silvered safety helmet which is the mark of a refinery technician all over the world, he stares intently at the dials on the complicated instrument board. His American instructor and chief, Howard Roughead, stands beside him quietly with an alertness which spells experience.

TANK FOR STORING WATER

Near the boiler and compressed air unit is another installation no less vital, a storage tank for two million gallons of sea water, used both for cooling the oil during refining (it is heated to 1,100 degrees Fahrenheit) and for fire protection. This water comes from a 2,000-foot jetty, nearly two miles away, built at a cost of Rs. 50 lakhs. The three 450-horsepower pumps at the end of the jetty can supply water to the refinery at the almost incredible rate of 24,000 gallons a minute.

After being used for cooling, the water is passed through separators which remove oil residues. This eliminates the danger of pollution when the water is returned to the bay.

The heart of the refinery is the combination unit, where the crude oil is converted into refined petroleum products by a process known as "catalytic cracking." Beyond it lie the storage tanks, holding enough crude oil for 18 days of operation at 25,000 barrels a day.

The refinery, whose total cost will be Rs. 17.5 crores, will supply about one-third of India's needs of petroleum products.

The Stanvac refinery, which is the biggest private dollar investment ever made in India, will help India save about Rs. 120 lakhs per year in foreign exchange, because the crude oil brought into the country will be much less costly than the refined products presently imported.

Strategically, too, the refinery makes India less dependent on other countries where internal disturbances may affect supplies. The crude oil normally will come from the Persian Gulf area, but there are sufficient reserves elsewhere in the world to ensure that India will never be without the oil she needs, provided she can refine it within her own borders.—*American Reporter*, July 7, 1954.

Overseas Handicrafts Impress U.S. Merchants

Chicago, Aug. 11—Handicraft items from India, Greece, the Philippines, Germany, Norway and Finland are now being exhibited at the 58th semi-annual Chicago Gift Show.

Hundreds of buyers for gift shops from all over the United States are ordering the imports that occupy most of the space in a special exhibit developed by Fred Leighton, New York importer, in co-operation with the CARE Development Corporation (CDC).

Leighton, a lading import of Latin American handicraft, has expanded to world-wide operations as sole sales representative in the United States for consumer items imported by the CARE Corporation, which is a new subsidiary of the international CARE welfare group.

On display are wooden figurines from India painted in bright colours, character dolls from Greece with

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costumes representing various provinces, rare wood carvings from the Philippines, place mats and cocktail napkins from the Philippines, copper pitchers from England, wooden figurines from Finland, wooden place mats and paper products from Germany, and hand-embroidered toys and woollen gloves from Norway.

"The sales potential on these products is tremendous —possibly in the million of dollars," Leighton said.

Leighton said he already had taken a number of orders in the opening days of the gift show, and expected many more. "The people are interested in the ideas behind this CARE programme as well as the merchandise," he said.

The CARE Development Corporation was organised to support CARE's philanthropic foreign relief and rehabilitation programmes. Its function is to help establish modest industrial and agricultural enterprises in developing areas of the world and to find world markets for the goods produced, thus opening more employment opportunities for local populations.

The Leighton firm, with headquarters in New York and representatives in major American cities, will make available to the U.S. market products found by CDC representatives overseas who are checking local industries in 50 countries of Asia, Europe, and Latin America. —*USIS.*

"Bibliography on Filmology"

A *Bibliography on Filmology as Related to the Social Sciences* has just been published by Unesco as Number 9 in its series of Reports and Papers on Mass Communications. These reports analysing, disseminating and stimulating the exchange of information on the use of the press, film, radio and other media for educational, scientific and cultural purposes, are prepared by the Unesco Mass Communications Clearing House.

The Bibliography is the work of Mr. Jan C. Bouman, of the Institute of Psychology, University of Stockholm. Presented in two languages, English and French, it is intended for research workers and students of the problems of filmology as related to the social sciences, particularly psychology, sociology, psychiatry, physiology, anthropology and philosophy.

Studies of the film as teaching aid, in school or elsewhere, are included in so far as they deal with the theoretical basis of instruction with visual aids. In compiling the Bibliography, the criterion of selection was the scientific intention or implication of the studies, or simply the interest they may have for the scientific history of the cinema. Four types of studies are included: articles in periodicals; books; articles or chapters in books, compilations, anthologies; unpublished works. In each case full details are given, with a free translation of the title into English and or French. Price: $.40; 2|-; 100 frs.—*Unesco News.*

Atom in Schools

INTEREST IN PEACETIME USES GROWS AMONG AMERICAN STUDENTS

While atomic energy has been claiming the attention of scientists and statesmen, it has also been receiving serious study by the youth of the United States.

Interest in atom, and especially the possibility of peacefully using its energy, has been widespread. Most high-school students have gained some knowledge of the subject, and all but a few schools in the United States have dealt with the subject.

The study of atomic energy in the secondary schools has taken many forms. It ranges from simple experiments in chemistry and physics laboratories to planning and building models of complex equipment.

Many students have prepared essays and reports on atomic energy for their English, science and social studies courses. They have written editorials for school papers on its social and economic implications.

TEACHERS TAUGHT

With this great interest by students in the subject, the education of teachers in atomic energy has been necessary. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission co-operates in developing courses for teachers dealing with nuclear fission, atomic reactors, and atomic by-products —such as radioactive isotopes. Working with the commission, the public school systems in a number of cities have developed outstanding teacher-training programmes.

Nebraska's State Department of Public Instruction has issued a teaching guide entitled *Facing the Facts of Atomic Energy*, and the State of Oregon has published a similar guide, *Learning about Atomic Energy*.

The State of Iowa has developed a comprehensive set of teaching guides for use at the elementary, high school, college and adult-education levels.

An important apporach to teaching in the field of atomic energy was developed by the schools of New York City and adopted in other localities. The school authorities felt that highschools students should study the use of radioactive isotopes. They asked the Atomic Energy Commission how this could be done safely.

The commission helped establish a 13-week course in the handling of radioisotopes. Some 300 biology, chemistry and physics teachers attended. Students now use in their laboratories minute amounts of radioactive iodine and phosphorus.

SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMME

A manual, *Laboratory Experiments with Radioisotopes for High School Science Demonstrations*, was prepared. The programme proved so successful that similar courses are being conducted in the high schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, and Glen Ridge, New Jersey, and at Loyola College in Baltimore, Maryland. Twenty-seven high schools in the State of Washington are using radioisotopes in their laboratory courses.

Many city school systems adopt each other's programmes of atomic energy education. However, the Federal Government does not dictate what schools should or should not teach. Rather, education in this field has been achieved through the individual efforts of many teachers. They work independently, studying and adapting courriculum material on atomic energy. This is the manner in which education has traditionally grown in America.

High-school students also learn about atomic energy through the clubs they form for interests outside their regular school studies. One such club at Suffern, New York, makes models of atomic reactors, cyclotrons, and other splitting apparatus.

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission receives thousands of requests from students of all ages for more information about atom power and its developing applications. Officials say the letters show a general understanding of atomic energy and the efforts to harness that power for the good of all mankind.—*American Reporter.*

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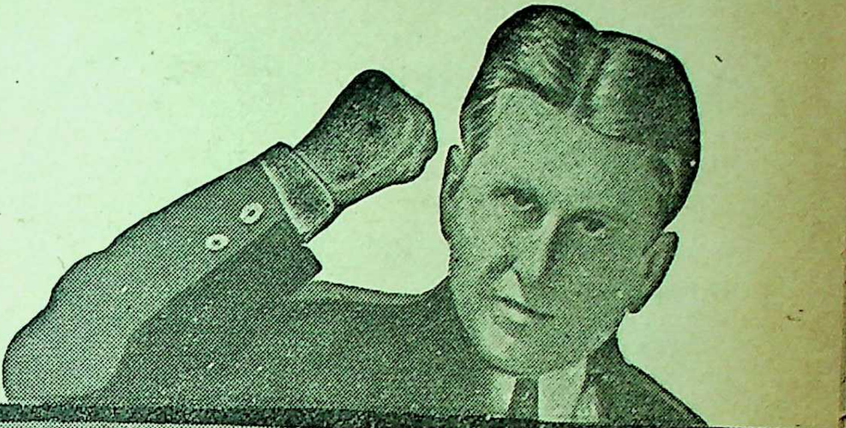

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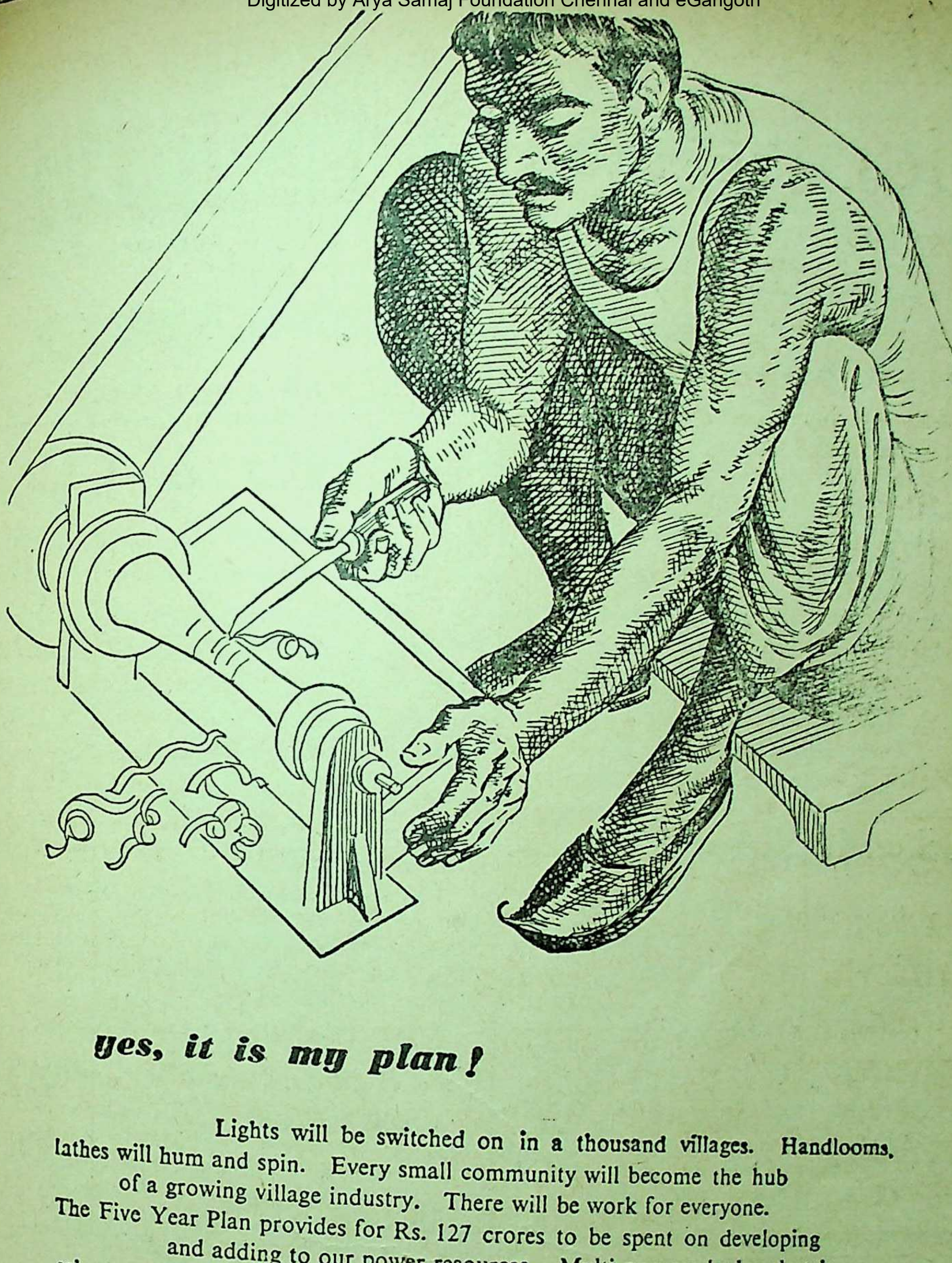

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CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER 1954.

PAGE

FRONTISPIECE—SRI DURGA (*in colours*)—Bireschandra Ganguly

NOTES : 337—356

POLITICS AROUND THE WORLD—Dr. Taraknath Das 357

AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA—Prof. C. B. Mamoria 367

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION—D. N. Banerjee 374

HYDERABAD : CITY OF PROMISE (*illust.*)—G. Srinivas Rao 382

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CONTENTS—(Continued

Page

SIMLA IN SUMMER (*illust.*)—Maniklal Mukherji 385

PARENTS CO-OPERATE TO ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT SCHOOL (*illust.*)—USIS 392

JUSTICE A. N. SEN : A DISTINGUISHED JUDGE AND COLLECTOR OF ART (*illust.*)—Prof. O. C. Gangoly 395

DYLAN THOMAS—Prof. Joseph Minattur 396

NO UNIVERSITY DEGREE—WHAT THEN ?—Naresh Chandra Roy 398

DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA—Prof. Y. P. Pant 402

ETERNAL VALUES IN ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE—Paresh Nath Mukherjee 405

BOOK REVIEWS : 407—409

INDIAN PERIODICALS : 411—414

FOREIGN PERIODICALS : 415—420

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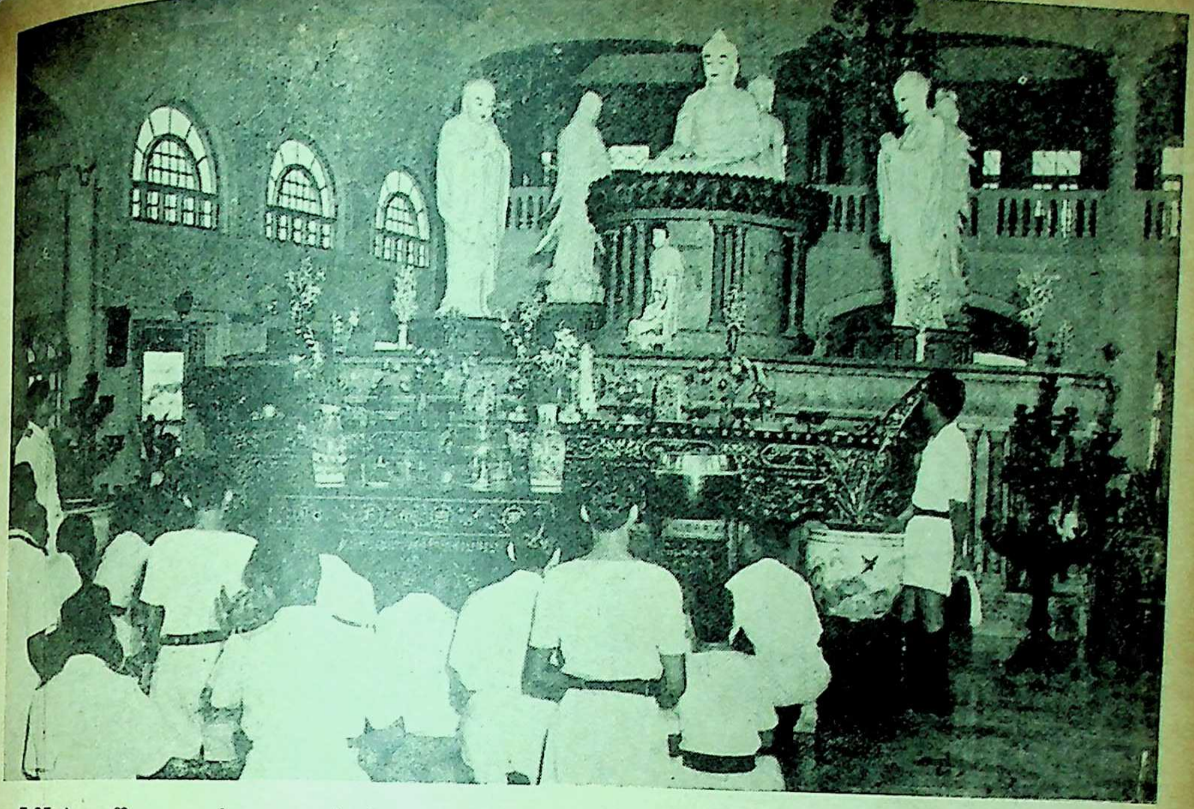

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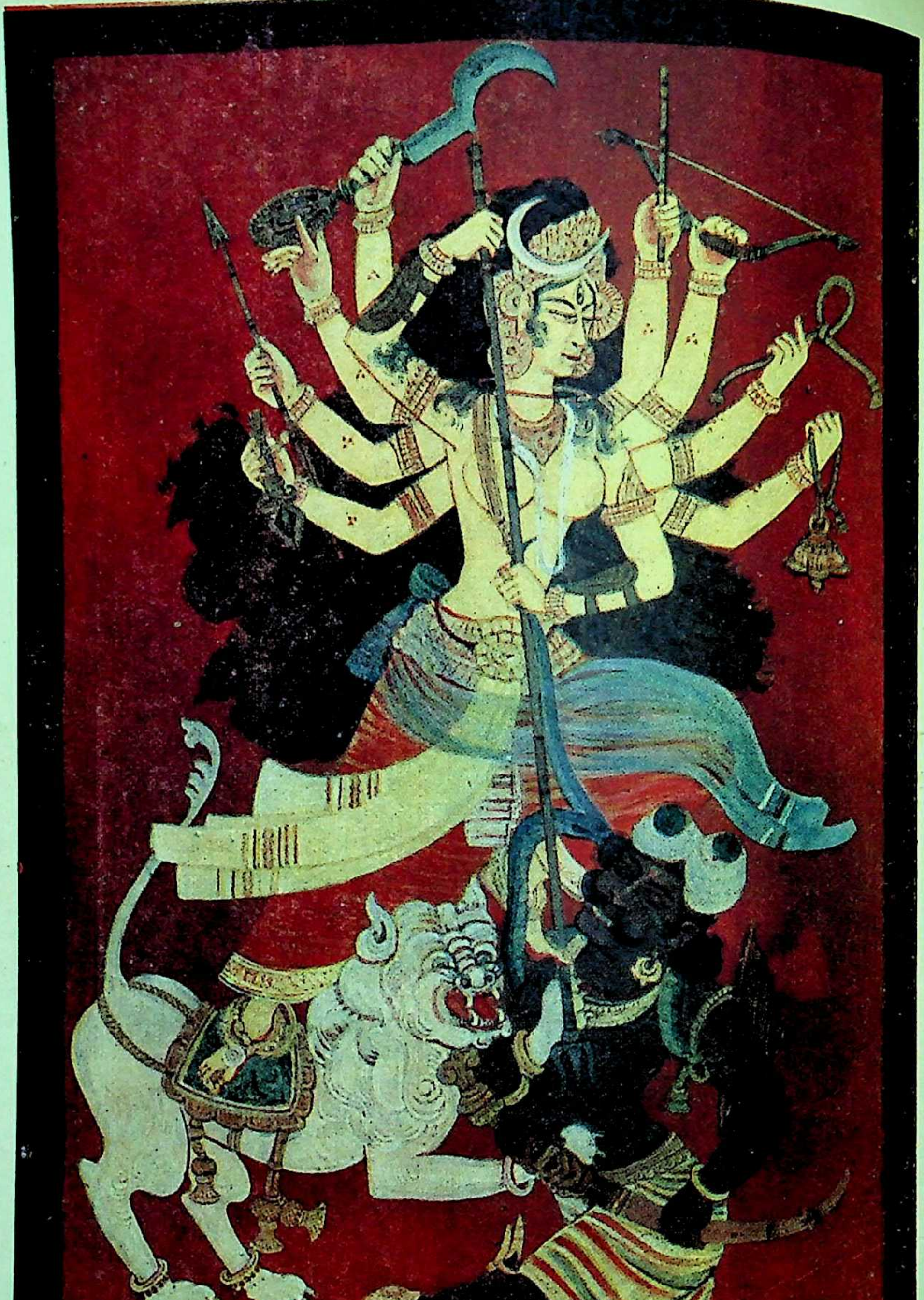

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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1954

Vol. LXXXXVI, No. 5 Whole No. 575

NOTES

Pandit Nehru's Peace Mission

At the time of writing these notes, Pandit Nehru is on his way back to his office and his responsibilities. His visit to China, and to Burma and Indo-China as wayside halts, are now a matter of record, nothing being left unrevealed in the future.

What has been accomplished by this visit is a question that is being answered differently in different quarters. Indeed, no adequate answer has been received to the query regarding the objectives of this State visit, beyond what is contained in the numerous communiques that were released to the Press by both the visitor and the hosts during the actual stay. We have put on record elsewhere Pandit Nehru's own final communique to the Press correspondents.

The reactions abroad, as gauged by what has appeared in the foreign press, have been rather curious. It seems that each paper had prepared a hypothetical framework of the entire affair, prior to the actual journey, and later on filtered out and selected just what would fit in the pre-arranged recital. This can be easily understood by those who know the inner workings of the Fourth Estate, all the world over, after the two World Wars had spread the virulent infection of "News Propaganda" world-wide. Thus we see the whole gamut in the press reactions, from the "genteel" hostility of the *Manchester Guardian*, to the rabid canine malice of the weekly *Time*. Indeed, the entire U.S. press seems to be too deeply biassed to be able to take an objective view of the visit at all.

On our side the reporting has been somewhat too effusive—indeed hysterical in some cases. We seem to have lost sight of realities. A courtesy call, even though it might lead to epoch-making negotiations and settlements in international relationships, cannot be classed with international pourparlers and accords like what took place at Paris towards the end of October. It is true that the China visit has very great potentialities, but as yet everything is on the lap of the Gods, and that is what we should all remember. Pandit Nehru has *re-initiated* friendly relations with our greatest neighbour in Asia, and that ought to suffice for the present.

He has received a great welcome, the expression of friendship by a "resurgent giant" for another that is trying to find its feet. Both the nations have the same goal, though the path chosen by each is widely divergent. It may well be exemplified by the difference in the two great marches, the Long March of the Chinese Communists under Mao Tse-tung and the Salt March at Dandi by the Mahatma. But that is no reason why the ancient bonds of friendship cannot be forged again. This is what the Machiavellian West has to realise.

Nearer home the affairs of Pakistan deserve very careful study and consideration. Pakistan is in a most unstable state just now. And that condition in our nearest neighbour should cause anxiety. Peace is a relative term where international affairs are concerned, and our relations with Pakistan have not been stabilised as yet. Indeed, on the contrary.

At home the old problems still remain. And the burden is all the heavier because of the sudden departure of one of Pandit Nehru's staunchest colleagues in the person of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was much more than just a colleague. In ability, brains and devotion to the cause of the Union, there is none to replace him in the Central Cabinet. Indeed, on all counts, Pandit Nehru has just one associate in the Càbinet who is comparable to the great departed. And even so where are the broad shoulders and the indomitable will that can equal what has been lost?

This loss should bring thoughtful sobriety to Pandit Nehru. In the letter sent to the Pradesh Congress chiefs, he has lightly discussed the question as to who would succeed him.

We say lightly after due consideration. If he had searched his own heart in the manner of the Father of the Nation, then he would have found that this letter and the previous statement, were nothing but confessions of defeat.

If he fully remembers the ways and methods of the Titan in whose shadow he attained his present stature, Pandit Nehru would have found how it was that so many different types from widely different spheres of life gathered in harmony around the Mahatma and attained maturity and stature through storm and stress, leaving no question about succession.

Pandit Nehru's Letter

Hindusthan Standard, October 13.

The following is the text of the letter:

"You must have read in the newspapers about some statements I have made recently suggesting that I should unburden myself of the high offices I hold. These statements have naturally led to much comment in the Press and I have received a number of letters from friends and colleagues expressing some apprehension in regard to them.

"I owe it to you and to other friends and colleagues to explain this matter a little more fully than I have so far done. I have occasionally referred to my feeling tired. That is correct, but it has no great significance. For many months past, the strain on me has been considerable and it is not surprising that I should feel somewhat tired. But that tiredness does not last and disappears with a little rest. I can assure you that I am in good health and as fit as any person at my age is expected to be.

"Physical health is intimately connected with mental health. I think that both in body and mind I am healthy. I have a tendency to overdo things and sometimes overstrain myself, which, of course, is undesirable and should be avoided. But I am not careless of my health and I recover rapidly. That resilience itself, I suppose, is a good sign. Naturally, because of the heavy burdens I carry, I can hardly function in a carefree manner. That kind of existence is denied to me as it is to most other people. But I am convinced that hard work does not interfere with mental or bodily health, provided certain elementary precautions are taken. Indeed, on the whole, work is helpful even in maintaining flexibility of mind and body, which is an important element of health.

"You will forgive me for discussing myself in this way. But, in view of some apprehension in the minds of people, I have ventured to do so. I can assure you that I am fit aad that I propose to remain fit for many years to come. I do not believe in any kind of valetudinarianism and have a dislike of ill health. I feel that I have many tasks still to perform in our country and I am determined to keep myself fit for the purpose.

"Why then did I talk about tiredness and the like? Partly that represented my reactions at the time and my mood of the moment; partly it was something deeper. This was a feeling of staleness, which, I suppose, is almost inevitable, if one has to function like a machine. I can function effectively even as a machine, but it does come in the way of freshness of thought and outlook. I do not like this staleness and I feel it comes in the way of really effective work and creative thought which are so necessary for one who has to function in a highly responsible position. It was somehow to regain that freshness and creativeness that I wanted to leave the present routines that take up all my time.

"I have no intention of running away from work or from responsibility. I have absolutely no idea of going into the wilderness or retiring to the mountains. I feel that I have a function to perform and so long as a person feel that way, the urge to work and activity is there. I have that strong urge in me. It is only the functionless who bemoan their lot and are full of complaints and ailments.

"We have passed through, during these last seven years or more of independence, a difficult time and we have faced heavy tasks. We may not have come up to the mark always, but I have no feeling of disappointment at the record of these years. Indeed, I have a stnse of fulfilment not for myself only but for the nation. I think that we have progressively made good and are well on our way to more rapid advance. While fully conscious of our many problems and difficulties and even of our failings, I do not understand the habitual critic who sees little good in our country today. I think that reaction is misplaced and is often due to a kind of frustration resulting from a feeling of lack of function.

"Indeed, it is because I think that our country has done well and that good and stout foundations for its progress have been made, that I think of some change in the nature of my activities. I want to work hard, but at the same time I want some leisure to read and think. One of the grave disadvantages from which those of us who are heavily engaged in governmental and like duties suffer is the lack of time to read and think and to confer with each other on basic matters.

"Because of all this, the thought came to me that it would be better for me not to function as Prime Minister at least for some time. I do not wish to tie myself to any course of action for an indefinite period. Nor do I wish to take any step in a hurry because the last thing I would like is to create an upset. This thought has been with me for some time. Various occurrences took place which disturbed me and led me even more to think of this. But at the back of my mind was not that particular occurrence but something deeper.

"Sometimes people ask and newspapers write about a question, which I find somewhat irritating. "After Nehru, what?" "Who will succeed Nehru?" This question itself becomes a challenge to me and of course to the nation. It is absurd to think that a great nation depends upon an odd individual or two. My reaction to this question is to accept the challenge. I am sure that all will be well in an event.

"As I have stated above, I do not propose to act in a hurry and I do not think in terms of final and irrevocable decisions. For the present I am sharing my thoughts with you, btcause I feel that I owe this to you and to our other comrades. I feel that we have, in a sense, completed an important stage in our journey and the next stage now looms ahead. I want to fit myself for that stage even more in mind than in body and I want to function then with vigour and speed.

"I need hardly say that the fact of my not being Prime Minister will not put an end to my close association with Governmental development and like activities. I am bound up with this work and it is not mere office that ties me to it. I wish people would realise that important work is not inevitably connected with the holding of office.

"Soon we shall have the election for the Congress Presidentship. I am quite clear in my mind that I should not stand again for election for this high office. It is time that someone else was head of this great organisation under whose sheltering care all of us have grown up and functioned. It is not right for the same person to continue to function in that office. I shall of course work for the Congress with all my strength and energy. I think it will be better both for me and for the Congress as well as for the country if someone else is chosen President.

"I have ventured to write to you frankly and to share my thoughts with you on the event of my going to China as I did not wish these vague rumours to continue and create doubts in the minds of our people. You will, I hope, forgive me for this rather personal letter. Circumstances have placed me in a position which has an impersonal aspect also. I try to consider myself and my work as objectively as possible. I know that is difficult, but an attempt has to be made."

The Peking Press Conference

Amongst the mass of news that emanated from China during Pandit Nehru's State visit, the following communique, giving the details about a Press Conference held by him at Peking on the eve of his departure from China, is the most illuminative. It gives a clear commentary on the results of the visit from our Premier's own point of view.

Sino-Indian co-operation, said Mr. Nehru, was possible in many ways. Both countries had several identical problems such as large, mainly agricultural, populations, low standards of living and need for industrialization.

India was anxious to promote world peace and now, after a visit to this country, he had no doubt whatsoever that China was equally anxious. Apart from other conisderations it was necessary for China to participate fully in the U.N. in the interests of world peace.

While there was no question about the value of the five principles, the real test was their application which alone could restore confidence in the world. Before the five principles could be applied, however, it was necessary that different countries should deal directly with one another.

Mr. Nehru told the Press conference that there had been "a large measure of agreement" in his talks with Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premeir, and other Chinese leaders, adds *P.T.I.*

There were no "sharp differences" in the talks as had been reported in London and New York, and these reports were wholly without foundation, he said.

"Although India's basic approach is somewhat different from China's basic approach in regard to some matters, there have been no differences in our talks, and I am happy to say that there has been a large measure of agreement."

Mr. Nehru added: "It is my belief that my visit to China will not only help to bring our two countries nearer to each other, but also help the cause of world peace."

Speaking on his recent visit to Hanoi, Mr. Nehru said he had very friendly talks with Dr. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Viet Minh). Dr. Ho had assured him that they would abide by the Geneva agreement completely and that this would result in a friendly settlement of the question. Dr. Ho had expressed his friendliness to France despite past history.

Dr. Ho also welcomed the independent existence of Laos and Cambodia and hoped to have friendly relations and contacts with those two countries, added Mr. Nehru.

"Dr. Ho Chi Minh struck me not only very much as a man of peace but as an extraordinarily likable and friendly person," said Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Nehru then spoke of the French Government who recently concluded with India an agreement on French Indian settlements. He said it had been a difficult question because the French had been in the settlements for over 300 years and it involved the prestige of a great country like France and India's own interest.

"We proceeded along peaceful lines and negotiated peacefully. We often failed, but ultimately we arrived at a friendly agreement. This is a good example of settling difficult problems by agreement and co-operation.

"In fact, our relations with France are better now than ever in the past and we hope that the French settlements, now part of India, will remain centres of French culture."

In the course of a prepared statement to the Press Mr. Nehru said: "During my few days in Peking and elsewhere in China, I have often spoken in public. I should like to repeat to the Press what I have said before and express my gratitude for the warm and friendly welcome that I have received here. It is my belief that my visit, brief as it has been, will help not only to bring our two countries nearer to one another but also the cause of world peace which we both cherish.

"Peace is the fundamental basis for progress that we want to make in our respective countries. Peace, therefore, is not merely a pious wish with us but an absolute necessity.

"Both our countries are engaged in the great adventure of raising the standards of hundreds of millions of people and making all of them full sharers in freedom and prosperity. That is a magnificent task. We have set our feet firmly on the road that leads to it, and I have every faith that we shall continue to march along that path. In some ways our problems are the same and the conditions we have to face are also similar. Thus we can learn much from each other.

"I hope that the contacts between the two countries will grow in many ways. It is important that we should know each other. In the world today isolation for any country is out of place and out of tune with the great developments that have taken place. The barriers between different countries should be removed so that free intercourse might take place and bring better knowledge and understanding between different countries. To that end we in India are anxious to help not only in China but elsewhere.

"I greet the people of China and wish them well. To the Government of the People's Republic of China, of which the cherished head is the figure of historic stature and great achievement, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, I offer my deepest thanks for their gracious and generous hospitality.

"I am told that certain Press reports in London and New York have stated that there were sharp differences between Prime Minister Chou En-lai and myself in the course of our talks. These reports are wholly without foundation. Although India's basic approach is somewhat different from that of China's basic approach, in regard to some matters there have been no differences in our talks and I am happy to say that there has been a large measure of agreement."

The China Visit

The American press has taken up a more or less hostile attitude regarding Pandit Nehru's visit to China. The *New York Times*, International Edition, for October 24, contains perhaps the least biased editorial comments that we have seen so far. It runs as follows:

In the cold war between East and West, India's position is unique and potent. India's instructions are cast in the Western democratic mold. Within India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has fought the Communists vigorously. But a century of British colonial rule has left the Indians suspicious that the West's fight against Asian Communism may really mask an attempt to suppress Asian nationalism. On the other hand, India, as a relatively weak and underdeveloped country with a 2,000-mile common border with China, is alert to the possibility that Communist expansion might infringe on her interests in Asia. Therefore, she has preached conciliation and coexistence and sought to provide a "bridge" between East and West.

This "neutralism" has been major diplomatic problem for the West. Prime Minister Nehru enjoys immense prestige throughout Asia. His support of Peiping's claims to Formosa and a U.N. seat; his frequently ambiguous position during the Korean truce negotiations; and his recent opposition to the SEATO pact have had a powerful influence on Asian thinking. In the minds of many Western statesmen, India tends to be "neutral against the West."

This feeling was in the background of Allied concern last week with a state visit by Mr. Nehru to Peiping—the first time in his widely travelled career that he has set foot inside China. News of the visit and the course of the talks between Mr. Nehru and the Chinese leaders was sketchy. A throng of 300,000 was reported to have greeted the Indian Prime Minister on his arrival in Peiping and at a State dinner given by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Mr. Nehru was quoted as stating: "There is only one thing, right and practical, which is to recognize coexistence * * *. We can only hope that the people of China will co-operate in this objective * * *." From New Delhi came Indian press reports that snags had developed in the Peiping talks. The Chinese were said to be urging Indian participation in an Asian organization directed against the SEATO pact. Mr. Nehru is believed reluctant to enter a formal undertaking of that kind.

There are other potential seeds of discord. En route to Peiping. Prime Minister Nehru stopped off in Burma for talks with his good friend, Burmese Premier U Nu; held his first meeting with Ho Chi-minh, leader of the pro-Communist Government in northern Vietnam; and called at the tiny Indo-Chinese kingdom of Laos. On the way back from Peiping. he will visit south Vietnam and the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The itinerary. it was felt, underlined Mr. Nehru's preoccupation with Southeast Asia. A desire to assess Peiping's intentions toward nations in that area, and perhaps even to obtain a commitment of non-interference, is believed to have been one of the principal reasons for the Nehru journey to Peiping.

Pakistan Politics

The political arena of Pakistan is subject to sudden convulsions at the shortest of notices. Even so the latest changes have a dramatic character of its own. It is too early as yet to read the portents, as the picture is far from being clear. It can only be said that the political and economic fields in Pakistan were never in a more unstable condition.

Public attention in India has been highlighted on the political developments inside Pakistan by the sudden declaration of emergency throughout Pakistan and the dramatic dissolution of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly by the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed on Sunday, October 24, within a few hours of the arrival of Mr. Mohammed Ali in Karachi by a specially chartered plane cutting short his U.S. tour.

A proclamation issued by the Governor-General said that he had decided upon those steps as it had become clear that the Constituent Assembly, as at present constituted, had lost the confidence of the people and therefore could not function. It was assured that fresh elections would be held soon (though how the elections would be held—on the basis of adult franchise or not—was not stated) and until such time a reconstituted 8-men Cabinet headed by Premier Mohammed Ali was entrusted with the Government.

Six members of the old Cabinet: Mr. A. K. Brohi, Khan Abdul Quayyum Khan, Shuaib Qureshi, Mr. M. A. Gurmani, Sardar Bahadur Khan and Dr. I. H. Qureshi were dropped and the East Bengal Governor, Major-General Iskander Mirza and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, General Mohammed Aiyub Khan were included in the new Cabinet. Dr. Khan Sahib, the former Congress Chief Minister of N.-W.F.P. was sworn as member of the Cabinet on October 28.

This latest act in the drama of Pakistani politics should be viewed against the background of recent developments in the political life of the country. The ruling Muslim League Party had been losing its grip on the people's mind more and more as every day passed. The crushing defeat of the Muslim League in the last East Bengal Elections was an indication of the growing unpopularity of the League. The League rulers had tried to resolve that crisis by clamping down military rule on East Bengal, but with no apparent gain in their status with the people of Pakistan.

Meanwhile the Muslim League itself began to be torn by internal strife. There was the general rivalry and distrust between East and West Pakistan. The League leaders of West Pakistan including Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Chief Minister of Pakistan Punjab, Mian Mamtaz Daulatana, Mr. M. A. Khuro, Sardar Abdul Rashid, Frontier Chief Minister, and M. A. Gurmani, until recently Home Minister in the Central Cabinet, had wanted a zonal federation in Western Pakistan to curtail the preponderance in votes of East Pakistan. The Sind League or at any rate the Sind Government, however, did not support the idea.

In the Central Cabinet itself there were serious differences over the repeal of the Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act and the deprivaton of the Governor-General of his powers to dissolve the Central Government.

Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the Muslim League Party had not held any conference or convention or any election of its office-bearers. A convention was fixed for October 31, but was postponed by the League Working Committee on October 22, "in view of the strained political situation in the country."

Just on the eve of the departure of Prime Minister Mohammed Ali on his American tour a piece of legislation was hurried through the Constituent Assembly and repealing the PRODA (Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act) and the other depriving the Governor-General of his power to dismiss the Central Ministry. And the Governor-General countered by repealing the P.R.O.D.A. disqualification of some prominent men.

The passage of those two legislative measures was widely commented upon by the Pakistan Press and public, and the reaction was mostly critical. Especially the manner in which the Act depriving the Governor-General of his powers was passed came in for severe criticism.

It was unnatural enough. First, the powers of the Governor-General was curtailed but not of the provincial Governors which could usually have been expected. Secondly, the usual fifteen days prior notice was not given before the motion was introduced before the Assembly. Thirdly, the Bill was hastily passed in ten minutes' time without even twenty four hours' notice to the members and when the Governor-General was away on tour. The Bill was moved by a private member, Mr. M. H. Gazdar who gave notice of the bill at 4 P.M. on September 20. By quarter past nine on the following morning the bill was an Act without any discussion.

The weekly *Star* of Lahore describes the passing of the Act as a "Constitutional coup" and says that it was a very thinly veiled attempt to concentrate all powers in the hands of the Prime Minister. The newspaper refers to the Legislators as a "gang of guilty men . . . they met stealthily, moved about surreptitiously and passed the bill secretly. . ." (October 8).

Discussing what could have induced Mr. Mohammed Ali to take such a step, the *Kashmir Post* writes in an editorial article on September 29, that three possible explanations offered themselves: "(1) the Pak Premier feared dismissal; (2) he wanted to arm himself with more powers for completing the deal with America; and (3) he plans to stage a show-down with the Governor-General, who, as is well known, is not easily manageable. Again, the question why Mr. Ali should have entertained fears of being bundled out of office like his predecessor poses three possibilities: (1) Mr. Ali smelt some intrigue against him; (2) he felt he had fallen into disfavour with Washington; and (3) he thought that a change of Government might be effected to divert people's attention and to bring a more popular person than himself as, for instance, Gen. Iskander Mirza. In all cases the one fact which emerges crystal clear is that Mr. Mohammed Ali did not consider his position secure and wanted, therefore, to forestall his opponents." The editorial concludes saying that this constitutional coup could in no way be considered marking the end of the drama which had begun in April, 1953, when Khwaja Nazimuddin had been deposed and that it would be followed sooner or later by another coup which would "invest with logic a seemingly illogical pattern of developments in that country."

The reaction of the public could be summed up in the words of the *Star*: "A good thing badly done."

The repeal of PRODA was even more condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Pakistani Press. Even the semi-official *Dawn* wrote that the repeal might give rise to a feeling among certain sections of the people that the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party did not like to check corruption and malpractices among the high-ups.

The *Pakistan Times* writes that the repeal of the PRODA was a great and bewildering shock to the public in Pakistan. Continuing the newspaper writes: "It is not without interest that Mr. Hashim Gazdar, whose proposal for the repeal of PRODA had suddenly been revived was among the Act's most vociferous supporters in 1949 and the bunch of East Bengal MCA's agitating for the repeal were responsible—before being driven out of their office by their constituents—for invoking the PRODA to deal with a political opponent who could not be silenced otherwise." The law was clearly not being withdrawn because it was a bad law, the newspaper notes and points to the significance of the fact that though the law was being repealed past disqualifications under that Act had not been lifted or pending cases had not been dropped. "The compromise effected by the party completely exposes it as the handmaid of a coterie of power-hungry barons, blinded by self-interest whose main purpose in life to retain by any means the monopoly of political power they have acquired."

It is somewhat interesting to recall the fact that on October 20, four days before the declaration of emergency when Mr. Ali was away on his U.S. tour, the Governor-General Mr. Ghulam Mohammed removed the disqualifications imposed under PRODA on four former provincial ministers including Mr. M. S. Khuro and Kazi Fazlullah, enabling them to stage a come-back in the political life of the country.

It is difficult to fit into a coherent picture all the above. The Pakistan Premier, Mr. Mohammed Ali gave a rather confusing reading to a group of foreign correspondents as is given in the news below:

Karachi, Oct. 29.—The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali said today that his newly reconstituted Cabinet was not a coalition but a "Ministry of talent." He emphasised that the Cabinet was only broadbased and not new. In an hour's talk with foreign correspondents, Mr. Mohammed Ali said there had been merely a reshuffle, and a Prime Minister had a right to reshuffle his Cabinet.

Asked about the inclusion of the Awami League leader Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy in the Cabinet, Mr. Mohammed Ali said: "I cannot say whether he will be taken into the Cabinet—not unless I meet him or talk to him."

About the Bill passed by the old Constituent Assembly curtailing the Governor-General's powers, Mr. Ali declared that no power had been taken away by the Constituent Assembly from the Governor-General. The Bill merely wrote down into the Constitution what existed in practice. "He enjoys the same powers which he used to have before the legislation," the Prime Minister said.

Questioned whether the new Cabinet was responsible to the Governor-General, Mr. Mohammed Ali said: "The Cabinet is responsible to the country. Previously it was responsible to the country through the Assembly."

The foreign policy of the country would continue without any change, Mr. Mohammed Ali said. He disclosed that the foreign policy had been fully reaffirmed by the new Cabinet which had its first meeting yesterday.

Asked what was the need to declare a state of constitutional emergency when it was only a case of differences between units, Mr. Ali said "It was not a question of law and order. It was the conflicts, the conflicts between different parties and political parties and sections." The emergency was declared so that these conflicts could end. It was "only for a temporary period." A state of emergency, Mr. Mohammed Ali said, had to be declared even for minor matters like price controls. "Pakistan has been having a state of emergency for years now." Mr. Ali said.

Mr. Mohammed Ali disclosed that he and his other colleagues who continued in office had not taken a fresh oath of office. The Governor-General had not dismissed the Cabinet, he said.

Mr. Mohammed Ali said he had some idea of reforming the Cabinet, that was why, Mr. Ali added, he asked Major General Iskander Mirza and Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani to accompany him to Karachi.

He added that he knew of troubles at home while in Washington but he realised its serious nature only on arrival in Karachi.

Commenting on whether the Governor-General had acted constitutionally in dissolving the Constituent Assembly, the Prime Minister quoted the case of the British Parliament being dissolved by the King or the Queen.

When pointedly asked whether the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly—a sovereign body—was legal and constitutional, Mr. Ali replied : "I am not a constitutional lawyer but in my opinion the Constituent Assembly could not function effectively." Mr. Ali said, "I anticipated violent opposition to acceptance of decisions of the Constituent Assembly. But how long can we go on with deadlocks ? Unanimous consent of all units was all that was needed. The major provinces were now going back on Consembly decisions. That was why the Constituent Assembly stood dissolved."

The Prime Minister said he accepted the view of the Government that the Constituent Assembly could be dissolved.

The President of the Constituent Assembly Mr. Tamizuddin Khan was contesting the legal position, Mr. Ali said adding that he had met him but had not tried to dissuade him from contesting this issue.

Stating that all work done by the Constituent Assembly during last seven years had not been wasted, Mr. Ali listed four fundamental issues which would have to be taken afresh for their solution. They were :

1. Distribution of power between Centre and the Provinces;
2. Character and quantum of representation of units in the Federal Legislature;
3. Formation of provincial boundaries and
4. Language problem.

He said : "We have not been able to frame the Constitution for the last seven years. We were proceeding on the basis of securing agreement on all provisions of the Constitution. The Basic Principles Committee's interim report presented by the late Liaquat Ali Khan had been opposed by the Bengal group. It was dropped. The Basic Principles Report finalised by Mr. Nazimuddin and presented by me met with opposition from Pakistan Punjab on the question of quantum and character of representation from that province."

"The formula," Mr. Ali added, "which we evolved for representation was accepted by all. We had principles of equality and partnership between the two zones before us. On the two previous occasions there was absolute deadhalt in the Constitution making."

Regarding the "emergency" itself the following editorial comment in the London *Bankers' Magazine* for September, 1954, provides a good deal of background material, coming as it does from British sources:

"The grave deterioration in Pakistani political affairs cannot be explained away in simple terms. It was not due to the Communists or the agitators, it was not caused by the over-population of East Pakistan or by the poverty and unemployment there, nor was it the result of a wish to set up an independent state. It is true that the Bengali feels frustrated when he sees so many of the good jobs in his Province going to West Pakistanis and that he resents the fact that although his jute and tea earns more foreign exchange than the products of the West and despite his heavy tax payments, he has the smaller vioce in national affairs. None of these factors, however, explains the excesses ; but all contributed to that flare-up of local feeling that led to the Adamjee riots in May.

Unhappily the economic position is also deteriorating. Although the first quarter of this year was the fifth successive quarter to show a surplus on the balance of payments, it amounted only to Rs. 17 million, less than one-third of the comparable figure achieved in 1953. As the Dominion normally earns the largest surplus at the beginning of the year, the outlook is therefore bleak. Indeed, it is almost certain that a deficit, and possibly a sizeable one, was incurred in the second quarter.

Pakistan relies on cotton and jute for over 80 per cent. of her foreign earnings. In the first four months of the year the volume of exports of both dropped quite sharply compared with the same period last year and cotton exports are likely to fall away still further. Jute is produced in East Pakistan and while the tense political atmosphere may not affect production, it is affecting the output of manufactured jute goods. Indeed, business conditions generally in the Province were disturbed by the events of May.

As well as being faced with a deteriorating economic situation, the Kashmir dispute poses grave external problems for the Dominion. Divided by more than a thousand miles of Indian territory, East and West Pakistan cannot afford the luxury of a family feud—and survive."

Financing Industrial Development

At last, the much awaited and advertised National Industrial Development Corporation has come into being. The Union Minister of Commerce and Industry has become the Chairman of the Board of Directors who held their first meeting on October 22, 1954. The essential idea behind the Corporation is to secure the co-operation of leaders of private enterprise for the building up of industries in the country. The crying need is expansion. In consumer goods industries, the Government feel that private indusrty would be able to meet the needs of the country, perhaps with some assistance here and there. But there is a large field of important and basic industries the development of which requires a different treatment. Here, private enterprise might not be able to achieve much by itself, but could contribute know-how knowledge. These resources would be drawn out and deal both by way of investment and experience and harnessed for the development of industry by the Corporation taking the necessary initiative. The Corporation can do so by undertaking project studies providing technical services and investments wherever necessary to execute the projects. This would be the main function of the Corporation and financing would only be incidental.

The Government view that integrated self-contained units were not always the best form of industrial growth. A great deal could be done by providing balancing equipment and developing ancillary industries. By these means the Government envisage the growth of townships round these basic industries. As a rule, new enterprises set up by the Corporation should be directly managed by boards and not handed over to managing agencies.

The Corporation has been set up entirely with Government captial and all the Directors have been nominated by Government. The Corporation has been registered as a company under the Indian Companies Act with a share capital of Rs. 1 crore. As the Corporation is intended mainly as an agency or instrument of Governmet for developing industries and not a profit-making institution by itself the finances required by the Corporation may be provided by Government in the following ways:

(1) By an annual grant for the purpose of study, investigation and formulation of projects and building up a corps of technical and ministerial staff; and

(2) By loans to the Corporation to be made as and when projects are taken up by the Corporation.

The Corporation will take the earliest opportunity of equipping itself with an expert technical and engineering service. It is felt that its success would largely depend on the quality of its technical advisers. At present, there is a serious gap in Indian economy in this respect. The result is that often enough the Government is unable to judge the value of the advice it receives from foreign and Indian consultants in the preparation of various industrial projects. Naturally, it has to take many things for granted and this is undesirable.

It is now possible to demarcate the functions of the various organisations assisting industry. The Industrial Finance Corporation is essentially a lending institution. It largely helps expansion of existing industries. The proposed Industrial Investment Corporation, sponsored by the World Bank, will have a broader aim. It will lend money to new industries by participating in the issue of shares. Essentially a business corporation, it will participate only in such projects which promise a speedy return. The object of the newly registered National Industrial Development Corporation is to start new basic industries, necessary for the economic development of the country. Profit-making will not be its principal immediate aim. Nothing will be outside the purview of the Industrial Development Corporation. Existing private industry would also benefit, as the Corporation proposes to supply balancing equipment so that it can launch on new lines of production. It will also serve as the instrument for granting special loans on special terms for modernizing cotton textiles and jute mills.

The establishment of the Industrial Development Corporation marks a departure in the industrial policy of the Government and this was hinted at by the industrial policy resolution of the Ajmer Session of the A.-I.C.C. The new policy is one of further concessions to the private sector. The new policy is being construed to mean that the Government is not only not going to nationalise industries already existing but also industries which would be started in futuse. The most objectionable feature of the new Corporation is that if after starting an industry the Government want to re-invest the amount in some other industry, it might invite private entrepreneurs to take over the former. In other words, the private enterprise will be allowed to own an undertaking and derive profit therefrom, although it will not be required to take any part in the initial stages of the industrial concern which inevitably involves a great amount of risk. It is difficult to understand why an industrial undertaking started entirely with Government money shall be made over to private ownership.

It is time the Government realise that as yet mixed economy has produced nothing but unmixed evils in the all-round economic life of the country. The recent sugar crisis is a pointer that the private enterprise is always private and the term "private" implies that in India it is opposed to anything social or national. To tie up the Government endeavour with private enterprise is as dangerous as to invite the Trojan horse inside the camp. An express delivery letter addressed to all sugar factories by the Food and Agricultural Ministry in the second week of October, over the present sugar crisis, reflects the attitude of an important section of the private enterprise in the event of an emergency. The letter reads:

> ". . . it has come to the notice of the Central Government that sugar released for free sale has not moved from factories in many cases. It has also been observed that, in some cases, the factories have even failed to comply with, in part or in full, the release orders issued by this Ministry for delivery of sugar out of the reserve stocks. Further, complaints have been received that, in some cases, premium has been demanded by fac-

tories from allottees who were allotted sugar out of the reserve stocks . . ."

The profiteering prices charged for wheat and wheat products during the recent Pujas in West Bengal is another instance that the private trade does not allow a single chance to slip unexploited and the worst sufferers are the people. The apparently holy alliance between the Government and the private enterprise hardly produce anything but unholy effect and this should provide as an eye-opener for the authorities.

Dangers of Suppliers' Credit

In his address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank at their annual meeting at Washington on 25th September, Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the Bank, referred to a new feature in the field of international finance, namely, suppliers' credits, and pointed out the dangers to which this form of credit may lead the world. The growth of credit brings its own problems. As the availability of capital and capital equipment has risen, the world has passed from a seller's to a buyer's market and a competitive race is developing among suppliers. This takes the form not only of competition in terms of price, quality and delivery date but also competition in the offer of medium-term suppliers' credits. Suppliers' credits are an appropriate type of international financing when applied to the proper transactions. But they can be misused and over-used and there is some disturbing evidence that this is happening—too much credit given under the pressure of competition, sometimes on inappropriate terms and for the wrong purposes.

In the opinion of Mr. Black, the situation is becoming serious. The danger is that bad credit will drive out good, and tend to bring international investment back into disrepute—this at a time when the world is still negotiating adjustments of debts incurred before. Suppliers' credits can serve a useful purpose in financing the normal, short-term flow of imports or in financing investment projects which can pay their way within the term for which the credit is given. But, although the availability of these credits may seem to present an opportunity to speed the rate of development, there is a risk that the use of short-term finance may be pressed beyond these limits. When this happens, the result is likely to be unfortunate.

Nor can the balance of payments aspects of these transactions be overlooked. Experience teaches us that it is imprudent to count on a steady flow of capital year after year. Reliance on suppliers' credits, indeed, in general means reliance on something particularly volatile. The importing country may run into payments difficulties that check further investment from outside. The exporting countries themselves may experience payments difficulties that force them to insist on cash payment. Or a boom in the world or home market may make it possible to sell for cash and reduce the need to extend credit. There is the risk, in other words, that the borrower may have raised his rate of investment only to find that he must later make a drastic cutback and that what was looked forward to as a period of sustained economic advance may end as a period of stagnation or, even, of retrogression.

The manner in which suppliers' credits are offered, moreover, sometimes results in projects being undertaken which are from the highest priority in developmental needs. The exporting country wishes to boost its exports and therefore offers credits for financing a project using its equipment. The manufacturing supplier of equipment naturally welcomes any opportunity to increase his sales and he can certainly not be blamed if he takes advantage of whatever credit facilities may be made available. And the importing country may feel that the credit, being available, should be accepted even if not for the most useful of purposes nor on the best of terms and even if, as often happens, under these arrangements a higher price for the goods must be paid. This is contrary to the interests of the importing country and may result in slower rather than faster development.

Long-term capital funds represent in general the most appropriate method of financing development projects requiring heavy capital equipment from the point of view both of the nature of the projects themselves and of the impact on the borrowing country's balance of payments. But any potential long-term investor—and not only the International Bank—must take into account the total external debt burden of the borrowing country. So an excessive use of short- or medium-term credit must diminish a country's access to long-term capital funds. In short, the indiscriminate use of credit of this kind may increase the costs of development, may interrupt the continuity of effort, may upset the balance of investment, and may make the goals of investment harder, and not easier, to reach.

The increase in competition in suppliers' credits also has its dangers for the exporting countries. Suppliers' credits are usually financed only in minor part by the suppliers themselves. Most of the industrial nations now have one or both types of official institutions to give financial aid to exports. One type finances the export of capital goods; the other, without supplying capital, underwrites the risk. These suppliers' credits are usually made largely at the ultimate risk of the Government of the exporting country. The result of the suppliers' relative freedom from risk is that they are constantly entreating their own Government to grant more liberal credit facilities. In each of the exporting countries, Government hear the complaint that other Governments are more liberal. So a race is developing, a race in which none of the competitors can win, because the faster each goes, the faster all the others go.

A warning in this respect was anticipated ten years ago at Bretton Woods. The spokesman of one of the delegations there pointed to the danger, saying that, in a time of pressure for exports, countries would embark on bilateral credit arrangements no doubt linked with deals relating to the purchase and sale of goods; and, as soon as certain countries began to adopt this course, others would find that they had to follow suit to protect their trade interests. It is difficult to imagine a more fruitful source of international dissension than a competitive trade and credit expansion programme of this character..

Working of Indian Embassies Abroad

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa narrates his experience with the staff of the Indian embassy in Prague in the October issue of the *Gram Udyog Patrika*. This throws some interesting light on the working of some of the Indian embassies abroad complaints about which were not infrequently heard.

Dr. Kumarappa had been invited to attend the World Peace Conference in Stockholm early in June during his stay in Bulgaria. On account of insufficient time it had not been possible to obtain Swedish visas in Bulgaria and a representative of the Bulgarian Peace Council had wired to the Bulgarian embassy at Prague, where they were to change planes, to secure the needed visas for the Bulgarian delegates and to the Indian embassy to get Dr. Kumarappa a Swedish visa by the 16th June at the latest.

On their arrival at the Prague airport on June 17 a representative of the Bulgarian embassy had been there to arrange the visas and hotel accommodation for the Bulgarian delegates. But none had come from the Indian embassy and Dr. Kumarappa had to put up at the Transit Airport Hotel arranged by a Czech lady Customs clerk who had also rung up the Indian embassy for him. But even after Dr. Kumarappa himself had twice phoned the Indian embassy, nobody came for two days. By that time his passage had to be cancelled, his passport had been impounded and he had been under a sort of "house arrest" in his hotel.

On the morning of the third day a clerk from the Indian embassy had come to see him and put Dr. Kumarappa to task for coming without having obtained a visa. When Dr. Kumarappa had pointed to him the behaviour of the Bulgarian embassy in the same circumstances the clerk grudgingly had taken his passport but complained that they were not provided with funds for visa fees for such travellers (Dr. Kumarappa could not cash his travellers' cheques as his passport and luggage had been at the Airport. The fee was about a shilling).

The employee concerned had then verbally intimated Dr. Kumarappa that the Swedish embassy would instruct their Stockholm office to permit Dr. Kumarrappa to land without a visa. The clerk' however, had refused to give him a written statement to that effect.

The next morning when Dr. Kumarappa had arrived at Stockholm, no instructions had reached the Passport officer from Prague. But the whole situation having been explained to him the officer had granted him a visa for five days after consultations with his superior officer. This time also Dr. Kumarappa could not give the visa money amounting to about a shilling having no Swedish money with him as his luggage had been taken to the Peace Council Office; but the officer had just smiled and let him pass.

"In contrast to the extreme courtesy and kindness shown by Foreign embassies the wooden-headedness of our embassies stands out. Can this be corrected in time with gaining experience? Or is inefficiency the badge of our tribe?"—asks Dr. Kumarappa.

E.D.C. Accord

On October 23, at Paris, France and West Germany signed a treaty settling the future of the Saar area, the apple of discord. This signing climaxed a week of hard bargaining—and a long period of failures and recriminations. The recriminations were well-summarised by the *Worldover Press* in its 17th September issue as given below:

"Amid the waves of bitter criticism still hurled against the French for rejection of E.D.C., some things need to be remembered. If there is to be an "agonizing reappraisal," let's not forget the West's mistakes.

Does it make sense to heap abuse and charges of "pro-Communism" on such proved anti-Communists as the conservative, Edouard Herriot, and the Socialist former Minister, Jules Moch? This writer has seen French Communists in fury at the mention of their names. Is everybody who refuses to do Washington's bidding a Communist? How silly can we get?

As they acted, here are some things the French couldn't get out of their minds. They were asked to give up control of their armed forces to an international authority. An ideal; but would the U.S. do it? You look at Congress and see. When the French wanted to "ease into" E.D.C. gradually, they were rebuffed; it had to be all or nothing, right now. Even the British, close to Europe, refused to enter E.D.C. effectively. Washington, for several years, had been hypnotized by the questionable idea of rearming Germany; prepared vast piles of arms for it; threatened the French if they wouldn't go along; and with typical rigidity, would consider no alternatives. The ideal of European unity was made perfunctory, German rearmament central. And the many disturbing trends in Adenauer's Germany were brushed off by the Americans, while many a dangerous tendency was fostered.

Despite three invasions by Germany, the French could be persuaded that another might not come. But it felt, with very good reason that a heady Germany, not unified first by peaceful means, might use force to get back its lost territories in the East. World War I began at Serajevo, World War II at Danzig. France saw the most likely starting point for World War III as in the same east central European region. In that, they were anything but foolish. In spite of their knowledge of the French attitude, Washington and its European governmental friends held out at Brussels for Mr. Dulles' way, or nothing. They got what they should have expected. They now talk as if they could still prevail.

A balanced view will not forget the many fine and democratic Germans. They, too, need understanding and help. But most of them are also concerned over trends in German groups and in their government, and millions of them share France's feeling about German rearmament. They see that Adenauer has taken to his bosom some parties of the extreme right, along with old Nazis and Nazi backers. The Ruhr barons are in the saddle again, frisky and demanding. Organizations of a pro-Nazi character spring up with impunity. Even the Stahlhelm demonstrates with safety, illegally. Yet when the French showed signs of funk over E.D.C., one U.S. official in France told Walter Kerr of the *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, "They'll ratify, and like it."

About German Forces in E.D.C., there has been some funny business. The German contingent was supposed to be 12 divisions, of 12,700 man each, at the most. Twelve would total 152,400. But E.D.C. plans also called for a German army of from 400,000 to 500,000. Troops behind the combat divisions would total around 340,000. This doesn't count an air force of 80,000. Schmidt-Wittmack, the Bonn security committeeman who fled to the Russian Zone, probably lied when he said there were secret plans for 48 divisions; but it is known to everybody that powerful groups in and out of the Adenauer regime have been openly pushing for as many as 60 divisions. Theodor Blank, defense planner, says the new German forces will be democratic, but he is laughed at by militarists who declare they'll soon take over. And the training will have to be done in part by old S.S. men, who are not barred as officers.

Germany in Nato? Separately armed? Left neutralized and unarmed? Or E.D.C. revised to suit the French? More likely the last. In any case, hot talk or not, France can't be pushed aside."

The International Edition of the *New York Times* for October 24 gives a graphic summary of the actual final settlement as given below:

The meeting in Paris last week drew a full house of top-level Western diplomats. Foreign ministers of fifteen countries spanning from the Pacific to the Black Sea were present. In their train were scores of advisers, experts and translators. There were conversations in hotels and corridors, drafting sessions in committee rooms, full dress dinners at embassies and ministries, formal plenary conferences at the Palais de Chaillot, high above the right bank of the Seine opposite the Eiffel Tower.

At the center of attention was French Premier and Foreign Minister Pierre Mendes-France. From the first the major question before the conference—as it had been the major question in negotiations extending back four years—was on what terms France would accede German rearmament. Throughout the week M. Mendes-France gave an elastic answer. The French Foreign Minister, he kept saying in effect, would agree to any terms the French Premier could push through the French Assembly.

It was an answer calculated to give M. Mendes-France maximum bargaining power with both the French deputies and the foreign diplomats. To the deputies, he cut again the figure of the old Tiger, Clemenceau fighting hard for French interests, driving the best bargain that could be got. For the diplomats he had at his beck what Palmerston once called the "argument of vapors"—unless they met his demands, the Assembly would reject the agreements signed and the Atlantic alliance would be in parlous straits.

But in final session yesterday afternoon, the elastic answers were translated into firm diplomatic contracts, i's dotted and t's crossed. For the ceremony, the ministers assembled in the famous Clock Room of the French Foreign Ministry, the Salle d'Horloges of the Quai d'Orsay. There were formal speeches. Then attendants, with rakes similar to those used by the croupiers at Monte Carlo, pushed bulky documents back and forth across the green baize table. The ministers signed.

The signing marked the culmination of four parallel sets of negotiations carried on through the week.

FOUR AGREEMENTS

First, in brief meetings Wednesday and Thursday, agreement was reached on a grant of near-sovereignty to West Germany by the Western Big Three.

Second, at a conference Thursday, terms for West German rearmament under the Western European Union (W.E.U.) were worked out, with the single obstacle—a French plan for a supranational arms pool—being shunted to a study group.

Third, in a brief session that come off without a hitch Friday, West Germany was invited into NATO.

Fourth, in week-long negotiations that were in doubt right down to the wire, France and Germany came to an understanding on the problem of the Saar. These are the details of the agreements in terms of the main issues involved :

GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY

Since 1949, when the West German Federal Republic was set up, its sovereignty has been limited by an Allied occupation statute which gave the Allied High Commission and the Allied occupation forces considerable authority to interfere in internal German affairs.

Yesterday, the Big Three and West Germany signed a new, shortened and up-dated version of the 1952 Bonn peace agreement. This, when first negotiated, linked German sovereignty to the actual creation of the now defunct E.D.C. The new agreement, like the old, revokes the Allied occupation statute, abolishes the Allied High Commission, but grants Bonn immediate and virtual sovereignty on terms more advantageous to the Germans than those originally negotiated. The only power reserved to the Big Three is the right to station troops in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin for the "defense of the free world of which [they] form a part." The Allied occupation of West Berlin would continue pending a settlement with Russia on German reunification.

GERMAN REARMAMENT

The primary intention behind the ill-fated European Defense Community treaty was to bring a soveregin rearmed West Germany into the Western alliance with strict safeguards against a revived German militarism. This was to have been done by absorbing her manpower and industrial potential into a single, unified European defense force under a supranational authority. The Germans were to have contributed about 500,000 men but there was to be no German national army or general staff. Instead, each of the twelve new German divisions were to have been merged with those of other contributing nations under "integrated" army commands. The international authority was also to have controlled continental—including German—arms manufacture and procurement.

Large segments of the French, however, were reluctant to accept such an authority. Other large groups feared the prospect of a rearmed Germany without a powerful British counterweight. These misgivings led to the wreck of E.D.C. by the French Parliament on Aug. 30.

At London three weeks ago, the British pledged not to withdraw their forces from Europe without the consent of their continental allies. They had previously refused such a commitment to E.D.C. The French then tentatively agreed to a new plan to rearm West Germany under the joint control of an expanded Brussels Treaty Organization and of NATO. The Brussels Treaty of 1948 linked Britain, France and the Benelux countries in a mutual defense alliance.

W.E.U. AND NATO

Yesterday, final agreement was reached on German rearmament under the two newly expanded organizations, each provided with new safeguards, but neither possessing the supranational authority which characterized E.D.C. These are the mechanisms :

W. E. U. West Germany, with Italy, was invited to join an expanded Brussels pact organization which is officially to be called Western European Union. W. E. U. is to set the "ceilings" on armed forces and armaments contributed by its members to NATO, and no increases will be permitted without the unanimous consent of the seven members. W. E. U. will also make sure that European—and especially West German—arms are manufactured only within agreed limits. Unlike E.D.C., however, it will have no authority to set up a supranational arms procurement agency and arms pool. A plan by M. Mendes-France to provide it with such authority was handed to a W.E.U. working party for further study.

NATO. West Germany was then invited into the North Atlantic alliance with the right to raise a 500,000-man force as provided by E.D.C. Unlike E.D.C., the integration of this force with other NATO forces will take place, except in special cases, only at the highest levels. Thus, a national German army, which E.D.C. was designed to negate, has in effect been created. To prevent its independent deployment, increased powers were given to the supreme NATO commander over the new German and all other NATO continental armies and over their placement, logistic arrangements, and supplies.

THE SAAR

The Saar (area : 1,000 square miles; population : 1,000,000) has been a critical factor in Franco-German relations for half a century. By language and culture, the Saar-landers are German. Economically, the area—rich in coal, deficient in food—is complementary to France. In sovereignty it has passed back and forth between the two powers, following the ups and downs of their relative strength. After each change, the annexing power has tried to confirm supremacy while the displaced power has tried to keep the door open for one more revision.

The last change, immediately after World War II, put the French in the saddle. They organized the Saar as an autonomous state with a constitution that prevented pro-German parties from campaigning, and assured close economic ties (customs union and common currency) with France. In all subsequent negotiations involving West Germany, the French have tried to write into the bargain a guarantee of their favored status in the Saar. When the Act of London was signed three weeks ago, Premier Mendes-France named a Saar settlement as a condition for final French acceptance of the detailed agreements.

West German Chancellor Adenauer has repeatedly indicated willingness to give the French their way on the Saar in the interests of a general West European agreement. But many of his countrymen regard the Saar as German, and fear cession of the territory might set a precedent for signing away former German lands now occupied by the Russians. The Social Democrats in the opposition, and the Free Democrats and Refugees party within the Chancellor's coalition, have insisted that in any Saar settlement there be (1) expansion of West German trading rights; (2) restoration of free campaigning rights to German parties ; (3) no foreclosure on the final status of the territory as either French or German.

It was in that situation with the whole body of Western plans for organizing Western Europe hanging in the balance, that last Tuesday in Paris Premier Mendes-France and Chancellor Adenauer began meeting on the Saar question.

The meetings cast the whole Paris conference into uncertainty. M. Mendes-France said he would sign no other agreements until a settlement on the Saar had been achieved. In an atmosphere of crisis he and Dr. Adenauer talked until the small hours of yesterday morning and met again before noon. Then the French Premier hastened to a Cabinet meeting. In fifteen minutes came the announcement that a Saar agreement had been approved.

The agreement was this: That the Saar be "Europeanized," under a commissioner (not a Frenchman, German or Saarlander) named by W. E. U.; that the people of the Saar vote on the agreement, with German parties free to campaign; that—assuming approval of the plan in the referendum—elections be held for a Saar legislature, with no campaigning in the election or in any other way for a change in the Saar's status; that the whole arrangement be subject ultimately to the terms of a German peace treaty.

All was clear for the signing.

Before the agreements can go into effect they must run a complex course of legislative approval. The protocol accepting West Germany into NATO is subject to ratification by the parliaments of fifteen countries, including the U.S. The Western European Union agreement must win favourable votes in seven countries. There will be debates and votes on the West German sovereignty grant in Paris, Bonn and London. The Saar understanding must come before the French Assembly and the West German Bundestag.

In all countries save France, favorable majorities are, at present, assured. Even in France the outlook is favorable, with M. Mendes-France evidently backing the agreements and holding strong cards in the Assembly. But throughout the West there are interests and feelings that run against the grain of the Paris agreements. The French continue to be nervous about German militarism, and by that much, interested in a possible deal for a demilitarized Germany. In West Germany, popular sentiment for armed sovereignty is probably a second best to desire for unification. A large segment of the British Labor party opposes German rearmament and yearns for an overall European settlement.

These misgivings and doubts have been in abeyance during the past weeks. But it is doubtful that the machinery of parliamentary ratification will begin turning before the beginning of next year. That leaves Russia a three months' grace period in which to exploit the rich opportunities for dashing Western plans.

The Suez Canal Agreement

On October 19, at Cairo, an agreement was reached and a settlement signed between Britain and Egypt. This is the end of a long period of hostility.

The situation is summarised in the *New York Times*, International Edition, for October 24 as follows:

On November 18, 1875, Prime Minister Disraeli penned a hasty memorandum to his Queen: "The Khedive (ruler of Egypt), on the eve of bankruptcy, appears desirous of parting with his shares in the Suez Canal . . . (He) says it is absolutely necessary that he should have . . . four millions sterling by the 30th of this month! Scarcely breathing time! But the thing must be done. . . . It is vital to your Majesty's authority and power . . . that the canal should belong to England."

Victoria and the Cabinet agreed. Disraeli purchased the shares with money borrowed from the Rothchilds, and England won her "lifeline to the East" and as a result of later developments, a military base for new operations in the Mid-East.

Last Tuesday, almost seventy-nine years later, Britain and Egypt signed a treaty under which the British agreed to withdraw from their Suez base. The treaty represented another shrinkage in the once mighty Empire and another victory for the nationalism that has swept the Middle and Far East since World War II.

Under the agreement, Britain is to surrender to Egypt the hub of her Middle Eastern defense system —a $1 billion network of bases, airdromes, ordnance depots and communications facilities in the Suez Canal zone. The 80,000 British troops now manning this vast complex will be evacuated in stages over the next twenty months, and Egypt will assume responsibility for the base. Cairo agrees, however, that in the event of an armed attack on Egypt or any other Arab State or Turkey, Britain will be allowed to use the base again.

The West hopes that the agreement will be followed by improved relations with the Middle East, and that the Egyptians, with Suez theirs, will agree to join some kind of a Middle East defense arrangement with the West. But although Cairo officials have privately assured Western officials of their sympathy for such a project, they maintain that Egyptian popular sentiment is still too "anti-colonial" for the Government to risk entering into any alliance with the West for the time being.

In Israel there was adverse reaciton to the Suez treaty. The Israeli Government was concerned lest Egypt's new strength encourage Arab aggression against the Jewish State.

U.S. Aid in Asia

The *New York Times*, International Edition, in an editorial article on October 17 discusses the prospect of U.S. aid in Asia. The newspaper says that there was widespread need of foreign aid in the region though some governments and areas there were shaky. The United States had also important reservoir of resources that could be mobilised and used though in a manner which should be adapted to local needs and local frames of find. No other approach could be really effective in problem solving.

Those were not mere problems of money. There were problems in basic intelligence and its use.

"A good example of this intelligence," according to the newspaper, was shown by Pakistan's eminent Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, when he announced that Pakistan had initiated a new economic policy designed to attract foreign investment. Pakistan will allow foreign capital to make its profit and remit it outside the country. This is a far cry from the frantic fears of "new-imperialism" that have been voiced in some other quarters. Pakistan is being "realistic, imaginative and friendly." In the Philippines also the U.S.A. had the advantage of that understanding and common outlook.

"In other areas in East and South Asia we lack these advantages of understanding. In Burma, for example, where there is great need of assistance, it is now suggested that our help may take an "indirect" form so as not to offend Burman sensibilities. Our aid was given once but was curtailed by Burman action, presumably over the quite minor issue of Chinese Nationalist irregulars who had obtained a foothold in north-east Burma. The Burmans have now wisely refused to associate themselves with the ridiculous Polish charge that these irregulars are "supported" by the United States. At the same time Nationalist China has made every possible concession to Rangoon, completely disavowing any such irregulars as are unwilling to go to Formosa. It is possible that a better climate of opinion and feeling can arise in which Burma can get some much-needed help.

"India and Indonesii, meanwhile, are still hopeful of gaining some advantage by closer association with the Communists. While Prime Minister Nehru is en route to Peiping, New Delhi has concluded a new trade pact with Red China, centred chiefly on Tibet, and Jakarta is still trying to associate Indonesia with the Communist trade, if not entirely the political orbit."

Foreign Aid and Investment

Mr. Maurice Zinkin, a former member of the Indian Civil Service and at present on the staff of the Lever Brothers (India) Ltd., writes in an article in the summer issue of the *Progress*, the magazine of Unilever, that India was an ideal country where foreign money, foreign experts, foreign know-how could do a job of real value. But, Mr. Zinkin notes, foreign participation in India's Five-Year Plan had been very limited. In the Government sector against a plan of about £1700 million, and assuming that aid and loans in 1955-56 would be of the same order as those expected for 1954-55 aid and loans by UNO, foreign governments and the World Bank together added up to only £265 million. Mr. Zinkin arrives at the figure in the following manner:

External Loans and Aid received by India till March, 1954

UNO: WHO Aid	£ Million
UNICIEF Aid	0.725
World Bank Loan	3.316
	33,000 (£17. million received bef the first year of pla
USA Wheat Loan	
USA Aid:	67,800
Technical Co-operation Assistance	65.770
Ford Foundation	
Rockefeller Foundation	1.546
Aid under the Colombo Plan:	0.061
Canada	
Australia	15.143
New Zealand	5.900
Norwegian Aid	0.250
	0.203
Total of external loans and aid till March, 1954	196.714
Loan aid expecttd in 1954-55 Budget estimates	33.75
Estimate for 1955-56	33.75
Grand Total	264.214

Mr. Zinkin writes: "All put together it is not much whether it is compared with the help given to the Phillipines, or what the Kuomintang has wasted or even private investment in Canada since the War. India could do with much more. Nor, despite the modern fashion of talking about limitations on the capacity of the underdeveloped countries to take in capital, would India in absorbing much more . . ."

Still he considers that on the government side, and on the whole, foreign share in India's Plan had been "admirable" and quite valuable. "Not every scheme has been of the highest priority, not every expert has been suitable. But there is always some error and some waste in every major enterprise. . . ."

Foreign private investment was still less. Before India became independent, Mr. Zinkin estimates foreign private investment in India had probably been to the extent of not less than £500 to £600 million. Since Independence there had been considerable disinvestment for political, economic, sociological and personal reasons. The latest government figures for disinvestment during the intervening period since Independence were £105 million of which £12 million had been industrial and trading and the rest had been the repatriation of such items as Savings, or Provident Funds on retirement. There had been only a little re-investment by the Big Business: Imperial Chemical Industries, Unilever or the Oil Companies or Krupps-Demag or American Cyanamide or Oerlikons.

Tito on his Visit to India

Speaking on the tenth anniversary of the Liberation of the East and South Herzegovina to a public meeting on October 3 at Trebinje, President Tito of Yugoslavia referred to his forthcoming visit to India and Burma and said that considerations of peace had inspired him to undertake the tour of a region far away from Yugoslavia. "It is a State necessity," he said adding that the visit "will be of great significance."

He said that Yugoslavia's relations with India were "excellent" and he wished to "see at close quarters the face of this great country, feel its breath and maybe through me they will more easily comprehend our reality and our efforts and feel the breath and face of our country." His visit to Burma had also been prompted by similar considerations of closer unity and understanding for the sake of maintaining world peace and furthering national development.

Referring to the speculation in certain quarters about the possibility of a third power bloc coming into being as a result of his visit to the Asian countries Marshal Tito said that there was no intention to create any third Power in the world. "We only want that all those who are really against war and aggression and for correct international relations should be somewhow more compactly united, that although we are separated by distance still our opinions and efforts should be unidvided and should have some importance on the international balance in the settlement of international problems."

India's North-East Frontier

Weird reports reaching of late from India's North-East Frontier have not been very much reassuring. One unofficial report said that a "Naga Republican Federation" had been constituted under the leadership of Hongkin by 700 000 Naga tribesmen living in the unadministered areas of the Naga Hills. The Naga National Council, which was agitating for the independence of the Naga administered areas, was also understood to have lent support to Hongkin. The North-East Frontier Agency had published a denial that any Indian territory had been affected. The story of an independent Naga Federation seems to be a good deal exaggerated in any case as there were only 200,000 Nagas in the world.

Meanwhile another report adds that a conference of tribal leaders at a three-day conference at Tura (Garo Hills) during the second week of October had demanded a separate "Eastern Hills State" comprising all the six autonomous districts of Assam with an area of about 27,600 square miles and a population of about 1,172,000. The representatives from the Khasi, Garo Hills and North Cachar Hills districts were present at the conference while the Lushai Hills, Mikir Hills and Naga Hills did not send any representatives.

However, a later message from the *Statesman's* Shillong correspondent states that the demand for a separate hills State was gaining greater support and the Mizo Union, the major political organisation in the Lushai Hills District had come out in favour of the move for forming a part 'A' State out of the autonomous districts of Assam.

In this context an article by Shri Nirmal Chandra Deb in the Puja Special Number of the *Chronicle*, the English news-magazine of Silchar in Assam, would be of some interest. Shri Deb writes that the Mizos (high hillmen), who were popularly known as the Lushais had entered India through the Burma borders about five hundred years ago and had settled down in the inaccessible forests and hilly tracts constituting the Lushai Hills district of Assam. That tribal district, about 4,000 feet above sea level, covered an area of about 8500 square miles with a population of nearly two lakhs inhabiting its 300 villages. The district had a common frontier of about 340 miles with Burma and Eastern Pakistan. The district had two sub-divisions, Aijal, which was the headquarters of the district, and Lungleh.

The Mizos treasured their independence very much and had stubbornly opposed British intrusion into their territory. After a valiant fight, they had to submit to British domination during the closing years of the nineteenth century. The British had thenceforward followed a policy of keeping the Mizos completely isolated from the rest of India and of imposing British culture and Christian religion on them. The result was that today even the remotest parts of the district were full of churches and 90 per cent of the people were Christians. The costumes and literature too were anglicized. Their newspapers were printed in the Roman script.

Traditionally the Mizos had an administrative set-up in which the chiefs took a leading and responsible part. Following the custom of tribal democracy, the chiefs were elected and did not inherit their position and any chief failing to discharge his duties creditably was promptly deposed.

After the British occupation the entire picture had changed. The British had created chief lands, allocating well defined regions to the chief as life-long tenures and had made them responsible for the collection of Government revenue, supply of men on demand as indentured labour, settling up minor disputes and execution of Government orders. As was natural under such conditions, the chiefs were corrupted and became instruments of oppression of the people.

The Mizo land was formally incorporated in the province of Assam as one of its districts in April, 1898 and the area was declared as "Excluded Area." With the advent of independence in 1947 the Mizo-land came to be treated as an Autonomous Tribal District of Assam with a District Council composed of 24 members to administer the region which came into being on April 25, 1952. Eighteen members of the Council were elected on adult franchise and six nominated by the Government. In the Lok Sabha, the district had one representaive, at present Mr. Thanlia, B.A.; Mr. Saprawnga, B.A., Mr. Lalbuana and Mr. Dengthuama represented the Autonomous District in the Assam State Legislative Assembly.

The Mizos had two principal political organization—the Mizo Union and the United Mizo Freedom Organisation. The last elections had shown that the Mizo Union, which advocated a republican form of government demolishing totally the chiefdom system, had popular support inasmuch as they gained all the elective seats in the District Council. The UMFO, the other organization, was quite opposed to the abolition of chiefdom on the plea that it would break up their age-old socio-economic setup.

Partition of India had hit the Mizos very much economically. The main cash crop of the region, oranges, which had previously been marketed in the neighbouring districts now included in East Pakistan with which trade was now at a standstill, could not find a suitable market on account of transport difficulties. An aerodrome at or near Aijal could very greatly facilitate contact of the region with the rest of the country.

Indo-Ceylon Accord

In January this year an agreement was reached between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon over the solution of the problems of Indian inhabitants of Ceylon. The agreement provided for registration of "Indians" as Ceylonese citizens and for registration of those whose applications were rejected by Ceylon Government as Indian citizens. A possibility therefore arose of the emergence of a class of people whose applications might be rejected both by Ceylon and India. Especially having regard to the manner in which registration for Ceylonese citizenship had been dealt with by the Ceylon Government. Up to that time that possibility could not be dismissed. Even as early as at the time of the signing of the agreement that possibility was pointed out in these columns and some doubts were expressed regarding the outcome of the actual implementation of the agreement which unfortunately proved to be not altogether unfounded.

Naturally enough the Indo-Ceylon relationship became strained as differences over the interpretation of the agreement accentuated. The Ceylon Government in difference to local and political opinion of a section of their supporters began to indulge in all sorts of demagogy and brought accusations against the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, Sri C. C. Desai, whose bold stand with regard to the implementation of the agreement earned him the displeasure of the Chauvinist Ceylon politicians.

In such a situation of mutual recrimination and virtual suspension of the working of the Agreement, a fresh assessment on the part of the two Governments was an obvious necessity and consequently negotiations were held between a delegation from Ceylon headed by the Premier Sir John Kotelawala and the Government of India. The Ceylon delegation included among others Mr. D. S. Senanayake, a former Premier and an outspoken opponent of the January Agreement, and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake, the Leader of the Opposition in the Ceylon Parliament also criticised the Agreement. This is for the first time a delegation of the Ceylon Indians headed by Mr. Thondamon was heard at the talks about their complaints regarding the implementation of the Agreement and their reactions to the various measures adopted by the Ceylon Government.

After two days' hard bargaining the negotiations, which seemed not to progress at all, bore fruit and an agreement was reached on October 10, the two parties pledging to make a more earnest attempt to work the January Agreement. Ceylon would remove difficulties facing applicants for Ceylon citizenship and smooth their part in acquiring it.

Commenting upon the new agreement the Ceylon *Tribune* writes in an editorial article on October 16, that while it did solve the outstanding problems with any degree of finality the agreement was nonetheless welcome as neither India nor Ceylon could go on quarrelling among themselves.

The Agreement, the newspaper notes, was undoubtedly an admission that the Nehru-Kotelawala Agreement of January had not been implemented properly. Referring to the futility of reviving the controversy about the responsibility for the impasse, the newspaper urges upon both the parties to implement the Agreement in a friendly and honourable manner. At the same time it disapproves of the undue insistence on technicalities.

"In the ultimate analysis," the editorial article continues, "the Agreement postpones the issue for another two years and the *status quo* continues in an uneasy manner. It is not without significance that this problem comes up again for review in the year of the next General Elections, and it is possible that groups and cliques both within and without the UNP (United National Party) will endeavour to exploit the 'unsolved' problem to their advantage."

About the stand of the different Ceylonese politicians at the New Delhi talks, the *Tribune* writes that while Sir John Kotelawala had acted with caution, statesmanship and understanding the stand taken by Mr. Dudley Senanayake had been somewhat disappointing. "Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake's see-sawing was nothing unexpected, but ex-Premier Dudley Senanayake's attitude has caused a great deal of consternation."

In an earlier issue on the eve of the talks the newspaper stressed on the imperative necessity of Indo-Ceylon Agreement and wrote: "The sins of British colonialism in bringing into this country workers from South India to open up plantations should not be visited on these workers who have long settled in this island and have no intimate ties with the country from which they emigrated."

Recounting the contributions made by those workers to the development of Ceylon, the newspaper dwelt on the contributions they could still make in any genuine programme for Ceylon's economic and political development and ridiculed the suggestion that by driving the Indian workers out of Ceylon employment possibilities could be expanded for Ceylonese people. The reasons for Ceylon's economic distress, in the view of the paper, lay squarely on the "bankruptcy of the Government (of Ceylon) in being unable to work out an economic development plan to provide employment and occupation for the growing population." It adds: "Politically to think that economic betterment can be effected through racial discrimination, segregation and repatriation skirts the thin line of demagogy and fascism."

The "Free Asia" Committee

The Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Asia is an international organisation registered as an incorporated company in the U.S.A. One of its branches is also operating in India. It has been stated in some quarters that the so-called "Free Asia Committee" was nothing but an offshoot of the United States propaganda service, as for example, the following extract from the editorial article in the Ceylon *Tribune* of October 9. The *Tribune* writes:

"The *Ceylon Observer* must again be congratulated for showing up some of the deeds of the Free Asia Committee. A wary reporter from the paper tracked down one of the ever-increasing tribe of visitors from the U.S. State Department who was frank enough to declare that he had come to check on the work of propaganda institutions like the U.S.I.S. and the Free Asia Committee. What Mr. Lutz stated has completely knocked the bottom out of the make-believe Mr. Holbrook Bradley has endeavoured to foist on the people of Ceylon to the effect that his Committee is a completely non-political organisation interested in doing altruistic aid to poor suffering Asians. Mr. Bradley rushed off to Singapore, perhaps to get some chieftain to tip off Washington not to send blundering advertising executives to check on the work of the Committee and do it damage by talking out of turn."

Abduction of Girls in Aurangabad

The *Spectator*, a weekly news-magazine recently brought out in Hyderabad, reports that of late there had been several instances of abduction of girls of respectable families by certain people belonging to the so-called educated class in Aurangabad. The abduction was apparently resorted to for immoral purposes as the special correspondent of the newspaper does not mention any specific motive for such acts.

The miscreants took advantage of the fact that the parents of the unfortunate girls often hesitated to apply to the police for redress for the sake of "honour and self-respect." What, however, would seem to heighten public anxiety was the reported fact that even when the police were apprised of such facts, no action was taken. The report hints at a possible collusion between responsible police officials in the locality and the so-called "cultured *goondas*" and concludes with a request to the Home Minister to pay a visit to Aurangabad to study the situation at first hand and help the distressed families from further mischief at the hands of those evil-doers.

Police Atrocities in U.P.

The police administration of the Uttar Pradesh comes in for severe condemnation in an editorial article in the *Vigil* of October 16. Referring to the fact that various complaints had been brought against police atrocities at different times by the Opposition sometimes supported by Congressmen, the newspaper writes that only party considerations prompted Congressmen to belittle the evidence of police atrocities, some of those committed against women during the agitation against enhanced irrigation rates.

During the recent session of the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, Congressmen had joined the Opposition in asking angry questions when the Home Minister had to admit that he had received complaints that the police had forcibly removed ten women from a village in Bijnor district and had criminally violated their modesty. It had further been disclosed that after an on-the-spot enquiry the Deputy Minister, Shri Muzaffar Hussain had reported that some "excesses" had been committed. But the astonishing fact in the Home Minister's admission was that no action had until then been taken against the constables concerned.

The *Vigil* writes: "We fail to find language that would be adequate for commenting on such a scandalous state of affairs in the management of so vital a Department as the police in a State that prides itself as the biggest and the most resourceful in India."

Calcutta's Police Administration

An article by a special correspondent of the *Vigil* in the issue of the newspaper of October 30 throws some very interesting lights on the police administration of Calcutta.

It is stated that the police administration in Calcutta (under the direct charge of Dr. B. C. Roy himself) had been going on for the past three years without a permanent Commissioner of Police. This was an indication of the lack of a positive policy and had resulted in the entire city police personnel being engulfed in personal bickerings, cliquism and acts of nepotism, sometimes amounting to corruption. As might be expected under such circumstances the efficiency of the administration had been a major casualty, today only 30 per cent of the cases sent up by the Calcutta Police to the courts ending in conviction where the ratio expected by the authorities was 50 per cent which the West Bengal police were still able to maintain. The number of big murders remaining undetected was also quite high.

The writer adds: "While the work of policing is on such a low level of efficiency, personal and group rivalries are rampant. Feuds between groups of officers, one trying to oust another, have been so pronounced that it would seem that order could be restored among the higher ranks only by transferring the whole lot of them from Calcutta which, of course, is administratively impossible."

The correspondent then proceeds on to narrate the interesting manner in which consecutive Commissioners of Police had been appointed, made to go on apparently enforced leave after one or another scandal, and then given some appointments whose usefulness was not particularly evident. A Commissioner had thus been shunted off to a job which a Deputy Secretary of the Land Records Department had been doing in addition to his own duties. An Acting Commissioner of Police had been made a special officer (an office newly created) with practically the same powers as the Commissioner, when he should ordinarily have reverted to his position as a Deputy Commissioner.

There was a feeling of uncertainty and frustration among the lower police officers about their future because of the unstable position of the Commissioner himself. "One C.P. on coming to occupy the office removes one set of them and another C.P. another set." An enquiry into the working of the recruiting of personnel in the lower grade and in the traffic department, had revealed many ugly truths and action had been taken against a number of officers. But no serious attempt had been made to rid the department of that scourge.

In this fluid state of the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners there was only one man—the D.C., Headquarters,—whose position seemed to be quite secure. He had occupied the same strategic post longer than it had been held by any other officer and he is reported to be in the good books of the Chief Minister. Recently the gentleman concerned had been appointed to the newly created post of Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Traffic.

Such a state of affairs had been exercising a demoralising influence over the city's police officers. "For," the correspondent writes, "competency in work and honest discharge of duty are no guarantee of security. There is a premium on the capacity for quick changing of sides and saluting the rising sun whoever he may be for the time being. In such an atmosphere, the real work, that is, policing is apt to fall to the background. This is a situation which cannot but cause concern in the minds of those who are aware of it."

Comet vs. *Bullockcart*

The story of human civilization is the story of speed and the story of speed is the story of mechanisation. The Indian life, however, was not disturbed by the race after the speed until after the 'fifties of the last century, but the pace of mechanisation is still limping being interspersed with primitive implements and outlook of which we are not only proud as our ancient legacy but try to preserve them in the midst of the quickening pace of modern life. Sir Mirza Ismail, who has reached a great height of eminence by virtue of his long and creditable record of service as an administrator, deserves to be heard with respect. In the course of his Convocation address at the Poona University on 30th September 1954 he made several observations emphasising the importance of rapid industrialisation of India and these should receive due considerations from the authorities. Mr. Mirza Ismail urged that "backward nations have been transformed into advanced nations through industrialisation—and in no other way." He is convinced that it is "large-scale modern machine industry that confers a high material standard of living as well as political power and prestige." All through his life he endeavoured hard for the development of industries and it is certainly now disappointing to him to witness the suspicion with which the machine is viewed in this country even today.

That the advancement of political power invariably calls for rapid industrialisation is unfailingly a correct view but unfortunately, the machine is viewed as anathema by some authorities. Condemning this attitude, Mr. Mirza Ismail said: "Surely, it is not our aim or desire to make a land of austerity, inhabited mostly by *sadhus*, *fakirs* and *sanyasins*." And truthfully enough, the anti-machine attitude of these authorities is gradually and slowly leading the country to a state of austerity as pictured by this eminent personality. The machine is regarded as an evil to be despised rather than an implement to be utilised.

In the sphere of education, this anti-machine attitude is strongly embedded as a close parallel to the exaggerated stress on medieval crafts. Basic education has been described by Mr. Mirza Ismail as "retreat from civilization." Basic education, according to him, with its emphasis on the *charkha* and the handloom, trains the people to a past that is pur anachronistic in a modern world. Instead, the pupils should have been trained to adapt themselves to the changing techniques of production so that they could fit themselves in the planned mechanisation which is bound to force itself in sooner or later, if India really desires to solve her unemployment problem and keep her head high as a first class power. In the opinion of Mr. Mirza Ismail, "craft work is an excellent thing at school." And what he objects to is the exaggeration, distortion and misapplication of the idea of the basic education. The basic education system is not only educationally inadequate, it cries a halt to the country's industrial intelligence. Fundamentally, it is neither basic nor education in the modern context of educational background. Basic education, when pitted against the chain of national laboratories that have been recently established in this country, points towards polarization of primitive knowledge at the one end and modern scientific knowledge at the other—without the golden mean to form the link in the chain. The result is halted growth at both the ends and frustration of purpose.

During the last two thousand years India has had enough trials of primitive crafts and tools which tied her down to a backward economy wallowing in the quagmire of poverty, dirt and disease and ignorance. Lastly, Mr. Mirza Ismail has something to say on the language issue the veracity of which is more than testified by history. He says, "Let us not forget that but for English education and philosophy with its conception of freedom, there would have been no Indian nationalism and no political independence." The sense of nationalism cannot be fostered simply by eschewing English, the language of modern science and international communication.

This is a criticism that has to be faced by the protagonists of Basic Education. Where does it lead?

Land Reform

The Planning Commission is reported to be not satisfied with the progress of land reforms in this country. In the opinion of the Commission, the progress in this regard is not only slow, but the measures so far adopted are admittedly inadequate. Abolition of the zamindari system does not mean that we have solved the land problem. It is wrong to think so because many problems remain unsolved even after that. The land problem is and will continue to be one of our most important and vital problems. Mere distribution of property without any increase in our productive wealth will not prove to be useful. India has done away with big zamindars and jagirdars—they are all over. Now we have to deal with the middle landlord. But ceiling on land holdings must be fixed and imposed and herein lies the problem that baffles the solution.

In the zamindari areas legislation is aimed at the abolition of intermediaries. In raiyatwari areas protection of the tenants was the Government's main concern. The land reform programme has not succeeded in either sphere and the situation is fast deteriorating.

As some States have placed no limit on the quantity of land which the landlords can retain for self-cultivation, they have, naturally, secured such alterations in village records as to result in wholesale eviction of tenants. In States which do not require landlords to demarcate the lands they are holding for self-cultivation or intend to acquire for self-cultivation, the landlords have come by a powerful weapon for intimidating their tenants. Abolition of intermediaries has only been partly achieved although the Planning Commission has repeatedly recommended that the process should be expedited.

The total estimated amount of compensation payable by the State Governments, in cases where the law has already been enacted, is about Rs. 370.4 crores, besides rehabilitation grants amounting to Rs. 79.9 crores. The total amount required, therefore, is Rs. 450.3 crores and this is no doubt a formidable amount.

Although legislative measures have been undertaken in most States, their implementation has been extremely slow. Abolition of intermediaries has been fully implemented only in Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Hyderabad, Pepsu and Bhopal. The intermediaries have not yet been abolished in Assam, West Bengal, Mysore, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. Legislative measures are yet to be undertaken in the case of Assam in respect of temporarily settled areas; Madras, in respect of jemmi lands and estates in Malabar; Uttar Pradesh, in respect of Rampur and hilly areas; Hyderabad, in respect of village service inams; Madhya Bharat, in respect of inams and mwafi lands; Travancore, Ajmer and Kutch.

But neither the fixation of ceiling nor the abolition of intermediaries will increase food production which is vitally needed, until and unless co-operative farming is compulsorily introduced all over India. Private farming is now an outmoded system and State farming and collective farming may not be suitable to Indian conditions. What is required is co-operative farming on mechanised basis. Co-operative farming will satisfy the sense of private ownership and at the same time it will secure the benefit of the joint farming.

In spite of the pressure of population, relatively small extension of cultivation to waste lands has taken place during the last 40 years. But this is more due to the fact that the exploitation of such waste lands has not been within the resources of the ordinary cultivations rather than due to the unsuitability of all these lands for cultivation. By State or State-sponsored efforts it may be possible to bring a large proportion of these waste lands under cultivation during the next few decades.

India Security Press

Sri Dhirubhai Mehta in an article in the *Penfriend* traces the history of stamp printing in India and describes the growth of the India Security Press.

Sri Mehta writes that up to 1862 the Indian Postage Stamps had been printed by the Surveyor General of India from plates made at the Calcutta Mint. In 1882, Messrs. Thos. de la Rue & Co. of London had obtained a contract for printing stamps which they had held until 1924.

"In 1922, Lt.-Col. G. H. Willis, C.I.E., M.V.O.R.F., the then Master of the Bombay Mint and Mr. F. O. Ascoli, I.C.S., Controller of Printing, Stationery, and Stamps were deputed to England to investigate the possibility of printing stamps, etc., in India. Col. Willis had earlier investigated the printing currency notes prior to the War of 1914-18. As a result of their favourable report and a subsequent practical demonstration in Delhi in 1923, the Government of India decided to open a Security Press in India and the construction work began in September, 1924 at Nasik Road."

The selection of Nasik as the site for the Security Press had been influenced by climatic conditions and considerations of communication facilities. In November, 1925, printing of stamps had begun and the first set of stamps bearing the portrait of King George V had been out in 1926.

The building and the equipments for the press had cost rupees twenty-seven and a half lakhs and had since been extended at an additional cost of Rs. 67.65 lakhs.

The Security Press was divided into three sections: The Stamp Press, Central Stamp Store and the Currency Note Press. The Master of the Press (at present Sri J. C. Dutta Gupta) had to carry out two functions: one as the Master of the Press and the other as the Controller of Stamps.

The Central Stamp Store, established in 1928 abolishing all the Reserve Stamp Depots throughout the country except in Calcutta, distributed the stamps, postal stationery, etc., to more than six hundred treasuries and sub-treasuries in India and also held reserve stocks of approximately three to six months consumption of all items.

Stamps were printed by three processes—Letter press for adhesive stamps, postcards, etc.; Off-set Lithography for impressed stamps, certain States' adhesive stamps, etc.; and Photogravure—a process newly introduced for printing of postage stamps.

The press had undertaken printing of currency notes in 1928.

The Press was run by the Central Government as a Commercial Department and apart from the printing of bank and currency notes, postal stationery, Match Excise Duty Banderolls, etc., the Press also undertook outside work as any other commercial press did. The Press printed cheques for Banks in India and stamps, postal orders, Bank Notes, etc., for many Governments, including those of Goa, Sudan, Ethiopia, Burma and Nepal.

The annual output of the Press for 1954-55 would run into one thousand crores of rupees. In 1950-51, the Press had printed 1948.1 million adhesive stamps of the face value of 35 crores of rupees, 29 million impressed stamps of the value of fifteen and a half million and 1010.5 pieces of postal stationery of the value of Rs. 6.8 crores.

Philately in India

In an article in the Indian Postage Stamp Centenary Number of the *Penfriend*, monthly organ of the Nations' League of Friends, Mr. Jal Cooper, editor of the *India's Stamp Journal*, traces the history of the philatelic magazines and philatelic societies in India.

The first philatelic journal to be published in India, according to Mr. Cooper, was the shortlined *Indian Philatelist*, which had been brought out in Bombay in May, 1894, as a monthly. Almost simultaneously, in July, 1894, the *Philatelic World* had begun to be published from Calcutta as the monthly official organ of the Philatelic Society of Bengal. In September, 1894, another monthly, *The Indian Postage Stamp News*, had appeared in Bombay.

The Bombay Philatelic Society with 55 enthusiastic stamp collectors on its roll had brought out its official organ *The Quarterly Philatelic Circular* in January, 1896. *The Philatelic Journal of India*, official organ of the Philatelic Society of India, had been published in 1897 and had since been serving the cause of Indian philately for the last 57 years.

From 1900 to 1953 at least twenty-five philatelic journals had been published in India, all short time efforts of Indian philatelists, and except the *India's Stamp Journal*, all had ceased to exist.

The author mentions three existing Philatelic Societies. They were: (1) The Philatelic Society of India established in 1897 having 167 members on its roll at the end of 1953; (2) The Calcutta Philatelic Society established in 1937 which had a membership of sixty at the moment; (3) The Empire of India Philatelic Society established in 1941 with a current membership of over 500.

"Thus it will be seen," writes Mr. Cooper, "that out of a population of 300 million souls, there are not even one thousand active stamp collectors, who can act as *good* contacts for exchanging stamps with their counterparts in foreign countries." Mr. Cooper remarks that, in view of the low literacy and per capita income of the people of the country, this cannot be considered quite unnatural.

POLITICS AROUND THE WORLD *

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THE topic for this evening's lecture, assigned by the university authorities, is a very ambitious one. It is—"Politics Around the World." I suppose I have been asked to delve into this vast field because very recently I have taken a study-tour round the world. Even if I try to discuss only a phase of what is happening in contemporary world politics, it will be difficult to accomplish it within the limited time at my disposal. Therefore I am diffident about carrying out my obligations to your full satisfaction, and I ask your indulgence for inadequacy in performing my task this evening.

I

From time immemorial, fundamental principles controlling world politics have been the same. They involve: (a) expansion of states, (b) rivalry amongst them, and, (c) efforts for recovery of independence or re-assertion of conquered peoples. Long before any of the modern states came into existence, powerful tribes expanded their domain by conquering weak ones. They fought amongst themselves to attain supremacy over others, and then subject tribes if they were not completely absorbed, in co-operation with, or may I say in alliance with, enemies of their over-lords, fought to emancipate themselves from enslaved conditions.

While studying stories of the rise and fall of empires—the Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, Indian, Roman, Greek, Byzantine, Arab and Turkish empires, not to speak of modern ones—one finds that the very existence and survival of a state depends upon power. Thus world politics, as we know it, and "*macht politik*" are virtually synonymous. In the struggle for existence, a state may not survive without the requisite or adequate power to overcome aggressions from outside and internal upheavals, sometimes promoted by outside forces.

It is needless to emphasize, but it should never be forgotten, that any state however great is limited by its resources, man-power, and strategical position, all of which can be increased through co-operation with other states. Thus, in the struggle for power or for survival, a state must not allow itself to be isolated; on the contrary, it should secure support from other states to augment its power to overcome the enemy. Lest I may be misunderstood, *I wish to say that mere struggle for power should not be the ultimate objective of a state; but upholding freedom, justice and peace and promotion of general welfare of the people is the goal to be attained; and a state without power cannot fulfill its obligations to the people and humanity at large.*

II

Modern world politics began with Europe's extra-European expansions in Africa, Asia and the Americas since the latter part of the fifteenth century. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the principal features of world politics, especially in the Orient, was the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Arabs; and the latter were eliminated and Portuguese supremacy was established. In the seventeenth century there existed rivalry between the Spaniards and the Portuguese on the one hand, and the British and the Dutch on the other. After the defeat of the Spanish-Portuguese powers by the Anglo-Dutch powers (which was also a part of the religious wars of the Christians of Europe) there developed bitter Anglo-Dutch rivalries and ultimate mutual recognition of their respective spheres of domain in the Orient. Then came the Anglo-French rivalries in world politics for nearly a hundred years in various parts of the world. This rivalry continued in different forms until the French power under Napoleon was destroyed by the grand concert of European powers and a new world order was established at the Congress of Vienna. The nineteenth century which is generally known as the British century, had Anglo-Russian rivalry as its important feature, until Russia was crushed by the Russo-Japanese war. The twentieth century opened with Anglo-German rivalry and the re-awakening of Asia (Japan being the symbol of this most significant development in world politics of our time).

In the first part of the twentieth Century, Anglo-German rivalry ended with the defeat of Germany in World War I in which the United States of America played the decisive role (and since then American position in world politics has been paramount). After World War I, Anglo-American powers, apprehensive of France and Bolshevik Russia, became friendlier to Germany and aided her to become more powerful than ever. Then we find that the Soviet Russian alliance with Nazi Germany (Stalin and Hitler) and Japan's non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia brought about World War II. Due to the existence of the Soviet Russian and Nazi German alliance, Germany succeeded in over-running all of Europe without much difficulty. But before the world war was over, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia disagreed about their policies in the Balkans and the Middle East and this led to the German attack on Soviet Russia and at this juncture western democracies came to the aid of Soviet Russia, for the sole purpose of defeating their enemy, Germany.

After the Napoleonic War in which Russia of Tsar Alexander I played an important part in defeating

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* A public lecture delivered during the summer sessions of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu on July 13, 1954.

Napoleon, there arose Anglo-Russian rivalry which lasted for nearly a century until the Triple Entente was formed. Similarly after World War II, in which Soviet Russia of Stalin played a very important part in defeating Germany there has arisen American-Soviet Russian rivalry. *May I say that rivalry among powers remains the constant thing and the only change is this: the United States has taken the place of Great Britain and Tsarist Russia has been substituted by Soviet Russia.*

In this rivalry which is the main feature of world politics today, both Soviet Russia and the United States of America are trying to secure support of other powers in order to isolate their respective enemies. Soviet Russia, through her satellites, is waging war against the United States and her allies; while the United States is trying to check Soviet Russia's expansion in all directions by the process of "containment of Russia" or by bringing about isolation of Russia in world politics. In this process of vigorous diplomatic war, Soviet Russia is trying to detach her allies from the United States—specially Britain and France and, if possible, Japan; while the United States is trying to penetrate into the so-called iron-curtain countries which are supporters of Soviet Russia and Communist China. Furthermore, there is also going on a struggle to secure support of so-called neutralist powers by the two contenders for supremacy—Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

When we critically consider this brief picture of the march of world politics of our time, we find that with new rivalries among powers have come new alignments, in which religion and ideologies do not play important roles, as thought by many. To make this point clear may I emphasize the point that during World War II, to serve national interests and to crush her enemies (Germany and Japan), the United States of America was the staunchest supporter and ally of Soviet Russia, a communist state, under the dictatorship of Stalin; while today in less than ten years the United States of America is virtually allied with Japan and Germany, her former enemies, to check Russian expansion which is decidedly against American interests. Thus there is constant change in trends of world politics, tending to the rise of new strong powers and formation of new alliances to defeat common enemies by adopting common foreign policies, common defense policies and common economic policies among allies. *After World War II, the main features of world politics of today is the reduction of France and Britain to a lower status from their former pre-eminence and the rise of the United States and Soviet Russia as great powers and their rivalries; and at the same time phenomenal recovery of Germany and Japan and the growing assertion of the former subject peoples of Asia and Africa to attain their full freedom and equality among nations.*

III

When I was recently in England and tried to fathom trends of British world policies, it became clear to me that the British were more concerned about, if not afraid of, a rejuvenated and united Germany than they were of a communist Russia. In general the Tories were thinking of a new Germany in the same way as Churchill and others did before the outbreak of World War II. The left wing of the British Labor Party, if not the Labor Party as a whole, is opposed to the rearmament and re-unification of Germany. This attitude of the British public and statesmen in general is due to the fact that there has been a phenomenal recovery of Germany in matters of industry, commerce, finance and general morale of the people. The rebuilding of destroyed German cities is going on faster than one can imagine. I got an idea of it from the changes I observed in May 1954 that had taken place since I was last there in December 1952. In spite of the fact that most of the German factories were dismantled by the British and the Russians after World War II, today German industries are successfully competing with those of the British in world markets. In world markets the Germans have begun to out-strip the British in the export of chemicals and electrical goods and equipment. The condition of German finances is better than that of the British—at least in the European Credit Union Germany is in the position of a creditor while Britain is a debtor. In international politics, although West Germany does not technically enjoy full sovereign rights, yet her position is strong and not isolated. Today very close relations have developed between West Germany and the United States because both are pursuing a common defense policy of establishing a European Defense Community and a common foreign policy of creating a United Europe working to check further march of Soviet Russia. Therefore, for economic and political reasons, Britain is opposed to development of a strong Germany. But she is in no position to check it without outside support and thus she is looking for Soviet Russian and French support against German-American collaboration.

Soviet Ruussia is opposed to a reunited strong Germany allied with the United States of America, because a strong Germany, in course of time, would try to recover territories that have been taken by Soviet Russia and Poland. A united western Europe with a strong European army may become a factor in forcing Soviet Russia to give up her present domination over Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria and may become a deterrent to her aggressive policies in the Middle East and Asia.

Of course, the French people are afraid of a strong Germany which, during the last three quarters of a century, thrice over-ran and devastated their country. Furthermore they are anxious to keep control of the rich territory of the Saar from falling into German hands. During recent months, French leftists (under the leadership of the Communists) and the extreme rightists have made common cause against any government that might agree to France's joining the European

Defense Community and have succeeded in it. Thus, at the present time France is looking for British and Russian aid against a strong Germany which is supported by the United States; and France is virtually pursuing anti-American policies.

One may say that, as things stand today, Britain, Russia and France have a common interest in checking growth of a strong and united Germany; and they are virtually pursuing a policy of forming a new Triple Entente against new Germany and indirectly against the United States.

When I was in Bonn recently, I had the opportunity to discuss questions of German foreign policies and European defense with responsible persons of all classes. I am convinced that those who are engaged in running the state of Germany now, to serve the best interests of the people, are pursuing the policy of close collaboration with the United States. They recognize the fact that the power of the United States arrayed against Germany was the principal cause of her defeat. They also recognize the fact that, although once the United States, under the leadership of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, pursued the policy of the dismemberment of Germany and the reduction of the great industrial heart of Europe to mere agricultural land (I am referring to the Morgenthau plan which received the blessings of Roosevelt and Churchill), it was American aid that has made German recovery industrially and politically possible today.

By supporting the policy of a United Europe and the creation of a European Defense Community, Germany has much to gain and nothing to lose. In the United Europe, Germany with her industrial potentials and geographical position and population will be the most important unit and thus will have proportionally greater influence; and in a European Defense Community Germans will enjoy a great deal of importance. Thus, by pursuing a policy of establishing a United Europe and European Defense Community which are the cardinal policies of the United States, there have developed common interests between Germany and the United States in world politics.

Thus, the new trend of developing a Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia (no formal alliance but entente in actual actions) against a strong united Germany is also directed against the United States. *It may be safely asserted that if the American policies of a European Defense Community do not materialize and the existing Anglo-Russian rivalries continue there will be closer collaboration between Germany and the United States. In fact one may say that today there exists a virtual German-American alliance.*

In Germany Communists, Socialists and some of the Rightists are opposed to Germany entering the European Defense Community, because in case of a war Germany will become the battle-ground. They think that, by co-operating with Russia they may be able to bring about a united Germany through Russian support. If the United States fails to get France to join the European Defense Community and at the same time, U.S.A. continues to hesitate to sign a separate peace treaty with Germany, an offensive and defensive alliance, the influence of the pro-American party in Germany will be reduced and the present government may be overthrown. *Whatever may be the developments in European politics, Germany will continue to hold the balance of power and play a more important role than ever before. My personal opinion is that Germany must not be allowed to join Soviet Russia, because such a development will increase Soviet Russian power and she will act more aggressively in Asia and Europe and this may become the cause of the next world war.* But one should not forget that the German people are temperamentally impatient and are conscious of their potential power and they may not eternally wait to be kept in an uncertain position due to policies of France and Britain. The United States may have to deal with West Germany on the basis of equality, in spite of France-British opposition. This would mean a real revolution in European world politics.

While in Rome, a few weeks ago, the impression I got through exchange of ideas with liberal statesmen and professors was like this:

> "We Italians are for a United Europe which would benefit the people of Europe. We are opposed to Russian expansion and communism, but we do not wish to join the European Defense Community, because such a move may lead to a European War with Russia. Furthermore, we do not want American officials to tell us—really dictate to us—the course of action we should follow in world affairs."

It seems that Italy will not join the European Defense Community, unless France first accepts the proposition. Furthermore, some Italians think that America should use her influence with Yugoslavia so that the Trieste Question will be settled in her favor. To avoid any misunderstanding I wish to make it clear that except for communists the Italian people are not anti-American: but they do not wish to be committed to support American policies, unless they see that France and Britain are doing the same. The Italians are being influenced by the new trend of collaboration between Britain, France and Russia.

In the countries of western Europe a feeling has developed against the United States, not because the United States has harmed them in any way, but they feel that the United States, because of her superior power position, has exerted tremendous influence on these European nations. They feel that a combined action on the part of European nations—specially Britain, France and Russia—may induce the United States to follow international policies more agreeable to them. It seems that what has happened in the Geneva conference during the last month confirms my views. In Geneva, Mr. Eden behaved more pro-Russian than pro-American. It was during the Geneva

Conference that the French Government that was committed to support the European Defense Community programme was overthrown and a new government was put in power which is apparently committed to solve the Indo-Chinese war in collaboration with Communist China, Soviet Russia and Great Britain. Mr. Churchill's recent conference with President Eisenhower at Washington has not solved the existing wide difference between Britain and the United States. A time may come when Britain will have to choose between Soviet Russia and the United States as her ally.

IV

In the past when Britain had supremacy over India, the Middle East, *i.e.*, the region between India and Egypt (North Africa) used to be regarded as a special sphere of British influence. During recent years the situation has changed due to many causes, and within the Middle East there has been constant growth of American power, and continual decline of British power. It is not that the United States has been pushing Britain out of this region, but British weakness has forced her to give up her responsibilities, leaving them with the United States. The United States has been forced to assume the major responsibility of defending the Middle East from Russian expansion.

A few years ago, after World War II, when Soviet Russia began her expansion into Greece by supporting Greek communists and promoting a civil war, then it was Britain's responsibility to sustain the government of Greece. But when Britain failed to give adequate aid to Greece, the United States, to prevent this strategic country and the adjoining Eastern Mediterreanean from falling into Soviet Russian hands, had to extend aid to the anti-communist government of Greece.

When Soviet Russia showed every indication of her determination of marching into North Eastern Asian territories of Turkey, as a step towards her march to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and endangering Iran and Iraq's independence, the United States extended military and economic aid to Turkey and formulated the famous Truman Doctrine, the sum and substance of which was that, under certain conditions, the U.S. would extend military aid to nations, struggling to maintain their freedom from Soviet Russian aggression. The United States of America has considerable economic interests (oil) and political stakes in the Middle East, and she is ready to defend that area in co-operation with those powers which wish to co-operate with her.

Turkey is the key to the American position to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. With American aid, a strong and rejuvenated Turkey stands as a bulwark against a Soviet march in this region. Furthermore, through Turkish initiative, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey have formed an alliance to check a Russian march through the Balkans. Relations between Turkey and Italy are friendly. These powers are directly and indirectly conneeted with NATO and the United States stands squarely behind them.

After my visit to Israel and after studying the conditions, I feel that the state of Israel, however small and with a population of about a million and a half, is an important factor in the politics of the Middle East, because some of the Arab States proclaim that they would end the existence of the State of Israel which came into existence by the decision of the United Nations. But Israel is a dependable ally of the United States of America, not because it has signed any treaty of alliance but because both countries have common interests in checking the march of totalitarianism in any form. The state of Israel came into existence through the support of the Zionist forces of the world. American Zionists have played the most important role in the creation of the State of Israel, by securing American support, American Jews have contributed the most to the upbuilding of the Jewish state. It is safe to say that no sane Jewish statesman can advocate anti-American policies and at the same time expect to see that the state would survive in the midst of the existing hostilities of Arab States which are now being wooed by Soviet Russia.

Saudi Arabia which receives royalties from Arab-American oil company to the tune of more than two hundred million dollars annually and which has been having some trouble with the British during the last few years, is pro-American or at least not actively opposed to America. But there is a possibility of demands for a higher rate of royalties for oil and this may affect Arab-American relations adversely.

Syria with her constant internal turmoils and military dictatorship problems, is of very little consequence from a military point of view in relation to the defense of the Middle East. Trans-Jordan and Iraq, both Hashimite states opposed to Saudi Arabia and maintained by British financial and military support and constantly agitating for war-like moves against the state of Israel, are not of very great importance in matters of the defense of the Middle East.

The Arab refugee question which is an important factor in the present Arab-Jewish hostility can be solved provided the Arab States accept the policies suggested by U.N. Committee on refugees. As Israel already has taken in more Jewish refugees than the Arabs who had left the land, it is not possible for Israel to re-establish all Arab refugees. But Israel should take back some of the refugees and pay certain reasonable compensation for their land, while the rest of them should be settled in Arab countries where there is plenty of land for them and this will in the long run be better for their future. Israel has repeatedly asked for a peace settlement but it has been rejected, for the longer the hostility continues it may turn out to be in favor of the Arabs by inducing Anglo-American powers to take their side.

The United States government, recognizing Arab disunity, does not want to depend upon the Arab League states in a body for the defense of the Middle East, but she is developing a new bloc of powers—Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and also Afghanistan—as a check against any possible march of Soviet Russia towards the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In the matter of defense of North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean and also the Middle East, Egypt, the foremost Arab State, is bound to play an important part. The people of Egypt and Egyptian politicians are not anti-American, as many Americans think. Egyptian statesmen, specially revolutionary leaders, like Nassar, Naguib and others, are not pro-Russian (Communists). They are pro-Egyptians and they are for developing a strong Egypt which will be able to recover control of the Suez Canal from the hands of the British and also see that the British may not be able to alienate any part of the Sudan from Egypt. They fully recognize that these tasks cannot be accomplished by themselves and thus Egypt must have powerful allies.

The Egyptians feel that with American aid they can accomplish this task. In fact the United States would welcome a strong and friendly Egypt but for resasons of world politics the United States cannot assume a policy which would be anti-British. I have been told by responsible Egyptians that they believe that America is in a position to use pressure on Britain and with American support, they would be able to eliminate Britain from the Suez and the Sudan.* They hope to get a great deal from America, but in not getting what they wish they talk with anti-American bias ; and it is a fact that very recently they have developed some trends in world politics which may be regarded as pro-Soviet.

More than a year ago, the British, in order to bring pressure on Egyptian economy, pursued a policy of not buying Egyptian cotton. This had a very bad effect on her national economy. Thus none should blame Egyptians who have been trying to sell their surplus cotton to Soviet Russia, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, in order to buy oil, machinery and even arms. The Egyptians are determined to develop power—military and economic—through foreign aid. Egyptian military leaders are bitter against the British, which, according to them, (Egyptians) betrayed Egypt by supplying arms of inferior quality and inadequate quantity which was the cause of their defeat in the fight against Israeli forces. Egyptians complain bitterly that Anglo-American powers are are not interested in supplying arms unless Egypt accepts their terms in matters of Egyptian foreign and defense policies. The Egyptians have begun to employ German experts in the field of industrial development and military organization. If the situation does not change, the Egyptians might look for arms from powers which would support Egyptians in world politics.

The Egyptian policy of establishing supremacy over the Sudan has greater significance than generally realized. Free Egypt is thinking of her distinct place in African politics and economics. Egyptian leaders are thinking of political, cultural and economic expansion in the interior of Africa. This will lead to rivalry between Egypt and European powers which think that Africa belongs to them, and that Asians and Africans must not even enter into the continent as immigrants on the basis of equality with the whites. In Africa where the native population is thinking of their freedom from domination of western powers, Egypt, in a strong military and economic position, will play an important role by taking her stand against European colonial powers. *Anti-colonialism in Africa is bound to remain one of the cardinal policies governing Egyptian foreign policies.*

Pan-Arab and Pan-Islam movements are pivots of Egyptian foreign policies. She wishes to develop these movements under her leadership, supported by Saudi Arabia and not under the leadership of Pakistan, which is pro-British and pro-American. However, Egypt like Turkey recognizes the importance of the support of India. In fact, Mr. Nehru's support of Egypt on the issues of the Suez Canal and Sudan has made the Egyptian leaders deeply obligated to India. Furthermore, India's determined stand for eliminating the French and the Portuguese from holding any colonial possessions in India has given tremendous moral support to the Egyptians in their struggle against British hold in Suez.

Although there is a great deal of discontent in existence, the situation in Egypt is such that there is no possibility of an overthrow of the present regime unless a strong military group brings about a successful revolution. But it is my conviction that even in case of such a revolution, there will be no change of foreign policies of Egypt, as discussed above.

V

It is clear to all students of world affairs that Asia is playing a large role in international politics of the present day. India is the heart of Asia and thus India's role in world politics is most significant. Although India is relatively weak militarily when compared with the United States of America, Soviet Russia, Communist China, Britain and other states, no farsighted statesman under the present world conditions should try to find a solution of world problems affecting Asia, Africa and Europe without taking the position of India into consideration. Let me make it clear by one example : *If India joins the United States and Japan against the present Sino-Soviet Russian bloc then it would create a new situation favorable to the United States. If India joins the Sino-Soviet Russian bloc then it would increase the power of the communist bloc decisively. Because of the importance of Indian support to the British commonwealth, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden often pay res-*

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* On July 29, 1954 the British Parliament with a vote of 257 to 26 approved Sir Winston Churchill government's policy of eventual evacuation of 85,000 men from the Suez Canal Zone.' During this debate "Charles Waterhouse, leader of rebel conservatives, charged a covetous America pushed Britain into the evacuation agreement."—*The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 30, 1954.

pects not only to Mr. Nehru's views on world politics but they work very cleverly to see that Indian foreign policies coincide with those of the British. Some think that British statesmen help men like Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's friend and advisor, to formulate Indian foreign policies.

Mr. Menon is known to be arch anti-American and pro-Russian.

In India I am known as pro-American and anti-communist ; and I have repeatedly announced in public meetings and interviews in the press of various cities in India that, *under the present state of world affairs I am for an Indo-American-Japanese alliance in Asia in which other Asian states would be drawn in to check Soviet Russian expansion in Asia. In this I am possibly the most outspoken Indian in opposition to Mr. Nehru's neutralism. But I am fully convinced that Mr. Nehru is not a communist.*

Before the advent of the present republican administration, the government of the U.S. pursued foreign policies which are different from those pursued by the present administration. But it is criminal to say that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a communist and foreign policies pursued by the democratic administration, before the advent of the present administration, have been treasonable ; similarly *it is absolutely wrong to class Mr. Nehru as a communist and to say that he is for communism in India and is actively supporting the communist powers.*

There is no question about the fact that the present government of India has taken much sterner measures against the Communists and their subversive movements in India than the government of the United States has done against the communists in the United States. Mr. Nehru believes in fighting the communists in India and in doing all that is possible by using the power of the State, not to allow the communists to get control of the machinei of the government. *But he firmly believes that India must keep out of any international war and therefore should try to remain on as friendly terms with communist states on her borders—China and Russia—as she is on friendly terms with the United States and Japan or Britain.*

Mr. Nehru believes that, without the support of a strong communist party in India, it would be impossible for communists from outside—China and Soviet Russia—to get control over India. Thus he believes in concentrating his efforts in bringing about such changes in India as will improve the condition of the masses and raise them from their present state of hunger and misery. In this matter Mr. Nehru and his government are willing to accept American co-operation, and the Indian people are grateful to the people of the United States for the aid extended them towards the development of the resources of India.

American critics of Mr. Nehru should remember that, for more than a century, the United States of America pursued foreign policies based on (a) recognition of the governments brought into existence through revolutions, (b) non-intervention in internal affairs of other states and (c) neutrality ; and the government of India, under Mr. Nehru, is pursuing the same policies in the field of India's relations with other states. Furthermore, *India is committed to the policies of furthering the cause of independence of Asian peoples (nay freedom of all subject peoples) ; and India is opposed to economic and racial imperialism. According to Mr. Nehru, Indo-Chinese co-operation is essential to the cause of Asian freedom. Thus in spite of the difference in forms of government between Communist China and India, Mr. Nehru is doing his best to remain on friendly terms with Communist China, unless the latter interferes with, and infringes upon, India's vital interests and national* security.

Mr. Nehru is conscious of the danger of the southward march of China which has already annexed Tibet, although a solemn pledge was given to India that China would not disturb the *status quo* in Tibet. Mr. Nehru and his advisors are aware of the Chinese programme of marching southward which would affect India, Burma, Siam, Malaya and Indonesia seriously. They are not unaware of Chinese communist support to Indian communists and specially those from Nepal now maintaining their anti-Indian headquarters at Lhasa and working for a revolution in Nepal and adjoining countries which might be detached from India. But India in her present weakness is not ready to fight China and Soviet Russia. *But if China or Soviet Russia should make any move to secure control over any of the adjoining territories, India will not quietly submit to any such policies of China and her ally. To be sure India has surrendered Tibet to Chinese sovereignty, but India will not allow Nepal, Bhutan or any of the adjoining territories to be detached from her without a fight. I suppose the Chinese communist leaders—Mr. Mao, Mr. Chou and others—realize that such a fight with India will not be of any advantage diplomatically to China.*

I have reasons to believe that Soviet Russia is deeply interested in inducing China to get into adventures in South Asia which would create enmities between communist China and Asian states including India; because in such eventualities Soviet Russia will have a splendid opportunity to assimilate Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria into her orbit. Furthermore, China further isolated would be more dependent on Soviet Russia.

In talking with Indian statesmen I got the impression that it is the policy of India that ultimately China must be detached from Soviet Russia and there must be close collaboration between China, India and Japan for the purpose of real independence and assertion of Asia. Thus Indian policy is not to do anything by which China might be thrown deeper into Russian arms as the only way for her survival. They also think that China of Mao is suspicious of Soviet Russia and she needs India's support in world politics.

A clever Indian journalist Raja Hutheesing, brother-in-law of Mr. Nehru, who visited communist China twice in 1951 and 1952 officially and uunofficially, speaks of Mao's attitude towards India in the following way:

"*Russia and Mao are allies, mutually suspicious of each other*; but Mao and Communist China, now completely cut off from western powers is more and more dependent upon Russia for military and technical help. *Mao sees in friendship with India a possible counter-balance to Russian domination.* It is this fact perhaps which leads China to seek better relations with India."—*The Great Peace* by Raja Huteesing. Harpers, 1953, pp 35-36.

He further says:

"Three years of experience with Soviet Russia alliance had taught him (Mao) to fear the domination of Russia over what is his domain. In October 1951, therefore word was sent around that China must cultivate the people of India, and for the first time the list of slogans for the October parade included 'Long live the unity of the Asian people' . . . ."—*Ibid*, pp 36-37.

"On welcoming the new Indian Ambassador in September 1952, Mao repeated, 'I am convinced that the friendly co-operation between the peoples of our two countries will be promoted and consolidated more and more in the common cause of striving for peace in Asia and in the whole world.'"—*Ibid*, p. 67.

It is becoming more and more apparent that Communist China and India are going to pursue a policy of closer co-operation in world politics. Because both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Dulles did not want India to participate in the Geneva Conference held recently, India was not invited to the conference. (But Mr. Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's personal representative, often acted as go-between for Mr. Eden and the Communist Chinese delegation and also the Vietnamese. It is interesting that India's peace proposition and formula for truce in Indo-China is virtually being carried out by the French now. This might be regarded as a victory of Indian diplomacy based upon the thesis of co-operation between India and China.

While Mr. Churchill paid his visit to President Eisenhower at Washington to smooth out the existing and ever-growing differences between the United States and Great Britain on issues involving what should be done and how they should deal with communist states, while Mr. Eden was advocating non-aggression pacts between communist states on one side and the western powers on the other, and while the American policy is to develop a Security Pact among powers to check communist aggression in South-East Asia, Mr. Chou En Lai, the Premier of China, flew to India to discuss the possibilities of closer co-operation between India and China to "further the cause of Asian Independence and world peace." It has been reported that India and China have agreed to sign a pact based upon mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-agression, mutual benefit and co-operation. It is also understood that China and India would conclude a similar pact with Burma. It is also suggested that Britain and France would sign such a pact with Communist China, after the Indo-Chinese truce is signed. If such a thing becomes a reality then Siam, the ally of the United States, will be placed in a very difficult position.

The American policy that Indo-Chinese sea-coast territories must not fall under communist control is not a policy of American intervention and imperialism, as the communists and enemies of America suggest, but it has a graver significance. It is sufficient to suggest that if Indo-Chinese coastal lines come under their control, then with the existence of Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance for 30 years the ports of Indo-China would be available for naval and sub-marine bases for Communist China and Soviet Russia. In that case the whole of the Pacific region between Vladivostok to Saigon might be under Soviet Russian control which would endanger the American position in the Pacific and even the north-east section of the Indian ocean affecting India and Australia. Just as the control of Formosa by the Chinese communists and Soviet Russia pursuing anti-American policies would endanger American security, similarly the fall of Indo-China under communist control would ultimately endanger the security of the whole of South-East Asia and American interests in the Pacific and Indian ocean.

In connection with Indian politics, one must take a careful note of the effects of signing military pacts between the United States and Pakistan. The result has been serious deterioration of Indo-American relations. To be sure, the real and only motive behind the signing of the pact as far as the United States is concerned, is to secure bases in Pakistan which would neutralize Russian bases in Sinkiang and Chinese bases in Tibet, for the security of Karachi and Chittagong and the Persian Gulf and the Bay of Bengal and thus the Indian ocean from Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese control. Of course it was contended by the supporters of the U.S. Pakistan military pact that with adequate aid from the United States, the Pakistan army would be able to fight communist forces successfully in this region. But I am inclined to agree with the Indian opinion that present leaders of Pakistan were primarily interested in getting military and financial aid from America in order to use them against India, specially in Kashmir.

It was quite evident to those who were in any way familiar with the internal situation in Pakistan, that the present Pakistan government was in the process of disintegration due to lack of unity between Moslem factions within and outside of the Moslem League which is ruling Pakistan. The government of the United States was advised by Indians friendly to the United States and advocates of Indo-American co-operation that she should not sign a pact for military aid to Pakistan until the general election in East Pakistan (East Bengal) was over in April and the result was known. It was foretold that the Moslem League government would be defeated in the election. But the advice was ignored and the election result demonstrated that more than 90 per cent of the votes were against the Moslem League and its candidates were badly beaten by the combination of opposition parties including the communists. It should be noted that one of the items in the opposition platform was directed against the foreign policies of the Moslem League government and it advocated a policy of non-entanglement similar to that advocated by the Government of India.

The tragedy of the situation lies in this fact: After the new cabinet of East Pakistan was functioning under the Priemiership of the veteran and highly respected Moslem leader Fazlul Huq, the Pakistan government of Mohammed Ali from Karachi dismissed the whole East Pakistan cabinet and established a virtual military dictatorship there. In India, it is universally held that the Pakistan Government's policy of establishing a virtual military dictatorship in East Bengal has been carried out with American support and pressure, if not actual direction. Some indiscreet remarks of American officials in Pakistan have made the situation worse. With the establishment of military dictatorship in East Pakistan thousands of political leaders have been put in prison, a very considerable portion of the whole opposition movement has gone underground and a new serious situation is in the process of development. *A large portion of the East Pakistan population which was not communist, now feel that they should join India or make a common cause with China against the Pakistan government. Pakistan's action in East Bengal has adversely affected the United States. It has discredited American profession of furthering the cause of democracy in Asia. Indians have begun to think that America is the champion and supporter of military dictatorship in Pakistan which denies equality to minority elements and is anti-Indian.*

While the Kashmir issue is pending before the United Nations, by an act of the legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, this State has become an integral part of the Republic of India. There is every reason to believe that India will not accept any proposition of plebiscite in Kashmir unless Pakistan's invading forces be withdrawn. Many responsible Indians feel that Pakistan in possession of superior armaments from America would create an incident which might bring about a conflict between India and Pakistan, and which would help the cause of Soviet Russia by weakening both Pakistan and India. This possibility must be avoided. India is determined to maintain her territorial integrity in Kashmir at any cost. Any American support of Pakistan directly or through the United Nations will worsen Indo-American relations benefiting Sino-Russian allies.

While Indo-American relations have deteriorated considerably due to the arms-aid pact between U.S. and Pakistan, it is gratifying to note that the United States Government has tried to explain its position by statements of Secretary of States Dulles and American Ambassador to India, Mr. George Allen, that in order to strengthen the position of democratic India, it will recommend aid to India which will support India's programme of Five-Year Plan for the development of India's productive power in various ways. This is the most constructive policy that could be pursued by the government of U.S.A.; and, on the other hand, the U.S. government should use moral, economic and political pressure on Pakistan, so that there may not develop an Indo-Pakistan conflict due to Pakistan's aggressive policies.

To maintain India's territorial integrity and to eliminate the last vestige of colonialism, India has been negotiating, without success, for the recovery of French and Portuguese possessions in India—a few small cities, but both the French and Portuguese contentions are that these possessions belong to them and they would not give them up as it would be against the constitution of these countries. Indian contention is that India has rights over these possessions and *French rights in Pondichery and other towns and Portuguese rights in Goa and other towns are no more sacred and inviolable than British rights in Madras and Bombay. Indian population wishes to drive the French and Portuguese from these possessions by force of arms, if need be. It is through Mr. Nehru's patience that bloody conflicts have not broken out on these issues. India is demanding retrocession of these possessions to uphold the contention that no part of Indian soil should remain under foreign control and no ports of India should be used by any alien power for any military or political purpose.* Portugal has a treaty of perpetual alliance with Britain. France is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and these powers may seek intervention of the United Nations or their allies against India. *It should be well understood by the United States that as she would not allow any of her ports to be occupied by any alien power, so India is determined to get rid of French and Portuguese control of ports on Indian soil; and in this struggle India will have the support of all Asia and Africa. India will not tolerate British, American or United Nations' interference in this matter.*

VI

Before, during, and immediately after World War II, American Far Eastern policy was based on one issue—reduction of Japan to an insignificant power, if not her complete destruction. This was the inevitable consequences of the Anglo-American policies adopted after World War I and the Washington Conference and which made the Japanese think that the A B C D powers, i.e. America, Britain, China and Holland, were in league to crush Japan, so she sought her new allies in Germany and Russia and conflict was the inevitable result. Here I am not concerned to apportion blame for the American-Japanese War; but I want to say that as America had her Morgenthau plan to level Germany to an agricultural country, so she had her Lattimore plan to reduce Japa

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to insignificance. Whether Professor Lattimore was the formulator of the plan or not is immaterial but his plan was exactly the same that Franklin D. Roosevelt was pursuing against Japan for a time. To be consistent, those who blame Professor Lattimore's policy of destroying heavy industries of Japan and aiding Russia, which I opposed, should also blame the late Franklin D. Roosevelt for trying to carry out the same policy. Those who blame the Instituate of Pacific Relations for its pro-Russian and anti-Japanese policies may look into some of the publications of the Brookings Institute, just after World War II which solemnly advocated that both Germany and Japan should not be allowed to develop heavy industries, specially aviation.

Among the political scientists of America few dared to oppose this policy levelling Japan and Germany into insignificance. The late Professor Spykman of Yale University was a rare exception. In one of his works on Geo-politics, he warned the United States of the possible unfavourable effects of destroying Japan completely. He wrote:

> "A modern, vitalized and militarized China of 450,000,000 people is going to be a threat not only to Japan, but also to the position of the Western Powers in the Asiatic Mediterranean. China will be a continental power of large dimensions in control of a large section of the littoral of that middle sea. Her geographic position will be similar to that of the United States in regard to the American Mediterranean. When China becomes strong her present economic penetration in that region will undoubtedly take on political overtones. *It is quite possible to envisage the day when this body of water will be controlled not by the British, American or Japanese sea power but by Chinese air power.*
>
> "It is difficult to find public support in the United States for a Far Eastern policy based on these realities of power politics. It is true that intervention in the Far Eastern affairs is traditionally much more acceptable than intervention in Europe, but this tradition is tied up with a pro-Chinese and anti-Japanese orientation which the war itself will greatly intensify. Public opinion will probably continue to see Japan as a great danger, long after the balance has shifted in favor of China and it has become necessary to pursue the same policy that we have pursued in regard to Europe. Twice in one generation we have come to the aid of Great Britain in order that the small off-shore island might not have to face a single gigantic military state in control of the opposite coast of the mainland. *If the balance of power in the Far East is to be preserved in the future as well as in the present, the United States will have to adopt a similar policy towards Japan. The present inconsistency in American policy will have to be removed......"—American Strategy in World Politics* by Nicholas John Spykman. Harcourt, Brace and Company. New York, 1942, pp. 469-470.

The above was written in 1942, long before American victory over Japan and thus was most far-sighted. The United States by mutual security pact with Japan has assumed responsibility of defending Japan. Furthermore, the United States government has become conscious of the Soviet Russian policy of utilizing China, Japan and India on her side against her rivals. Thus on June 22, 1954, President Eisenhower, before a banquet of the National Editorial Association which represents 5,200 American publications, most of the small town weekly newspapers, said:

> "Eighty-five million industrious, hard-working, inventive people of Japan generated tremendous power in World War II against us. It becomes absolutely mandatory to our safety that Japan does not fall into Iron Curtain countries or into the hands of the Kremlin........If Japan did go communist, all its resources would be turned against the United States and under the direction of Russia and in sovietized Asia the Japanese could be given, for example the simple job of supplying a mighty navy to oppose this country."—*Honolulu Advertiser*, June 23, 1954.

This change of policy of the United States is due to the fact that as the Roosevelt administration thought Russian aid would be necessary to destroy Japan, now we know, after the Korean war, that Russo-Chinese aggression cannot be checked without the full co-operation of Japan. In fact if the United Nations' forces did not have Japan as their base and if Japan were not able to supply necessaries worth probably a billion dollars to aid U.S. forces engaged in the Korean front, it would have been harder for them to check the communist forces in Korea.

As things stand today in world politics, it would be advantageous for the United States to have an alliance with Japan, but what is the attitude of the Japanese people? The Japanese people are proud and they want full sovereignty of their country free from a foreign army of occupation. But with the exception of Japanese communists and some extreme left-wing socialists they feel that, *until re-armament of Japan advances to the extent that the Japanese army, navy and air forces may be sufficiently strong to assume responsibilities of defending their country, there should be American forces in Japan as allies and not overlords.* I am inclined to think that American and Japanese authorities fully understand the situation and its indications are that the United States would develop Guam as a great base *where some of the armaments would be transferred from Japan* whereas Japan has taken over some of the responsibilities of defense of Hokkaido. The Japanese are anxious to develop their armed forces, but problems of economic aid, raw materials and Japan's international economic position must be solved favorably before she would be able to do her full share in matters of re-armament.

Japanese population is increasing to the extent of nearly one million a year (this is less in percentage than American or Russian increase). Many Japanese feel that she is not given equal opportunities in getting raw materials and markets by the western powers, specially Britain. If U.S.A. is to get Japanese support, as President Eisenhower has categorically declared, then the people of U.S.A. must also see to it that the

Japanese people should have enough to eat and their industrial strength may not be curbed artificially.

Even the best friends of American-Japanese co-operation are a little worried by the policies of Great Britain, an ally of the United States, regarding her attitude towards Soviet Russia and Communist China. Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden are in favor of a policy of co-operation with Communist China and Soviet Russia. Some Japanese are asking: Will the United States be persuaded by Britain and France to pursue pro-Russian and pro-Chinese policies and forsake Japan? In that case, Japan should now think of not being completely cut off from China and Soviet Russia at least in matters of trade on the basis of reciprocity. *Today British Far Eastern policy is adversely affecting American-Japanese relations; and this is an important fact in American-British relations.*

VII

If I am to state in a single sentence what is the principal feature of the present situation in international politics of the Far East, I may say that there exists Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance directed against American-Japanese alliance. The United States has the support of New Zealand, Australia and Philippines, Siam and Nationalist China, while policies of Great Britain, France, India, Burma, and Indonesia are not in favor of American policies and often are definitely opposed to those of the United States.

It might be asked what was behind the formation of Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance virtually supported by Britain. It should be kept in mind that after extracting all possible concessions at the Yalta Conference and after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, Stalin and other Soviet Russian leaders in order to eliminate Chiang chose to support Chinese communists whole-heartedly. Stalin did not forget that it was Chiang who was responsible for the overthrow of China's communist regime at Hankow, brought into existence through the efforts of Borodin, General Gallen and other Soviet Russian agents and Chinese communists. Chiang was a friend of the Policy of Co-operation with the United States and at times Chiang showed tendencies of co-operation with Japan and also advocated the cause of Asian freedom. It was regarded that Chiang was for Indo-Chinese-Japanese co-operation supported by the United States. Thus Soviet Russia could not afford to have an arch-enemy of Communism and a friend of the United States in power in China.

After the elimination of Japan as an active factor in world politics, due to her defeat in World War II, Soviet Russian East-Asian policy was to create a situation in China which would guarantee the establishment of a regime in China which would be pro-Soviet Russian, anti-American and anti-Japanese and which would adopt foreign policies which would strengthen the Soviet Russian position in world politics in general and especially in extending her power in Asia through Chinese support.

Communist Chinese leaders were not in love with Soviet Russian leaders, because, during the hard stru of the Chinese Communists against Chiang, Soviet R for diplomatic reasons, did not extend effective sup to the Chinese communists, but aided Chiang who w fighting Japan. But, as realists, after mature calc tions, Chinese communist leaders—Mao, Chou a others—came to the conclusion that to be succes and to maintain their power in China they must h allies. As early as 1949 Mao explained his position re-garding an alliance with Soviet Russia in the follo words:

> "Forty years of experience of Sun Yat Sen a twenty-eight years of experience of the Chinese Co munist Party have convinced us that in order to a victory and to consolidate it, we must incline to side. According to their experience, the Chin people must incline to the side of imperialism toward the side of socialism. There can be exception to this rule. It is impossible to sit on t fence; there is no third road. Neutrality is merely camouflage; and a third road does not exist....".
> *Great Peace* by Raja Hutheesing, pp. 67-68.

(Apparently Mr. Mao did not agree with Mr. Ne and his "Third Force").

Because Soviet Russia, to serve her own purp after the defeat of Japan aided the Chinese Commu to get in power through the supply of arms which w the principal cause of defeat of Chiang Kai Sh forces by the communists, Chinese Communists chose to be supporters of Soviet Russia and in February 19 made an alliance for a period of 30 years.

Chiang's struggle for unification of China force Britain to give up her concessions in China. Later o Chiang incurred Churchill's enmity by advocating Indi freedom and inducing President Roosevelt to a Churchill to free Indian nationalist leaders who w then in jail and to confer Dominion status on India. Las Chiang also demanded that Britain should give Hong Kong to China as Japan was to give up For which Churchill indignantly refused. Thus, to M Churchill overthrow of Chiang was preferable. Churc China policy is anti-Chiang and thus pro-comm *It is also regarded that a pro-Chinese communist p is helpful to Britain's economic recovery through A Chinese commerce. Here it must be mentioned that of this trade—such as the supply of vast quantities rubber—is definitely opposed to American security the Pacific.* British authorities believe that with support of the Chinese Communists and Soviet R they will be able to hold on to Hong Kong and Mal at least for some time. China wants British goods a machinery and at the same time Britain finds Japa a formidable rival in commerce specially in te export and shipbuilding. Anti-Japanese feeling the British is growing.

In summing up, we find indications of slow but development of a Triple Entente of Britain and Fr and Russia against a united Germay and United S working towards a United Europe and a Eur Defense Community. In North Africa Egypt is t leadership in a movement for freedom of the African Moslem peoples. In the Middle East the United States is trying to form a bloc composed of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan to check Russia from reaching the 'Persian Gulf. In South-East Asia, India, China, Burma and Indonesia are trying to form a bloc to further the cause of Asian Independence and to eliminate all forms of political control of the region from colonial powers. The United States, New Zealand and Australia are in alliance. Siam, Philippines, Japan, nationalist China and South Korea are on the side of the United States which is facing the Soviet Russian-Chinese Communnist-North Koreans in alliance.

These are some of the developments of world politics of today, in spite of the existence of the United Nations and fearful development of Hydrogen Bombs. These are present trends and it is needless to add that "They are subject to changes."

I conclude with a short poem on History written by one of my students :

HISTORY

By *Grace Cecelia Callahan*

Man's past as it is told to us
On History's well-thumbed pages,
Is filled with bloodshed, hatred, fear,
Throughout the struggling ages.
But we should study well that past
And learn whate'er it teaches,
Its wisdom and its cruel mistakes,
And all the truths it preaches.
For, in that past men lit the torch
Of intellectual fire,
And may we humbly on that past
Build higher, ever higher.*

Honolulu, July 13, 1954.

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* During the summer session, 1954, of the University of Hawaii, five public lectures were delivered by visiting faculty members. On June 29, Prof. Walter Johnson, Chairman, Department of History, Chicago University, spoke on "Seeing the World with Adlia Stevenson"; on July 6, Dr. Frederick Hard, Professor of English and President of Scripps College, spoke on "Four Poets and the Art of Music"; on July 13, Dr. Taraknath Das, of Department of History, Columbia University and Institute of Public Affairs, New York University, spoke on "Politics Around the World," and Dr. Shao Cheng Lee, Head of the Department of Foreign Studies, Michigan State College, spoke on "Communism and the Chinese Way of Life." The above is the text of Dr. Das' speech.—Ed., *M. R.*

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AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA

Its Causes and Cures

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

II

Why should Agriculturists be Protected by Debt Legislation?

In a predominantly agricultural country like India, the peasant forms the backbone of the Indian economy. "The lesson of universal agrarian history from Rome to Scotland is that one essential of agriculture is credit. Neither the condition of the country nor the nature of the land tenures, nor the position of agriculture, affects one great fact that agriculturists must borrow." (Nicholson's Report regarding the possibility of introducing Land and Agricultural Banks in the Madras Presidency, 1895). The Indian agriculturist in his zeal to borrow money, inevitably falls into the trap of the usurer. Usury has thus become the bane of the bone of the peasant proprietor. Hence there is ample justification not only for enacting laws to extricate the peasants from the clutches of the moneylender, but for devising such machinery as will supply cheap credit facilities for the agriculturist.

Early Debt Legislation: Laws to relieve the distressed debtors can be traced from the time of the Dharmasastras (5th century B.C.) to the present-day. Legal rates of interest were fixed and concessions were offered for higher classes. Six per cent was the legal rate and any rate above this was declared to be null and void. It was also provided that the amount of interest paid should not exceed double the principal. During the Muhammadan period, State-loans were advanced to officials and members of the Royal family. Loans were advanced free for the first year and after that period there was a progressive increase in the rate of interest. Loans were advanced to the agriculturists in times of drought, pestilence, etc.

Debt Legislation during British Rule: From the year 1793 when proprietary rights were granted to the zamindars (the collectors of revenue) we find a steady growth in tenancy legislation. Owing to the periodical recurrence of famines, returns from the soil were poor and large-scale borrowing became necessary. Many agriculturist moneylenders came forward to lend money solely with a view to appropriate the lands of the borrowers. The debts of the peasants began to increase greatly. Even in cases in which the peasants possessed no right to transfer lands, they borrowed at as high rates of interest as those who had a right to the free transfer of land. One way or the other, the peasant was handicapped by debts.

Till a few decades ago, the civil law of debts was defective in the following respects:

(*a*) It made no provision for a consideration of the history of the debts under litigation.

(*b*) The rate of interest fixed in the bond. however usurious it might be, was taken for granted.

(c) It had no control over the transfer of land in the enforcement of decrease for debts.

The first set of laws passed tried to relieve the big land-holders of their indebtedness and prevent their estates from being transferred to the moneylenders. Encumbered Estates Relief Act 1876, Sind Encumbered Estates Act 1896, Bundelkhand Encumbered Estates Act of 1903 were passed to relieve the big land-holders of their debts. According to the provision of the Acts, managers were appointed to determine the liabilities of estate-owners and do everything necessary by way of lease, mortgage or sale to pay off the creditors. In Madras and Bengal, the Court of Wards Act took the place of the Encumbered Estates Act in other provinces. Under this Act estates inherited by females, minors and people with mental or physical defects are taken over by the Court of Wards. Other proprietors of estates may also by means of application have their estates placed under the management of the Court of Wards. The Court of Wards may request Courts for injunction to stay proceedings in the court and settle the debts of the estates. Appeals against orders of the Court of Wards may be made.

In the year 1879, the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was passed. The whole Act was based on the recommendations of the Deccan Ryots Commission, 1878. The Act provided for an investigation of the history of the debts and the transactions between the agriculturists and their creditors. The genuine principal as well as the rate of interest were to be determined according to the Act only in the light of the transactions. It provided for an insolvency procedure for the agriculturists. It also provided for the prevention of the sale of land not specifically pledged and for the restoration of the land to the debtor under certain circumstances even when there was a sale deed between the debtors and the creditors. Safeguards to prevent frauds in moneylending, a special machinery to render cheap and summary justice to ryots and the provision for conciliating the debts in the village courts were some of the features of the Act. The original Act was amended in the years 1882 and 1886. The Amendment Act of 1882 provided for the redemption of the debt before the due date mentioned in the bond. It also empowered mortgagors to sue for accounts without seeking the redemption of the mortgaged lands. The Amendment Act of 1886 prescribed the mode of registration. It also stated that standing crops were moveable property and that they could be attached for debts. The period of limitation for loans to the agriculturists was extended to 12 years in the case of registered deeds and to 6 years in other cases. But the Act never fulfilled the great things expected of it. It increased litigation, and the sources for obtaining credit for the agriculturists were closed. The moneylenders were unwilling to enter into uncertain transactions, and they became more extortionate.

The Government was wedded to the policy of helping agriculturists whenever they wanted loans to improve their lands. Under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883, loans were to be granted only if the authorities were convinced about improvements which the agriculturists wanted to effect in their lands. Mostly, loans were to be granted either for sinking wells or for fertilizing the soil. The purchase of cattle and agricultural implements would not come under the scope of the Act and loans were not to be advanced for this purpose.

The Agriculturists' Loans Act of 1884, however, remedied some of the defects of the former Act and loans were thereafter advanced for some of the legitimate requirements of the agriculturists.

These Acts were not of great use to the agriculturists. When compared to the general indebtedness of the agriculturists, only very low amounts were ever advanced. The agriculturists hated the delays involved in the sanctioning of loans. The moneylender was easy of access and the Acts were unable to protect the agriculturists from falling into the snare of the moneylender.

The Usurious Loans Act as amended in 1938 determined the legal and maximum amount of interest that can be taken from the borrower. It also fixed the maximum rate of interest. The Act applies to all alike without any distinction between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. As the Central Banking Enquiry Committee has pointed out, the Act can give relief in certain individual hard cases but cannot exercise control over the money market.

Control of Moneylenders: When the Government understood the futility of the Usurious Act, they gave their attention to the licensing and control of moneylenders. The exploitation of the agriculturists by the moneylenders depended on the degree of the backwardness of the people among whom they carried on their trade. The Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill of 1930 and the British Moneylenders Act of 1927 are steps in the right direction. The former made it obligatory on the moneylender to keep regular accounts and to keep the debtors informed every six months of the correct amount owed by him. Failure to keep accounts resulted in the disallowance of the interest partly or wholly. The second Act provided for taking out license by the moneylenders, prohibited the levy of compound interest and the supply of information and of the copies of relevant documents relating to the state of loan on demand by the borrower was made obligatory. These Acts were in the nature of experiments in regulating usurious moneylending.

Land Alidnation Acts: Assiduous moneylending solely with the object of appropriating borrowers' lands led to the creation of a class of non-agriculturist land-owners; and the peasants driven out of the soil were unable to eke out a living. With a view to prevent the transference of land from the agriculturist to the non-agriculturist class, various Land Alienation Acts had to be passed. The Punjab Alienation Act of 1900, the Bundelkhand Alienation Act of 1903 and the Central Provinces Alienation Act of 1916 were some of the measures passed in order to restrict the peasants' right to transfer lands. According to the provisions of the Act, if lands are mortgaged with a member of a non-agricultural tribe they may remain in force only for a number of years; and after that period mortgaged lands will have to be redelivered to the mortgagor free of all encumbrances. According to the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, peasants could sell their lands only to members of certain agricultural classes recognised by the State. This provision was made mainly to prevent the growth of a class of non-agriculturist land-owners.

The ultimate object of these Acts was to check the growth of indebtedness. But their main purpose was defeated by the emergence of a class called the 'agriculturist moneylender.' In certain cases, non-agriculturist classes were also impelled by them to establish a right to call themselves agriculturists.

Another method of evasion pursued by non-agriculturist creditors is the use of *benami* transactions. Sometimes a non-agriculturist creditor gets the land of his agricultural debtor mutated in favour of another agriculturist in his confidence and receives the rent or the produce of the land from his agricultural nominee.

RECENT DEBT LEGISLATION

The economic depression of 1930 gravely affected the repaying capacity of the agriculturists. Prices of agricultural produce fell and the real burden of the debts increased. The moneylenders sought the aid of law-courts to force the sales of the lands of debtors. The dangerous prospect of the emergence of a landless peasantry became imminent. Provincial Governments had to devise ways and means to lessen the debt burden of the agriculturists and an enormous amount of debt legislation during the decade of 1930-40 became accordingly inevitable:

The triple objectives of the Provincial Debt Relief Legislation can be summarised as follows:

(*a*) Provision of relief to the cultivators by scaling down and lightening the crushing burden of the standing debt.

(*b*) Regulation of the money-lending business and creation of systematised rural financial agencies.

(*c*) Provision of safeguards for the protection of the person and property of the debtor against undue exploitation by the creditors.

SHORT-TERM LEGISLATION

To give immediate and speedy relief to the agriculturists three kinds of legislation were enacted:

(*a*) Moratorium laws,

(*b*) Measures to reduce the burden of the interest liabilities,

(*c*) Measures to scale down the principal of the debt and to devise convenient methods of repayment, *i.e.,* debt conciliation measures.

(a) *Moratorium Laws*: The catastrophic fall in prices disabled the debtors from honouring their obligations. The money-lenders rushed to the courts of law and wanted to 'take their pound of flesh in land.' There was the immediate danger of the lands being sold up to the creditors. To check the immediate execution of the proceedings for the sale of lands and to give some relief to the agrciulturists until the enactment of comprehensive debt legislation, Moratorium laws were passed in different provinces.

The U. P. Temporary Regulation of Execution Act, 1934, was enacted with a view to stay the execution of proceedings against judgment debtors. The Act also said that the debt could be paid off in instalments. In 1937, the Congress Ministry provided for the postponement of proceedings against agriculturists who paid as land revenue less than Rs. 1,000 and who were not assessed to income tax. Those whose land revenue payments exceeded Rs. 250 could get execution proceedings stayed only by depositing one-fifth of the amounts for which the decrees were executed. Another benefit conferred by the Act was that agricultural debtors who were sent to prison for non-payment of the debts were released.

The Madras Government contemplated the passing of a Moratorium Bill in 1937, but it was withdrawn due to the introduction of the Debt Relief Bill. In the Debt Relief Act there were provisions to revise the judgments arrived at in the cases of agriculturist debtors during the period between the withdrawal of the Moratorium Bill and the passing of the Debt Relief Bill. In Bombay the Small Holders Temporary Relief Act protected the agriculturists who owned only 6 acres of irrigated land or 19 acres of unirrigated land. In Madhya Pradesh also debt legislation on the lines of the Bombay Act was passed. The Moratorium measures mostly related to ensuring a fair price for land sold in execution of a degree, temporary postponement of land sales, repayment through instalments and exemption from arrest and detention. These Acts gave considerable relief to the debtors.[39] They could be more effective but for the following defects :

1. Delay in their enactment.
2. Conditional consideration of relief at borrowers' depositing some part of the principal or interest debarred many of the debtors from taking full advantage of these measures.
3. Main attention having been paid to the protection of land, the agriculturists who did not possess land could not get adequate relief.

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[39] G. D. Agarwal: *Op. Cit.*, p. 116.

(b) *Measurds to Reduce the Burden of Interest Liabilities*: After protecting the agriculturist debtor from losing his lands by their sale for debt, measures were undertaken to scale down the accumulated burden of interest.

Almost all provinces amended the Usurious Loans Act of 1918. The following table gives the amendments to Usurious Loans Act passed in several provinces and the rate of interest deemed usurious.[40]

	Simple secured interest per cent	Loans compound interest per cent	Unsecured simple interest per cent	Loans compound interest per cent
Madras Debtors' Protection Act, 1934 (Sec. 6A)	9	..	15	..
Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act 1934 (Sec. 5)	12	9 with annual rests	18¾	14 with annual rests..
The Central Provinces Usurious Act, 1934	12	10	18	..
The United Provinces Usurious Loans Act, 1934 (3)	12	..	24	..
The Bengal Moneylenders' Act, 1933 (Sec. 4)	15	10	25	10
The Bihar Moneylenders' Act, 1938 (Sec. 9)	9	..	12	..
The Orissa Moneylenders' Bill, 1938 (Sec. 9)	9	..	12	..
The Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1938 (Sec. 29)	9	..	12	..
The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1938 (Sec. 29):				
(Cash loans)	9	..	15	..
(Kind loans)	15	..	25	..
The Assam Moneylenders' Act, 1934 (Sec. 8)	12½	..	18	....
The Assam Moneylenders' Amendment Bill, Dec. 1937	9½	..	12½	..
The Bombay Moneylenders' Act, 1946	6	..	9	..

The Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay and Madras prescribed special rates at which interest was to be calculated on depression and pre-depression loans. The Agricultural Relief Act of U. P. (1934) provided that from 1st January 1930 to a date fixed by the local Government, the rate of interest charged on dates can only exceed the rate at which the local Government can borrow from the Central Government by a certain percentage prescribed by the Local Government. Later in the U.P., the Agricultural Debt Redemption Bill of 1939 provided that courts of law should grant interest at the rate of 4½ per cent for secured loans and 6 per cent for unsecured loans.

The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill of 1938 provides for the calculation of interest rate at 8 per cent for secured and 10 per cent for unsecured loans. In Madhya Pradesh, the Central Provinces Relief of Indebtedness Act of 1938 authorised the reconsideration of the transactions made 12 years before the last transaction or before 1st January, 1932, whichever was earlier, at the following rates:

Compound interest	5 per cent
Simple interest secured	7 per cent
" " unsecured	10 per cent

Bombay Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1939 provided for the reduction of the interest burden in three ways:

> (1) "The Debt Relief Boards were authorised to allow interest at 12 per cent per annum, simple interest on debts contracted before 1st January, 1931."
>
> (2) "The interest calculated in this way and found due on 1st January, 1931, was to be reduced by 40 per cent if the loan was contracted before 1st January, 1931 and by 30 per cent if it was contracted between 1st January, 1931."
>
> (3) "Interest was allowed to be calculated at 9 per cent per annum simple interest or agreed rate whichever is lower after 1st January 1932 till the date of the application for relief."

The Madras Agriculturists Relief Act of 1938 made the following provisions for scaling down of the debt:

> (1) All arrears of debt incurred by the agriculturists in so far as they were outstanding on 1st October, 1937 were cancelled.
>
> (2) Interest rate on past loans was fixed at 5 per cent between October 1937, and the date of the enactment of the Act and any excess amount paid was credited to the repayment of the principal.
>
> (3) The courts of law were directed to grant interest rate not higher than 6¼ per cent per annum, simple interest on all transactions made after the commencement of the Act.

Another method by which the Provincial Governments tried to reduce the payments towards accumulated interest was by adopting the principle of Damdupat; Bengal (1933), U.P. (1934), Madras and Bihar (1938) and Bombay and Sind (1938) adopted this principle. Under this principle, no court shall decree by way of arrears of interest, a sum greater than the principal of the loan. In Madras, under the principle of Damdupat a debtor need not pay anything towards the debt if he has paid twice the principal of the loan, whereas in some other provinces payment of a sum greater than the principal towards the arrears of interest is prohibited. The debt relief measures have the following main features:[41]

> 1. The issue of receipts, maintenance of proper account registers, noting of discharges on bonds, submission of periodical returns to debtors and supplies of copies of loan documents were made obligatory. The penalties prescribed for their non-compliance included the disallowing of in-

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[40] N. G. Abhyankar: *Provincial Debt Legislation in Relation to Rural Credit.*

[41] G. D. Agarwal: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 116-117.

terest for certain periods or of costs of suit and deduction of double the amount paid by the debtor but not recorded by the creditor.

2. Charges not legitimate were prohibited and protection against molestation and intimidation was provided.

3. The suits could be tried only within the residential jurisdiction of the debtors.

4. Debtors could deposit in the court the sum refused by the creditor and were given rights to sue for accounts.

5. The conversion of rent arrears into debt were not allowed.

6. The Civil Procedure Code was amended in regard to the detention of debtors.

7. Provision was made for the reduction in the rate of interest, in general or by the application of Damdupat principle in several forms.

8. The penalty of fine or imprisonment was imposed for the overwriting of bonds.

9. Registration and licensing of moneylenders was provided for.

(*c*) Measures to scale down the principal of the loan:

(1) *Debt Conciliation Machinery*: Debt Conciliation Acts were passed in five provinces: Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Bengal, and the Punjab. Under the Acts, Provincial Governments were authorised to set up Conciliation Boards. The Boards consisted of not less than 3 and not more than 12 members. The method followed by the Boards was to adjust the available assets of the debtors to the total dues owed to the creditors who were agreeable to an amicable settlement and the amount settled was to be paid up in about 20 or 25 instalments.

Certain disabilities were imposed on creditors who refused to abide by the decisions of the Boards. In such cases the debtor is granted a certificate and the court of law is authorised to disallow costs and award an interest rate not higher than 6 per cent. The creditors who accept the settlement of the Boards are given a priority in the recovery of moneys. These disabilities were intended to force the creditors to accept the decision of the Debt Conciliation Board.

The Punjab Debt Conciliation Act of 1934, the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935, the Assam Debt Conciliation Act of 1935, the Madras Debt Conciliation Act of 1936, the Sind Debt Conciliation Bill of 1939 adopted more or less the same principles. The main features of the debt, conciliation measures may be summarised thus:

1. A certificate is issued to by the Conciliation Board if a number of creditors with a certain percentage of debts agree to the conciliation proposals or even if a single creditor agrees. After the issue of a certificate, the court does not allow the cost of the suit, the rate of interest is limited to 6 per cent only and priority is given to the award-holders in recovering their debts.

2. The Court fee is reduced.

3. Instalments are recovered through revenue officers.

4. During the period of award the property of the debtor carries a charge for the debts.

5. Court proceedings are stayed.

6. Creditors failing to submit their claims to the Boards are not authorised to recover them afterwards.

The Debt Conciliation Boards have achieved substantial results in some provinces. In the Madhya Pradesh, the total debt of Rs. 15.6 crores has been scaled down to Rs. 7.7 crores, *i.e.*, a little less than 50 per cent. In Bengal, a total debt of Rs. 52 crores has been reduced to Rs. 32 crores, that is, by over 63 per cent. Similarly, in Madras, little more than Rs. 5 crores has been scaled down from Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 4 crores. In the Punjab, during the year ending 31st December 1940 debts of Rs. 91.45 lakhs were scaled down by Rs. 55.6 lakhs. But corruption among board officials and high cost to government great hardships are caused to the debtor by the stoppage of his future credit altogether from all sources till the decreed debt or the award was paid off.

Secondly, the absence of facilities for repayment of the decretal amounts in cash hampers the successful working of the Debt Conciliation Boards. It is therefore desirable to establish Land Mortgage Banks which can take over the liabilities of the agricultural debtors.

Thirdly, the C. P. Land Revenue Report, 1937, pointed out that under the Debt Conciliation machinery the debtor finds it difficult to secure fresh credit until the last of his instalment is paid. It is necessary, therefore, that the Debt Conciliation Board take into account the repaying capacity of the debtor after he was provided for the maintenance of his family, rents and taxes, his dues for the repayment of short-term funds for his next year's needs.

(3) Miscellaneous measures:

(*a*) The principle of terminable mortgage. This principle was enforced in the Punjab, U.P., and Bengal. According to this, the land of a mortgagor should be returned to him without any obligation on his part after a period of 15 to 20 years, whether he paid the debt in full or not.

(*b*) Some of the Provincial enactments have authorised the courts of law to fix a fair sale price for lands sold in the enforcement of decrees against agricultural debtors. This has been done by the U.P. Regulation of Sales Act of 1934, the U.P. Agricultural Debt Redemption Bill, 1939 and the. Bihar Moneylenders' Act, 1938.

(*c*) The Provincial Insolvency Act of 1920 has been amended in some provinces for the benefit of agriculturist debtors. Under the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act of 1935 the agriculturists are declared insolvent if the debtors are unable to pay off the reduced amounts in 20 instalments. Then the lands of insolvent debtors are sold out leaving but a portion of the property including a dwelling house for the insolvent debtor. Under the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act of 1939, the agriculturists are declared insolvent if they are unable to pay the total amount of their scaled down debts within 25 years. Half of the property is liable to attachment and sale in liquidation of all debts. This Act has been replaced by the Bombay Agriculturists Relief Act, 1947.

NEW SCHEME OF DEBT CONCILIATION

The Gadgil Committee recommended that there should be intensive efforts to adjust the debts of agriculturist producers before the reorganisation of agricultural finance. These recommendations have been also endorsed by the Agrarian Reform Committee. Following is the summary of the recommendations of the Gadgil Committee:[42]

(1) The debts of agricultural producers should be *compulsorily* adjusted, without waiting for applications from borrowers, by Boards manned by Judicial officers.

(2) The work of adjustment should be *completed within specified time not exceeding two years*, because in a dynamic economy, passage of time might bring into operation new forces disturbing the results attained through slow piecemeal efforts and might retard all progress.

(3) It should be obligatory on all creditors to register their claims and submit statements of their assets and liabilities before the Board within a definite period.

(4) To determine the fair amount due from the debtor, the adjustment agency should scrutinise each account and go behind the entries as provided in the Usurious Loans Act and the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act.

(5) It should also apply a rule of Damdupat which should be defined so as to mean that the total payments could never exceed twice the amount of the principal originally lent and that interest cannot be converted into capital.

(6) The amount determined as fair should be reduced to the present value of the debtor's normal repaying capacity over 20 years worked out at a rate of 4% interest or to 50% of the normal value of the immovable assets, whichever is less, provided that

- (i) a secured debt is not reduced to less than 50 per cent of the value of the property on which it rests,
- (ii) the proportion allowed of a secured debt in terms of the value of the property on which it rests is not smaller than the proportion allowed to of the unsecured debts to the total of such debts.

(7) The adjusted debt should be awarded to be paid to creditors immediately in lump by borrowing from a Land Mortgage Bank or a suitable agency.

(8) The Agency taking over the debt will recover it from the debtor in instalments spread over a period not exceeding 20 years.

(9) If a debtor has no hereditary or transferable rights in the land and his debts fairly determined exceeds his total repaying capacity by a given proportion to be prescribed in law, the Board should adjudge him an insolvent to be dealt with under a simple insolvency procedure.

(10) If a debtor has hereditary or transferable rights in land and his debt fairly determined exceeds his total repaying capacity by a proportion to be prescribed by law, the Board should adjudge him an insolvent to be dealt with compulsorily under a simple insolvency procedure irrespective of the amount of debt or the value of the assets involved.[43]

Regarding the number of instalments, the Gadgil Committee recommends 20 years, while the Bombay Agriculturist Relief Act lays down 12 years. The Agrarian Reforms Committee favours the smaller number of instalments. They also make certain other recommendations regarding the fixation of priority according to which debts shall be paid:[44]

(*a*) Debts due to the Government which are charged on the immovable property of the debtor.

(*b*) Debts due to local authorities which are charged on the immovable property of the debtor.

(*c*) Loans given by the Resource Societies.

(*d*) Secured debts in order of priorities.

(*e*) Debts due to Government, local authorities and bodies including Co-operative Societies.

(*f*) Other dues to the Co-operative Societies.

(*g*) Unsecured debts.

The debts of the agricultural labourers contracted before 1942 should be wiped out and debts contracted after 1942 should be either wiped out or scaled down after an enquiry with regard to the equity of the loan and the paying capacity of the debtor. The jurisdiction of the conciliation machinery recommended for the agricultural producers might be extended to the scaling down of the debts of this section of the agricultural community.

LONG-TERM LEGISLATION

Apart from the immediate relief given to the agriculturists by the various short-term enactments, there are other enactments to regulate money-lending and protect the person and property of debtors.

Regulation of the moneylending business has been done by a three-fold measure:

(*i*) *The Registration and Licensing of Moneylenders*: The Central Provinces Moneylenders' Amendment Act of 1936 required every moneylender to register himself and obtain a registration certificate. The non-obtaining of the registration certificate is treated as an offence punishable by a fine of Rs. 50 for the first offence and Rs. 100 for subsequent offences. The Punjab Registration of Moneylenders' Act, 1938 denies the benefit of the legal machinery of the State to moneylenders who do not possess a license for the recovery of their dues from their debtors.

The Bihar Moneylenders' Act III of 1938 was

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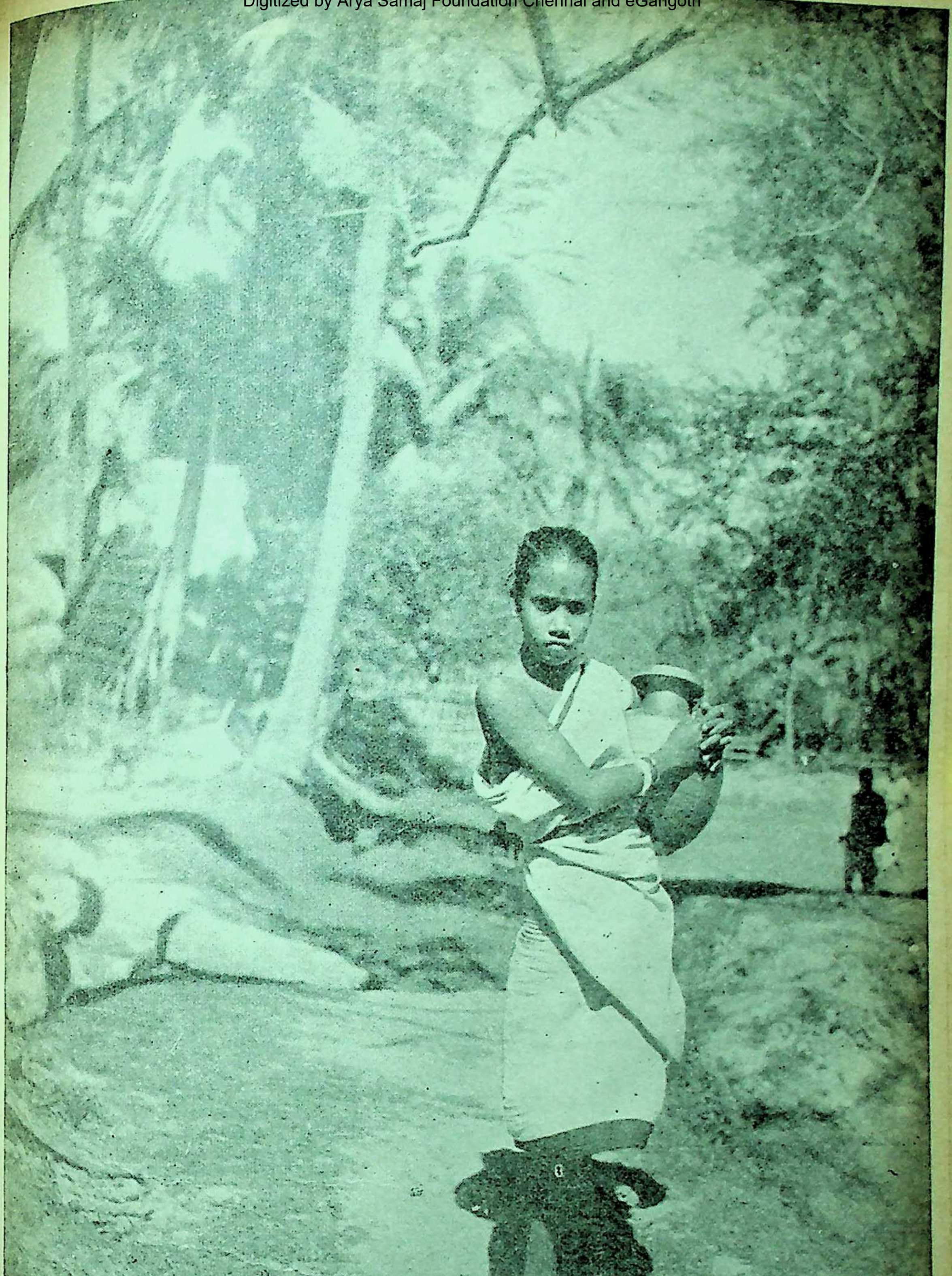
[42] *Report of the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee*, p. 23.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Agrarian Reforms Committee Rtport*, p. 94.



On the Village Road
Photo by Parimal Goswami

Feeding the Swans
Photo by Parimal Goswami

drafted on the model of the Punjab Act. The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1938 provides for the registration and licensing of moneylenders. The moneylenders who do not take out licenses are penalised by a forfeiture of the right to sue in courts of law. The fine for failing to take out a license is Rs. 15. The United Provinces Moneylenders' Bill 1939 is similar in effect to the Punjab Bill, but it empowers the individual to lodge a complaint against the evil practices of a moneylender on depositing a given sum in the court of law.

The Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1938, provides for the registration and licensing of moneylenders. Money-lending without license has been made an offence.

(ii) *Regulation of Accounts*: To check the evil practices of moneylenders, the maintenance of accounts has been made compulsory. The Punjab Regulation of Accounts Act, 1930, made stringent rules for the maintenance of clear and separate accounts, for the sending of annual statement of accounts to debtors and for giving receipts for repayments. In case of non-compliance with these provisions, courts of law were empowered to disallow the costs and interest due on suits brought by the moneylenders. Madras, C.P., Assam, Bengal, U.P. and Bombay have also made legislative provisions for the regulation of accounts on the lines of the Punjab Regulations of Accounts Act 1930.

(iii) *Regulation of Interest*: Drastic measures were undertaken to reduce interest rates by amending the Usurious Loans Act. The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1939 provides that entering an amount larger than the sum actually advanced would be treated as an offence punishable by six months' imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 1000, The United Provinces Bill of 1939 made similar provisions.

The measures adopted to safeguard the property and person of the debtor from exploitation by the creditors are: (1) the provision for the exemption of a given portion of the property of the debtor from attachment and sale, and (2) the protection of the debtor from intimidation and molestation.

The Central Provinces Debtors' Protection Act, 1937, the Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, and the United Provinces Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, punished moneylenders with 3 months' imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 500 if they molested their debtors. The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, lays down penalty of one year's imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 1000 for a similar offence. The Punjab Debtors' Protection Act, 1935, and the Bengal Debtors' Protection Act, 1936, and the Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, contain provisions for the protection of the debtors' properties.

It has to be remembered, however, that even comprehensive debt legislation, such as the Provincial Governments have undertaken during the last ten years, cannot solve our agricultural problem, unless it is supplemented by measures which can effect far-reaching improvements in agricultural production.

The debt of the cultivating classes is but the symptom of a deeply rooted disease. The legislation that we have briefly reviewed may be regarded as of the nature of ambulance work, stopping the bleeding and the source of further infiltration of the disease, by applying antiseptics and bandaging whilst leaving untouched the roots of the disease. Legislation for scaling down the debt or restricting the activities of the moneylenders will not cure the disease; nor will the fixation of a maximum rate of interest, or a system of registration and compulsory keeping of accounts touch the roots; an effective co-operative movement reaching every village in its activities and backed by such financial resources as the total national assets of the country can provide, may be capable of solving the immediate problem.

It has also to be remembered that with the growth of transferable rights in land, it is not the farmer but the moneylender who takes away the benefits of irrigation or the cultivation of commercial crops. Where land passes into the hands of the moneylenders who has no capacity for farming, the cultivator becomes a tenant at will on his own holding, leasing it from the moneylenders at a rate which leaves him no incentive to improve the crop and with no credit on which he can borrow. A country like ours with an enormous agricultural population runs a serious risk of aggravating its poverty under such conditions, with neither the will nor the ability to intensify production on the part of the rural classes. Not until the ryots are enabled to start on a clean slate by measures like the wholesale cancellation of existing debts and get security with regard to their agricultural operations by the provision of regular credit facilities, by consolidation of holdings by insurance of cattle against famine and disease, by the establishment of subsidiary industries, in short, by a many-sided and simultaneous attack on all the factors connected with their poverty, can there be a reasonable hope of better and more prosperous conditions for Indian agriculture.

Finally, the problem of agricultural indebtedness is intimately linked up with the larger question of economic development. Poverty, ignorance, absence of industrialisation, a static social organisation, deep-rooted religious traditions, the uncertainties and insecurity resulting from fluctuations in world prices, all these are elements in a situation in which indebtedness and low agricultural productivity also enter. No solution of any one of these problems is possible, apart from a many-sided and comprehensive reconstruction of the corporate life of the country which will include all the elements.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(II) Fundamental Rights

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I

In my first and introductory article[1] in this series I have dealt with the Preamble to our Constitution. In this and in a few other articles that will follow it I propose to deal with the question of our Fundamental Rights. Before, however, I take up any specific Fundamental Right for consideration I should like to make a few preliminary observations of a general character, having a bearing on our subject.

II

Utility of a Bill of Rights

There has been in the past a sharp difference of opinion among statesmen and publicists on the question of the necessity of a distinct bill of rights in the Constitution of a country governed democratically. For example, among the defects of the draft Constitution of the United States of America prepared by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, "none," writes Justice Story,[2] "attracted more attention or were urged with more zeal, than the want of a distinct bill of rights which should recognize the fundamental principles of a free republican government, and the rights of the people to the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness." It was argued that "it was indispensable" that "express provision should be made" in the Constitution "for the trial by jury in civil cases"; that "freedom of speech and freedom of the press should be secured" by it; that "there should be no national religion and the rights of conscience should be inviolable," etc. This omission of a bill of rights in the draft Constitution was considered to be "a fatal defect," and "sufficient of itself to bring on the ruin of the (American) republic."[3]

Alexander Hamilton, however, held a different view on this question.[4] For the liberty of the press and for the protection of the rights of the people, he would "altogether depend on public opinion and on the general spirit of the people and of the government." Further he stated:[5]

> "It has been several times truly remarked that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgements of prerogative in favour of privilege, reservations of rights not surrendered to the prince. Such was Magna Charta, obtained by the Barons, sword in hand, from king John. Such were the subsequent confirmations of that charter by succeeding princes. Such was the *petition of right* assented to by Charles the First, in the beginning of his reign. Such also, was the declaration of right presented by the Lords and Commons to the Prince of Orange in 1688, and afterwards thrown into the form of an act of Parliament, called the Bill of Rights. It is evident, therefore, that according to their primitive signification, they have no application to constitutions professedly founded upon the power of the people and executed by their immediate representatives and servants. Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing; and as they retain everything, they have no need of particular reservations."

He added:[6]

> "I go further, and affirm, that bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted, and on this very account would afford a colourable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said, that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretence for claiming that power. They might urge with a semblance of reason that the constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that the provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a right to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the national government. This may serve as a specimen of the numerous handles which would be given to the doctrine of constructive powers, by the indulgence of an injudicious zeal for bills of rights."

This reasoning did not satisfy Thomas Jefferson and many other leading statesmen of the time. They held[7] that "the purposes of society do not require a surrender of all our rights to our ordinary governors; that there are certain portions of right not necessary to enable them to carry on an effective government, and which experience has nevertheless proved they will be constantly encroaching on, if submitted to them; that there are also certain fences which experience has proved peculiarly efficacious against wrong, and rarely obstructive of right, which yet the governing powers have ever shown a disposition to weaken and remove."[8] And "these governing powers will be no less disposed to be aggressive when chosen by majorities than when selected by the accident of birth, or at the will of privileged classes."[9] Further, in a letter[10] to James Madison Jefferson wrote in 1787: "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular; and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inferences." Again, in another letter to Madison Jefferson wrote[11] on 15th March, 1789, that, although a bill of rights "is not absolutely efficacious under all circumstances, it is of great potency always, and rarely inefficacious."

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[1] See *The Modern Review* for September, 1954.

[2] See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Section 301.

[3] *Ibid*, Section 1858.

[4] See *The Federalist* (Max Beloff's Edition, Oxford, 1948) No. 84.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, pp, 366-67.

"A brace the more," he continued, "will often keep up the building which would have fallen with that brace the less. There is a remarkable difference between the characters of the inconveniences which attend a declaration of rights, and those which attend the want of it. The inconveniences of the declaration are that it may cramp government in its useful exertions. But the evil of this is short-lived, moderate, and reparable. The inconveniences of the want of a declaration are permanent, afflictive and irreparable. They are in constant progression from bad to worse. The executive, in our governments, is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal, object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislatures is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for many years. That of the executive will come in its turn; but it will be at a remote period."

The Jeffersonian point of view ultimately prevailed, and the result was the adoption in 1791 of the first ten amendments[12] to the Constitution of the United States as originally drafted by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787.

We may also note in this connexion what Justice Story has observed,[13] after carefully weighing the arguments for, and against, the incorporation of a bill of rights in a Constitution. He is of opinion that such a bill of rights "is neither unnecessary nor dangerous" in a Constitution. The question with him is "not whether any bill of rights is necessary, but what such a bill of rights should properly contain." And "that is a point for argument upon which different minds may arrive at different conclusions." He next observes that "a bill of rights is important, and may often be indispensable, whenever it operates as a qualification upon powers actually granted by the people to the government." And "this is the real ground of all the bills of rights in the parent country,[14] in the colonial constitutions and laws, and in the State Constitutions." Whenever, he emphasizes, "a general power exists, or is granted to a government which may in its actual exercise or abuse be dangerous to the people, there seems a peculiar propriety in restricting its operations and in excepting from it some at least of the most mischievous forms in which it may be likely to be abused. And the very exception in such cases will operate with a silent but irresistible influence to control the actual abuse of it in other analogous cases."

Thirdly, Justice Story has observed that "a bill of rights may be important, even when it goes beyond powers supposed to be granted."

> "It is not always possible," he has rightly said, "to foresee the extent of the actual reach of certain powers which are given in general terms. They may be construed to extend (and perhaps fairly) to certain classes of cases which did not at first appear to be within them. A bill of rights then operates as a guard upon any extravagant or undue extension of such powers. Besides, as has been justly remarked, a bill of rights is of real efficiency in controlling the excesses of party spirit. It serves to guide and enlighten public opinion, and to render it more quick to detect and more resolute to resist attempts to disturb private rights. It requires more than ordinary hardihood and audacity of character to trample down principles which our ancestors have consecrated with reverence; which we imbibed in our early education; which recommended themselves to the judgment of the world by their truth and simplicity; and which are constantly placed before the eyes of the people, accompanied with the imposing force and solemnity of a constitutional sanction. Bills of rights are a part of the muniments of freemen, showing their title to protection; and they become of increased value when placed under the protection of an independent judiciary instituted as the appropriate guardian of the public and private rights of the citizens."

Fourthly, Story has said that a bill of rights is, as had been urged with much earnestness, "an important protection against unjust and oppressive conduct on the part of the people themselves," and that, in a government like that of the United States, the great danger lies as James Madison had pointed out, "rather in the abuse of the community than of the legislative body."

> "The prescriptions in favour of liberty," continues Story, "ought to be levelled against that quarter where the greatest danger lies, namely, that which possesses the highest prerogative of power. But this is not found in the executive or

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[8] Quoted by Cooley from *Jefferson's Works*, Vol. III, p. 201. See *Ibid*, p. 366n.

[9] See Cooley, *op.cit.*, p. 366.

[10] See S. K. Padover, *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, 1949, p. 17; also his *Jefferson*, p. 73.

[11] See Cooley, *op.cit.*, p. 367n; also Padover, *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, pp. 48-50.

[12] These Amendments took effect on December 15th, 1791. —See Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 1103n.

[13] See Story, *op. cit.*, Sections 1863-1868.

[14] *I.e.*, England.

legislative departments of government, but in the body of the people operating by the majority against the minority."

He admits that "it may be thought that all paper barriers against the power of the community are too weak to be worthy of attention," and that "they are not so strong as to satisfy all who have been and examined thoroughly the texture of such a defence." Nevertheless as these barriers, he says, "have a tendency to impress some degree of respect for them, to establish the public opinion in their favour, and to rouse the attention of the whole community, it may be one means to control the majority from those acts to which they might be otherwise included."

Finally, with reference to the draft Constitution of the United States, Story has observed that "the want of a bill of rights" in it was "not either an unfounded or illusory objection," and that the real question was "not, whether every sort of right or privilege or claim ought to be affirmed in a constitution, but whether such as in their own nature are of vital importance and peculiarly susceptible of abuse ought not to receive this solemn sanction." And although "the want of a formal bill of rights in the (draft) Constitution was a matter of very exaggerated declamation and party zeal for the mere purpose of defeating the Constitution," yet, "so far as the objection was well founded in fact, it was right to remove it by subsequent amendments; and Congress have . . . accordingly performed the duty with most prompt and laudable diligence."[15]

I have quoted at length the views of Justice Story on the question of the utility of a bill of rights because of their obvious importance. It should be clear from what has been shown above that the incorporation of a bill of rights in a Constitution acts as a great safeguard, not only against any "misconstruction or abuse of" power on the part of a department of a Government, but also against any "excesses of party spirit" and what is known in political speculation as "the tyranny of the majority" which is now generally included, as John Stuart Mill[16] has rightly said, "among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard." Indeed, this tyranny of the majority is, as a distinguished American publicist[17] has pointed out, "one of the evils most to be feared in a democracy, the most to be feared because of the ease with which it can be exercised and the severity with which it operates." And he has emphasized that "there can be no tyranny of a monarch as intolerable as that of the multitude, for it has the power behind it that no king can sway." Harrington was hardly wrong when he asked "whether power, not confined to the bounds of reason and virtue, has any other bounds than those of vice and passion?"[18] The authors of our Constitution, therefore, acted very wisely when they incorporated a comprehensive list of justiciable Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. The history of our country, the composition of its population, ideological differences amongst the different sections of the population, our social traditions, and the requirements of true democracy, all necessitated it. And on the whole—there may be, as we shall see later on, an honest difference of opinion in regard to some details—our bill of rights does credit to the patriotism political sagacity, and the constructive abilities of the framers of our Constitution.

"STATE" LEGISLATION AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

So far as its written portion is concerned, our Constitution has been divided into 22 Parts and comprises 395 Articles[19] and 9 Schedules. Part III of the Constitution deals with our Fundamental Rights and includes Articles from the 12th to the 35th. Now Article 12 in this Part lays down that, unless the context otherwise requires, the term 'State' "includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory[20] of India or under the control of the Government of India." It may be noted here that the last nine words of Article 12, namely, "or under the control of the Government of India," did not occur in the corresponding Article 7 of the *Draft Constitution of India* prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly and published in 1948. They were added to the said corresponding Article by the Constituent Assembly on 25th November, 1948, by way of an amendment moved by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee. In justification of his motion for the amendment Dr. Ambedkar had stated:[21]

> "This amendment was thought necessary because apart from the territories which form part of India, there may be other territories which may not form part of India, but may none-the-less be

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[15] Reference here is to the adoption in 1791 of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution of the United States as originally prepared in 1787.

[16] See his *Essay on Liberty*, Chapter 1.

[17] See W. W. Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, 1922, p. 416.

[18] Quoted by Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Revised Edition, p. 78.

[19] The numbering of the Articles of the Constitution of India has not been altered since 26th January, 1950, although new Articles have been inserted in it as Articles 31A and 31B by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.

[20] Under Article I of our Constitution, the territory of India (a) is to comprise the territories of the States specified in Parts A, B and C of the First Schedule to the Constitution; (b) the territories specified in Part D of the said First Schedule; and (c) such other territories as may be acquired by the Indian Union.

[21] See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 25th November 1948, pp. 607.

under the control of the Government of India. There are many cases occurring now in international affairs where territories are handed over to other countries for the purposes of administration either under a mandate or trusteeship. I think it is desirable that there ought to be no discrimination so far as the citizens of India and the residents of those mandated or trusteeship territories are concerned in fundamental rights. It is therefore desirable that this amendment should be made so that the principle of Fundamental Rights may be extended to the residents of those territories as well."

Thus the words "all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India" in Article 12, have a much wider meaning than what appears from the surface.

Another point worthy of note in this connexion is the use of the word 'State' in our Constitution in various senses. For example, the word 'State' has been used in one sense in Article 1 of the Constitution and in different senses in Article 12.[22] This was more or less the position in the *Draft Constitution of India* referred to before. When, therefore, Article 7 of *Draft Constitution of India* corresponding, as stated before, to Article 12 of our present Constitution, was before the Constituent Assembly, a member[23] of the Assembly objected to the use of the word 'State' in different senses in different parts of our proposed Constitution. He stated that it was not "advisable that an expression in a legislative enactment should bear different meanings in different parts of the enactment" as it would "create confusion." Further, he wished that the word 'State' had not been defined in Article 7 as it had been done. And he particularly objected to the use of the word 'State' in it with reference to local authorities like District Boards and Municipalities, and also with reference to such a vague, but comprehensive, expression as "other authorities" within the territory of India. This was, he said, "too wide a definition of the word 'State'" and might create difficulties later on in the working of the Constitution.[24]

Although it must be conceded that there was some intrinsic force in this reasoning, yet it must also be admitted that what Dr. Ambedkar said[25] by way of a reply to Mr. Ali Baig is worthy of a serious consideration.

"The object of the Fundamental Rights," said Dr. Ambedkar, "is two-fold. First, that every citizen must be in a position to claim those rights. Secondly, they must be binding upon every authority—I shall presently explain what the word 'authority' means—upon every authority which has got either the power to make laws or the power to have discretion vested in it. Therefore, it is quite clear that if the Fundamental Rights are to be clear, then they must be binding not only upon the Central Government, they must not only be binding upon the Provincial Government, they must not only be binding upon the Governments established in the Indian States, they must also be binding upon District Local Boards (*sic.*), Municipalities, even village panchayats and taluk boards, in fact, every authority which has been created by law and which has got certain powers to make laws, to make rules, or make by-laws."

"If that proposition," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "is accepted—and I do not see anyone who cares for Fundamental Rights can object to such a universal obligation being imposed upon every authority created by law—then, what are we to do to make our intention clear? There are two ways of doing it. One way is to use a composite phrase such as 'the State', as we have done in Article 7;[26] or, to keep on repeating every time, 'the Central Government, the Provincial Government, the State Government, the Municipality, the Local Board, the Port Trust, or any other authority.' It seems to me not only most cumbersome but stupid to keep on repeating this phraseology every time we have to make a reference to some authority. The wisest course is to have this comprehensive phrase and to economise in words. I hope that my friend will now understand why we have used the word 'State' in this Article[27] and why this article must stand as part of this Constitution."

It is evident from what Dr. Ambedkar said that the word 'State' was used in Article 7 of *Draft Constitution of India* in the senses in which it was used, both for the sake of convenience and for the sake of elegance of English. There is certainly considerable force in Dr. Ambedkar's reasoning. There is also a precedent for this in the Constitution of the Union of Burma adopted by the Burmese Constituent Assembly on 24th September, 1947. Section 9 in Chapter II of the Constitution has laid down that "in this Chapter and in Chapters III and IV,[28] the term 'State' means the executive or legislative authority of the Union or of the (constituent) unit concerned according as the context may require."

I shall now pass on to Article 13 in Part III of our Constitution. This Article lays down:

> "(1) All laws in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of this Constitution, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this Part[29] shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void.

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[22] We also find in Clause I of the Fifth Schedule to our Constitution ; "In this Schedule unless the context otherwise require, the expression 'State' means a State specified in Part A or B of the First Schedule (to the Constitution) but does' not include the State of Assam." Also see Article 308 of the Constitution in this connexion.

[23] Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib Bahadur (Madras : Muslim). See the Constituent Assembly Debates of 25th November, 1948.

[24] See ibid.

[25] See ibid.

[26] As noted in the text above, this Article corresponded to Article 12 in the Constitution of India.

[27] *I.e.*, Article 7 of *Draft Constitution of India.*

[28] Chapters III and IV of the Constitution of the Union of Burma deal with "Relations of the State to Peasants and Workers" and "Directive Principles of State Policy" respectively.

[29] *I.e.*, Part III of our Constitution.

"(2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this Part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void.[30]

"(3) In this Article, unless the context otherwise requires,—

(*a*) 'law' includes any Ordinance, order, bye-law, rule, regulation, notification, custom or usage having in the territory of India the force of law;

(*b*) 'laws in force' include laws passed or made by a Legislature or other competent authority in the territory of India before the commencement of this Consttiution and not previously repealed, notwithstanding that any such law or any part thereof may not be then in operation either at all or in particular areas."[31]

Now what are the implications of this Article? As I have stated in my previous article,[32] while dealing with the significance of the expression "We, the People of India" in the Preamble to our Constitution, the Constitution has been duly enacted and adopted by the People of India, acting in its aggregate and sovereign capacity through the Constituent Assembly of India, and is, therefore, an act of the sovereign People of India in its collective capacity. As such, it is the supreme law of the land—"the paramount and fundamental law" of our nation. Any rule of human conduct, therefore, claiming the force of law in India, whether existing before the 26th of January, 1950, the date of the commencement of the Constitution, or since that date, found to be in any way inconsistent with any provision of the Constitution which is, to use an American expression, our "superior paramount law," will, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void. Thus the limit of voidness or invalidity of such a rule of conduct will ordinarily be the nature and extent of this inconsistency. This, to my mind, is our general constitutional principle and the provisions of our Constitution relating to our Fundamental Rights come within its scope. Judge Cooley[33] has said with reference to the Constitution of the United States that "the will of the people declared in the Constitution, is the final law;" that "the will of the legislature is law only wh is in harmony with, or at least is not opposed to, controlling instrument which governs the legisla body equally with the private citizen." This ma also applies to our country. As we shall have occasion to see in a later article,[34] it is the duty of the judiciary "to declare what the law is in the ca which come before" it, and to "enforce the Con tution as the paramount law, whenever a legisla enactment," or, we may add, any rule of hu conduct claiming the force of law, "comes in c flict with it." And in exercising this great authori our judges will not, as in the United States, claim judicial supremacy over the legislature, but will act as "the administrators of the public will"— real will of the people" as it has "previously solemn declared it" in our Constitution. Thus, if an Act the legislature is declared void, "it is not because judges have any control over the legislative power but because the Act is forbidden by the Constitution, and because the will of the people, which is therein declared, is paramount to that of their representatives expressed in any law."[35] And when a law is declared unconstitutional and, therefore, void, the same consequences should follow here as, for instance in the United States in a similar case, namely, that the law in question "is as if it had never been," and all that this implies. Thus, as Judge Cooley has pointed out, "rights cannot be built up under it; contracts which depend upon it for their consideration are void; it constitutes a protection to no one who has acted under it, and no one can be punished for having refused obedience to it before the decision was made." Further, "what is true of an Act void *in to* is true also as to any part of an Act which is found to be unconstitutional, and which, consequently, is to be regarded as having never, at any time, been possessed of any legal force."[36] And what we have said here in regard to an unconstitutional Act of the legislature should equally apply to any other rule of conduct claiming the force of law.

Professor Willoughby has given a very lucid ex position of the point we are discussing here. He has said[37] that "the doctrine that an unconstitutional law is void is often stated as a deduction from the pre mise that constitutional law is a superior kind of law to which statute law of inferior rank is obliged to yield."

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[30] According to Fazl Ali J., the meaning of the word "void" has been stated in Black's *Law Dictionary* (3rd Edn.) to be as follows :

"Null and void; ineffectual; nugatory; having no legal force or binding effect; unable in law to support the purpose for which it was intended; nugatory and ineffectual so that nothing can cure it; not valid."

See his judgment in Keshavan Madhavan Menon *vs.* The State of Bombay, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part III, March 1951, p. 241.

[31] It may be noted in this connection that under Clause (1) of Article 372 of our Constitution, notwithstanding the repeal by the Constitution of the enactments referred to in Article 395 thereof *but subject to the other provisions of the Constitution*, "all the law(s) in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of the Constitution shall continue in force therein until altered or repealed or amended by a competent Legislature or other competent authority."

The expression "other provisions" in this clause certainly includes Article 13 of the Constitution.

[32] See *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, pp. 191-93.

[33] See Cooley, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

[34] Reference may also be made in this connexion to article entitled "'Position of the President of India': A Fu Rejoinder" in *The Modern Review* for May, 1951.

[35] See Cooley, *op.cit.*, p. 228; also Willoughby, *The Co tutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Edn., 1929, Vol. I, p 259-60.

[36] See Cooley, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-10.

[37] See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-10.

"Speaking in all strictness, however," he has observed, "this is not the case, for the unconstitutional statute is not law at all, whatever its form or however solemnly enacted and promulgated. There are not and cannot be degrees of legal validity. Any given rule of conduct or definition of a right either is or is not law. When, therefore, we describe any particular measure as an unconstitutional law, and therefore, void, we are, in fact, strictly speaking, guilty of contradiction of terms, for if it is unconstitutional it is not a law at all; or, if it is a law it cannot be unconstitutional. Thus, when any particular so-called law is declared unconstitutional by a competent court of last resort, the measure in question is not 'annulled' but simply declared never to have been law at all, never to have been, in fact, anything more than a futile attempt at legislation on the part of the legislature enacting it."

Professor Willoughby has quoted in this connexion from the judgment of the Court of West Virginia in Shephard *vs.* Wheeling to say:[38]

> "(The Court) does not annul or repeal the statute if it finds it in conflict with the Constitution. It simply refuses to recognize it, and determines the rights of the parties just as if such statute had no application."

In view of what we have shown above, it may be interesting to refer here to the interpretation which our Supreme Court has put on Clause (1) of Article 13 of our Constitution as quoted before. In Keshavan Madhava Menon *vs.* The State of Bombay[39] the Supreme Court held on 22nd January, 1951, by a majority of five to two[40] as follows:

> "It will be noticed that all that this Clause (*i.e.*, Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Constitution) declares is that all existing laws, *in so far as they are inconsistent* with the provisions of Part III (of the Constitution) shall *to the extent of such inconsistency*, be void. Every statute is *prima facie* prospective unless it is expressly or by necessary implications made to have retrospective operation. There is no reason why this rule of interpretation should not be applied for the purpose of interpreting our Constitution. We find nothing in the language of Article 13(1) which may be read as indicating an intention to give it retrospective operation. On the contrary, the language clearly points the other way. The provisions of Part III guarantee what are called fundamental rights. Indeed, the heading of Part III is 'Fundamental Rights.' These rights are given, for the first time, by and under our Constitution. Before the Constitution came into force there was no such thing as fundamental rights. What Article 13(1) provides is that all existing laws which clash with the exercise of the fundamental rights (which are for the first time created by the Constitution) shall to that extent be void. As the fundamental rights became operative only on and from the date of the Constitution the question of the inconsistency of the existing laws with those rights must necessarily arise on and from the date those rights came into being. It must follow, therefore, that Article 13(1) can have no retrospective effect but is wholly prospective in its operation. After this first point is noted, it should further be seen that article 13(1) does not in terms make the existing laws which are niconsistent with the fundamental rights void *ab initio* or for all purposes. On the contrary, it provides that all existing laws, in so far as they are inconsistent with the fundamental rights, shall be void to the extent of their inconsistency. They are not void for all purposes but they are void only to the extent they come into conflict with the fundamental rights. In other words, on and after the commencement of the Constitution no existing law will be permitted to stand in the way of the exercise of any of the fundamental rights. Therefore, the voidness of the existing law is limited to the future exercise of the fundamental rights. Article 13(1) cannot be read as obliterating the entire operation of the inconsistent laws, or to wipe them out altogether from the statute book, for to do so will be to give them retrospective effect which, we have said, they do not possess. Such laws exist for all past transactions and for enforcing all rights and liabilities accrued before the date of the Constitution . . .
>
> "It is well known that on the expiry of a temporary statute no further proceedings can be taken under it, unless the statute itself saved pending proceedings. If, therefore, an offence had been committed under a temporary statute and the proceedings were initiated but the offender had not been prosecuted and punished before the expiry of the statute, then, in the absence of any saving clause, the pending prosecution could not be proceeded with after the expiry of the statute by efflux of time . . . As explained above article 13(1) is entirely prospective in its operation and as it was not intended to have any retrospective effect there was no necessity at all for inserting in that article any such saving clause. The effect of article 13(1) is quite different from the effect of the expiry of a temporary statute or the repeal of a statute by a subsequent statute. As already explained, article 13(1) only has the effect of nullifying or rendering all inconsistent existing laws ineffectual or nugatory and devoid of any legal force or binding effect only with respect to the exercise of fundamental rights on and after the date of the commencement of the Constitution. It has no retrospective effect and if therefore, an act was done before the commencement

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[38] See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

[39] This case had come to the Supreme Court by way of appeal, under Article 132(1) of our Constitution, from a judgment and order, dated 12th April, 1950, of the High Court of Bombay. The facts of the case are, briefly speaking, as follows: The appellant was the Secretary of the People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay. On 9th December, 1949, he was arrested and a prosecution was started against him under Section 18(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate at Bombay, for publishing a certain pamphlet in September, 1949, without the authority required by the Act. While the prosecution was pending, the Constitution of India came into force on 26th January, 1950. Thereupon the appellant challenged the legality of certain sections of the said Press Act as being inconsistent with Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution. He first moved the High Court of Bombay under Article 228 of the Constitution and then preferred an appeal to the Supreme Court from the judgment of the High Court. For details see *The Supreme Court Reports* 1951, Vol. II, Part III, March 1951.

[40] Kania C. J. Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Das and Chandrasekhara Aiyar JJ., for, Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ., dissenting. See *ibid*.

of the Constitution in contravention of the provisions of any law which, after the Constitution, becomes void with respect to the exercise of any of the fundamental rights, the inconsistent law is not wiped out so far as the past act is concerned, for, to say that it is, will be to give the law retrospective effect. There is no fundamental right that a person shall not be prosecuted and punished for an offence committed before the Constitution came into force. So far as the past acts are concerned the law exists, notwithstanding that it does not exist with respect to the future exercise of fundamental rights. We, therefore, agree with the conclusion arrived at by the (Bombay) High Court . . . In our opinion, therefore, this appeal fails, and is dismissed."

Now the conclusion of the High Court at Bombay referred to above, was that the "proceedings under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, which were pending at the date of the commencement of the Constitution were not affected, even if the Act were inconsistent with the fundamental rights conferred by Article 19(1)(a) and as such became void under Article 13(1) of the Constitution after January 26, 1950."

The sum and substance of the judgment of the majority of the Supreme Court, as quoted above, is that Article 13(1) "has no retrospective effect," and that, therefore, if "an act was done before the commencement of the new Constitution in contravention of the provisions of any law which was a valid law at the time of the commission of the act, a prosecution for such an act, which was commenced before the Constitution came into force, can be proceeded with and the accused punished according to that law, even after the commencement of the new Constitution."[41]

The Counsel for the appellant had also argued that "the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, was one of the many repressive laws enacted by an alien Government with a view to stifle the liberty of the Indian subjects and particularly of the Indian Press," and that it was therefore "against the spirit of the Constitution" of India. To this the reply of the majority of the Supreme Court was:

> "An argument founded on what is claimed to be the spirit of the Constitution is always attractive, for it has a powerful appeal to sentiment and emotion; but a court of law has to gather the spirit of the Constitution from the language of the Constitution. What one may believe or think to be the spirit of the Constitution cannot prevail if the language of the Constitution does not support that view . . . We are, therefore, unable to accept the contention about the spirit of the Constitution as invoked by the learned Counsel in aid of his plea that pending proceedings under a law which has become void cannot be proceeded with. Further, if it is against the spirit of the Constitution to continue the pending prosecutions under such a void law, surely it should be equally repugnant to that spirit that men who have already been convicted under such repressive law before the Constitution of India came into force should continue to rot in jail. It is, therefore, quite clear that the court should construe the language of article 13(1) according to the established rules of interpretation and arrive at its true meaning uninfluenced by any assumed spirit of the Constitution."

We have fairly stated above the point of view of the majority of the Supreme Court in the case under our consideration. Fazl Ali J., however, did not agree with the view taken by the majority in this case, and Mukherjea J. was "in entire agreement" with him both "in his reasons and (in) his conclusion."[42]

Fazl Ali J. held:[43]

> "Evidently, the framers of the Constitution did not approve of the laws which are in conflict with the fundamental rights, and, in my judgment, it would not be giving full effect to their intention to hold that even after the Constitution has come into force, the laws which are inconsistent with the fundamental rights will continue to be treated as good and effectual laws in regard to certain matters, as if the Constitution had never been passed. How such a meaning can be read into the words used in Article 13(1), it is difficult for me to understand. There can be no doubt that Article 13(1) will have no retrospective operation, and transactions which are past and closed, and rights which have already vested, will remain untouched. But with regard to inchoate matters which were still not determined when the Constitution came into force, and as regards proceedings whether not yet begun, or pending at the time of the enforcement of the Constitution and not yet prosecuted to a final judgment, the very serious question arises as to whether a law which has been declared by the Constitution to be completely ineffectual can yet be applied. On principle and on good authority, the answer to this question would appear to me to be that the law having ceased to be effectual can no longer be applied."

Further:[44]

> "The real question is whether a person who has not been convicted before the Act has ceased to exist or ceased to be effectual can still be prosecuted under such an Act (*sic.*). The answer to the question has always been in the negative, and I do not see why a different answer should be given in the case of an Act which has become void. [illegible] which has become so ineffectual that it cannot be cured . . . In the present case, we have to look at the state of the law at the time when the question arises as to whether a person has committed any offence. If we find that the law which made the act an offence has become completely ineffectual and nugatory, then neither can a charge be framed nor can the accused person be convicted."

We have given above extracts from the judgments of the majority and the mjnority of the Supreme Court in the Keshavan Madhava Me case, because of their obvious constitutional importance. Whatever may be one's feelings towards these judgments, the legal position is that what the Supreme Court has declared by a majority to be the meaning of Clause (1) of Article 13 of our Constitution is, for the time being, the law of the land under Article 141[45] of the Constitution. But, at the same time, we cannot help observing that, on a careful comparison of the two judgments, we feel more inclined to agree with the judgment of the minority than with that of the majority, in this case. It is rather difficult to agree with the view that, in the absence of a clear, saving provision to the contrary, a person can be tried and convicted under a so-called law on or after the 26th of January, 1950, when the law itself has become void and, therefore, nugatory, ineffectual, and "devoid of any legal force or binding effect" with effect from that date, because of its inconsistency with Article 13(1) of the Constitution. And we also feel that there is a considerable force in the contention of Mr. Durga Das Basu[46] that

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[41] See *ibid.*

[42] See *ibid.*

[43] See *ibid.*

[44] See *ibid.*

> "To refuse to convict a person after the commencement of the Constitution under a law which had become void upon the commencement of the Constitution, is not giving retrospective effect to the Constitution or any part of it, but to enforce the Constitution itself."

One more point emerges, in connexion with Article 13 of our Constitution, namely, what are the precise implications of the expressions "to the extent of such inconsistency" and "to the extent of the contravention," in the Article? Obviously these expressions apparently mean that such provision or provisions of a law as are inconsistent with, or are found to be in contravention of, as the case may be, any provision in Part III of the Constitution, are to be treated as void, and not the entire law. This statement, however, is correct, subject to the requirements of what is known as "the principle of separability" or "the doctrine of severability."[47] This question arose, for instance, in connexion with the case known as Romesh Thappar *vs.* The State of Madras. In this case our Supreme Court held[48] on 26th May, 1950, while declaring Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949, "wholly unconstitutional and void.":

> "It was . . . argued that Section 9 (1-A) could not be considered wholly void, as, under Article 13(1), an existing law inconsistent with a fundamental right is void only to the extent of the inconsistency and no more. In so far as the securing of the public safety or the maintenance of public order would include the security of the State, the impugned provision, as applied to the latter purpose, was covered by Clause (2)[49] of Article 19 (of the Constitution) and must, it was said, be held to be valid. We are unable to accede to this contention. Where a law purports to authorise the imposition of restrictions on a fundamental right in language wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting such right, it is not possible to uphold it even so far as it may be applied within the constitutional limits, as it is not severable. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly unconstitutional and void. In other words, Clause (2) of Article 19 having allowed the imposition of restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression only in cases where danger to the State is involved, an enactment, which is capable of being applied to cases where no such danger could arise, cannot be held to be constitutional and valid to any extent."

Thus it is not always possible to sever or separate the offending or repugnant provision of a law from the rest of the law. This seems to be the position also in the United States of America. Thus we find in Willoughby:[50]

> "The Court will not permit the unconstitutionality of a particular provision of a law to invalidate the entire law if it is possible to separate the invalid provision from the other provisions without destroying or impairing their efficiency to attain the results evidently intended by the legislature that enacted it. Even when thus separable, however, the court will not hold the remainder of the law valid if there is doubt whether, the realization of the whole of its will being rendered impossible, the legislature would have desired the execution of a part only . . . the courts possess and exercise a wide discretionary power in determining whether or not an invalid provision may be separated from the other provisions of an act so as to leave valid those other provisions."

And we also find in Cooley:[51]

> "It will sometime be found that an act of the legislature is opposed in some of its provisions to the constitution, while others, standing by themselves, would be unobjectionable . . . In any such case the portion which conflicts with the constitution, or in regard to which the necessary conditions have not been observed, must be treated as a nullity. Whether the other parts of the statute must also be adjudged void because of the association must depend upon a consideration of the object of the law, and in what manner and to what extent the unconstitutional portion affects the remainder . . . Where, therefore, a part of a statute is unconstitutional, that fact does not authorize the courts to declare the remainder void

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[45] Article 141 of our Constitution has laid down: "The law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts within the territory of India."

[46] See Durga Das Basu, *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 2nd Edn., 1951, p. 55 foot-note.

[47] Also see *ibid*, pp. 56 and 656-57, in this connexion.

[48] See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Part VI, August, 1950, p: 603.

[49] As it originally was before its amendment by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. Clause (2) has been used in this sense in the rest of the extract quoted.

[50] See Willoughly, *op.cit.*, pp. 36-37.

[51] See Cooley, *op.cit.*, pp. 246-47.

also, unless all the provisions are connected in subject-matter, depending on each other, operating together for the same purpose, or otherwise so connected together in meaning, that it cannot be presumed the legislature would have passed the one without the other."

It is clear from the views of Professor Willoughby and Judge Cooley that in the United States also the Court of Law does not always find it possible to separate the invalid or repugnant portion of a law from the rest of the law. As in India, such "separability" or "severability" depends upon circumstances.

It is evident from what has been shown above that the two expressions "to the extent of such inconsistency" and "to the extent of the contravention" in Article 13 of our Constitution have sometimes a much wider implication than what is warranted by their literal interpretation.

Finally, I should like to say that in this article I have discussed only some preliminary points in connexion with our Fundamental Rights. In my next few articles I propose to deal with some of our specific Fundamental Rights.

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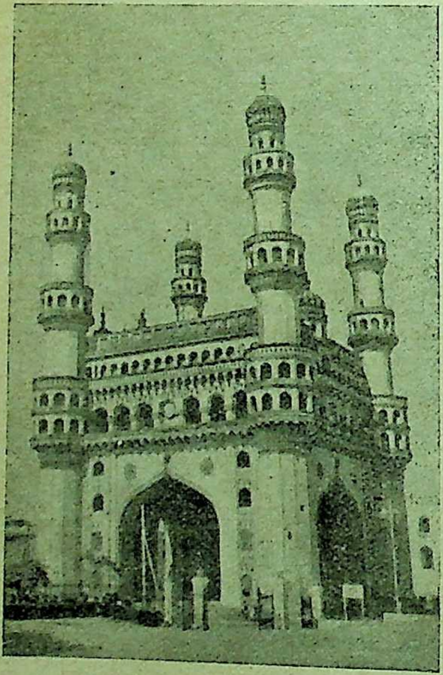
HYDERABAD : CITY OF PROMISE

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

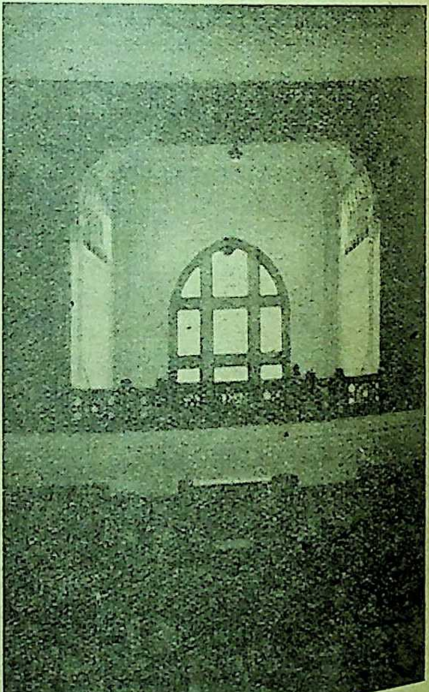
CRADLED in the highlands of the Deccan, on the bank of River Moosi, Hyderabad is the metropolis of the State of the same name. With its number of ancient remains and towering structures of the past and present, enriched with a tradition of its own, it is a leading city of India and draws its visitors from far and near.



The Char Minar

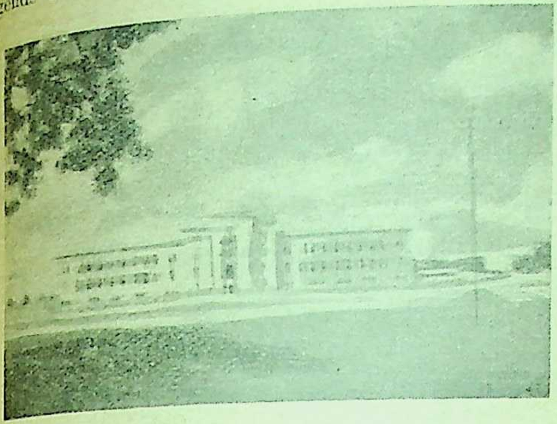
It is by no means a "dream city" in the strict sense of the romantic term, still it is the home of variety and grace.

The city of Hyderabad has witnessed the rise and fall of several dynasties which sprang up and disappeared with the lapse of time. The history of such a place must naturally be full of strange events and remarkable achievements. The chivalrous kings of old have left for us scores of inspiring works of art and sculpture which speak eloquently of their creators. Hyderabad has often been referred to as the meeting-place of different cultures and creeds and has preserved its traces to this day. The Char Minar, erected by Sultan Quli Kutub Shah in the year 1591, is easily the most striking monument and deserves all the tribute it receives. Lying at a stone's throw from it, the Mecca Masjid, also of that period, is a worthy structure. The



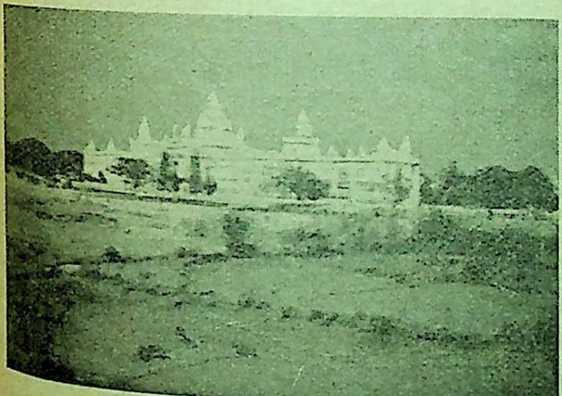
An inside view of the University

remains of Golconda Fort, in the proximity of the city, bring to our minds the heart-breaking stories and legends attached to it.



The Osmania University

The city has the usual bustle and glamour with beautiful buildings, well-furnished roads and busy traffic. The schools, colleges and all sorts of technical institutions have made it the pilgrimage of learning where the students gather from the whole State and elsewhere. There are many luxurious picture houses (a couple of which are air-conditioned), gardens and parks, which are the favourite spots of the dwellers. The Naya Pul and the Tank Bund present charming views, while the Salar Jung Museum and the Falaknuma Palace are some of the must-be-seen show places. Since its integration with the Indian Union in 1948, Hyderabad has come to play a more prominent part. The All-India Industrial Exhibition is held here annually while a number of conferences take place which bring to this city a stream of tourists.

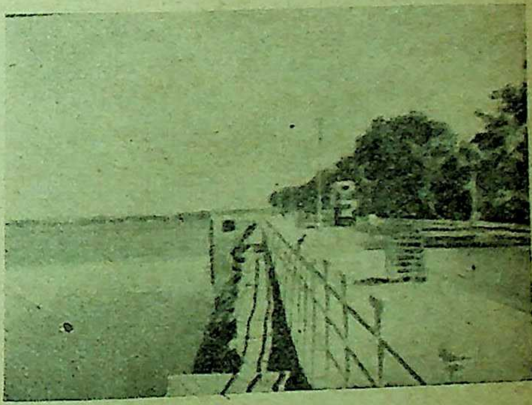


Osmania General Hospital

In these days of a general deterioration in the fields of architecture and sculpture, which seem to be the virtual monopoly of the masters of the past, we have to be contented with works of a comparatively lesser skill and inferior quality. Among the worthy constructions of the Modern Age, the Osmania University should be named first. Every visitor has spoken very highly of it and has paid glowing tributes to this remarkable piece of work. Similarly the High Court, Osmania General Hospital, the State Library, the Madina Building and the Legislative Assembly are all excellent structures of the present day.

The Osman Sagar

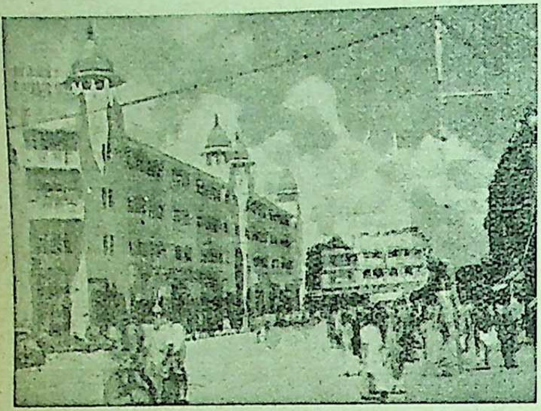
The Osmania University, existing since 1918, is unique in the sense that it was the first institution to impart its education in Urdu, an Indian language. It was certainly a bold experiment which proved a success. Since the integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union, the face and the working conditions of the University have changed considerably and English has slowly been replaced. Lately there is again a proposal that it should be a Hindi University directly administered by the Central Government. The protest of the people of the State in this matter seems to be justified since a University—with such a short lease of life—cannot change its medium so very often and thus deteriorate its standards.



The Tank Bund

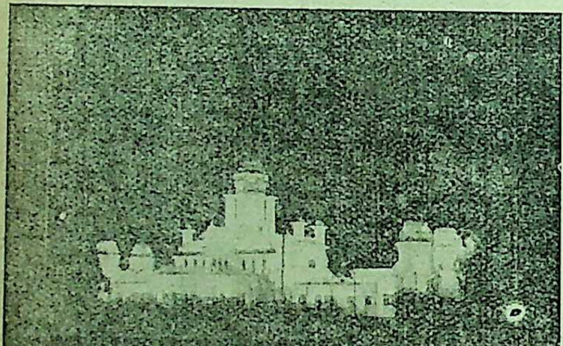
Having made a considerable headway in the field of industry, the city has a number of large- and small-scale factories which produce commodities like cigarettes, matches, biscuits, cement, alcohol and glass. Outside the city there are several mills puffing day and night. There is thus hardly any activity left out which is virtually within its reach.

If the State is divided on linguistic basis, as it is likely to be done in the near future, the city will naturally belong to the Andhras. But no prudent observer will deny the fact that the city is essentially cosmopolitan and owes its beauty and prosperity due to the combined efforts of different people who inhabit this little city of delights.



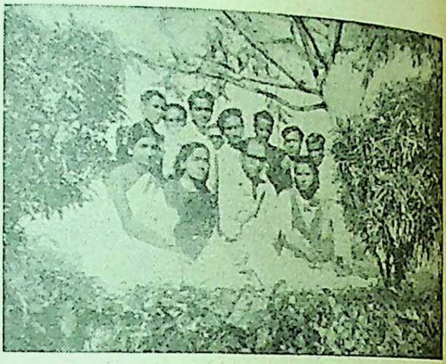
A street scene at Hyderabad

Journalism has suffered a setback in Hyderabad Quite a few dailies and periodicals in English, Hindi, Urdu and Telugu are published here but none can be claimed to have reached the expected standards. Several papers appear every now and then only to die the next moment. Rather unfortunately, Hyderabad today cannot boast of even one journalist of international fame.



Hyderabad M. G. Railway Station illuminated on the Republic Day

The exhausting and monotonous life, coupled with an extreme climate, naturally needs many parks and health-resorts for the people who have fortunately not lost their interest in pastoral sights and simple objects of Nature. The spacious public garden of the city has become the centre of attraction with its heavenly breeze and romantic surroundings. It has within its four walls a Zoo and the Health Museum and is visited by many people every day and on Sundays in particular. Boys and girls, most of whom are still at schools and colleges, have made this garden colourful with their pleasing display of latest fashions.



Holiday-makers at Nizam Sagar

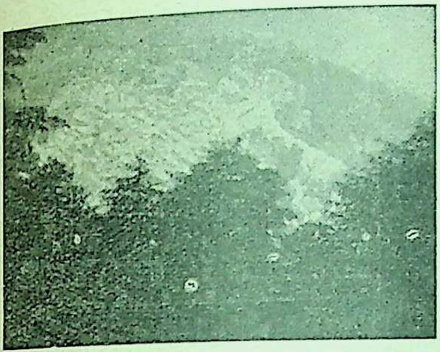
While the city is overcrowded with a suffocating atmosphere, it is justly proud of possessing some beautiful lakes in its vicinity. These are the blessed spots to which the tired folk turn up for recreation and a holiday-change. The Osman Sagar, popularly known as Gandipet, with its green parks touching water, and the Himayat Sagar have already become favourite haunts for the visitors, while at a distance of eight miles to the south of the city lies Umda Sagar, another lake of great beauty. The tanks and rivers are a very poor substitute for the splashing sea; nevertheless they are a blessing in disguise for places far from the seashore.

In the years yet to bubble up from "eternity's cauldron," Hyderabad is likely to attain a unique position which it so worthily deserves. With its steady all-round progress in different walks of life, it is fast developing into a great city. Its promising future appears today to be something more realistic than a mere dream.

SIMLA IN SUMMER

By MANIKLAL MUKHERJI

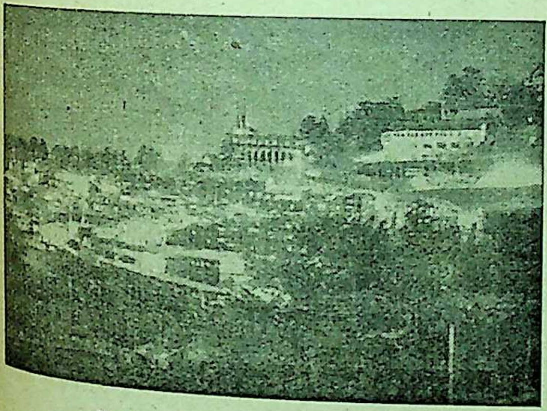
A visit to Simla, specially in summer, is certainly one that a tourist must long for, in view of its fine hill climate. The picturesque mountainous scenery of Simla is really enchanting. To me Simla appeared to be dreamy. The lofty Himalayan ranges seem to beacon travellers from the plains for a halt and rest.



An aerial view of Simla

During the British regime Simla was the Summer Capital for the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. In free India today we have our Government houses and Rastrapati Bhawan on the Summer Hill at Simla.

Situated at an altitude of 6181 ft. above the sea level and at a distance of 1299 miles from Calcutta Simla stands in her own hill grandeur. Simla enjoys a fine cycle of seasons quite in contrast to those generally prevailing in other mountain regions of India. A journey to Simla from Calcutta is a matter of about 48 hours by the fastest Mail train. The Delhi Mail leaves Howrah (Calcutta) every night at 20-25 hrs. and reaches Kalka on the third day. The journey should, in the interest of health and for the sake of comforts, be conveniently broken at Delhi, the capital of India. The Second Class Mail-fare from Howrah to Simla is Rs. 108|4|9 and the fares for Inter and Third classes are Rs. 71-1-9 and Rs. 40-10-9 respectively. For breakfast, lunches and dinners the railway catering arrangements are quite satisfactory though somewhat expensive.



Simla in a full-moon night

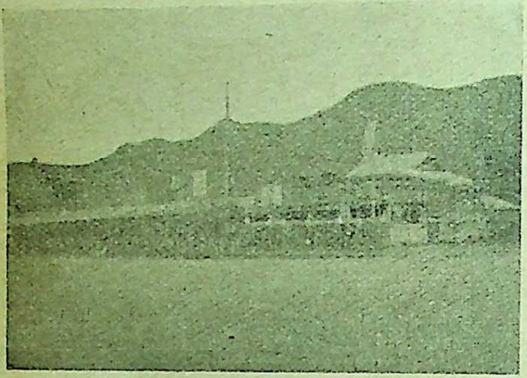
Clouds over Simla before monsoon

The journey to Simla covers two stages, *viz.*, Howrah to Kalka and Kalka to Simla, the latter portion covering a hill journey of 60 miles on a meter-gauge railway. There are eighteen hill stations between Kalka and Simla and the Mail passes through as many as one hundred and three tunnels. The hill journey is pleasant indeed and provides a thrill. It takes the train about five minutes to pass through tunnels Nos. 10 and 33.

Fog over Simla during monsoon

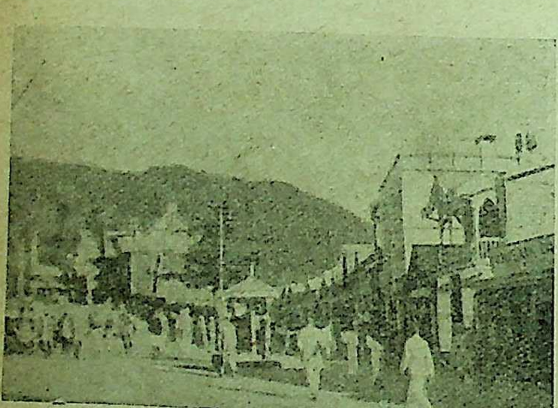
The picturesque hill stations of Jabeli, Barog and Tara Devi would excite a keen photographer to snap. Fine *puris*, curry and sweets are sold at Barog. The drinking water is refreshing. Around her Simla has a belt of three high peaks, *viz.*, Jakoo Hill (8049 ft. above sea), Prospects Hill (7137 ft.) and Tara Devi (7070 ft.). On the top of Jakoo Hill stands in sublime serenity the temple of Sree Hanumanjee, loosely termed as the "Monkey Temple." It overlooks the Ridge and the Mall where Western Commands very recently played the beating of the retreat for the first time after World War II.

The Grand Hotel and the Simla Kalibari occupy a very central position. The Post Office, the Railway Station, Tourists Bureau and the office of Messrs. Thomas Cook, etc., are not far from the Grand Hotel. The Prospects Hill stands towards the end of the Boileauganj Road and not very far from the Hotel Cecil and the Hindu Hotel. The temple of Kamana Devi stands on the peak of the Prospects Hill which is a place for picnic as well as for pilgrimage.



Kalka at Dawn. Hills in the background

Unlike the Jakoo Hill where there are benches to sit on and pipewater to drink on the way uphill there are no such provisions on the Prospects Hill. For water supply, rainwater in the rains and snow in the winter are stored up in a reservoir embedded into the rocks at the top. The way is too slippery to provide for a foothold at places.



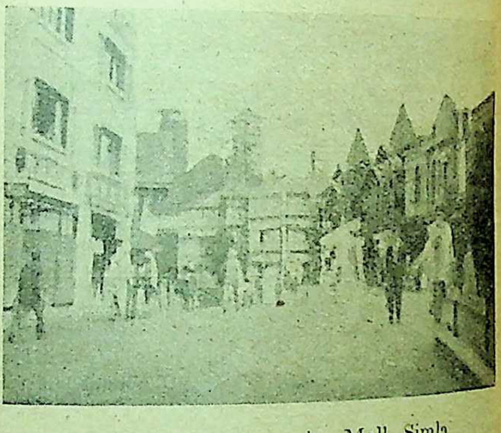
The Mall, the Chowringhee of Simla

The Summer Hill is the station next below Simla and is noted for the Government buildings and the Presidential Lodge. Summer lasts in Simla from the middle of March to the end of June. It is hot in the day but cold in the night even during summer. The rains appear by the third week of June and sometimes in the fourth week when it becomes difficult to get out of doors. The months of July and August make up the rainy season in Simla.

The climate of Simla, as I was told by a friend Mr. K. G. Mathur of the Simla Station, is excellent during the months of September to November and right up to the middle of December.

From the middle of December to the middle of May there is winter in Simla, the months of January and February being the snowfall days. Sometimes during winter the temperature comes down as low as 25 degree Fahrenheit. Snow-fall on the Jakoo Hill is very deep, being five to six feet at times, and the average snow-fall in Simla proper is between one foot to three feet deep.

The most thickly populated part of Simla is the Mall, which may be called the heart of Simla throbbing day and night with merry shoppers, gay walkers and busy people. Most of the offices, bazars and shops are located at Mall. Like most of the hill stations of India, Simla does not boast of a varied road system. The Mall Road is the longest and next to it is the Boileauganj Road that leads to the Prospects Hill. The Cart Road is very fine.



A street scene on the Mall, Simla

Water and electricity are supplied to Simla city from the Reservoir and the Hydraulic Power Station on the Sutlej, six miles off from Simla. Curiously enough a hot spring springs out of the cold bed of the Sutlej, a phenomenon which baffles scientists. Simla is administered by an efficient Municipal Council. The roads are always found clean and there are no epidemics. Spitting on road sides is strictly prohibited and is punishable with a fine of Rs. 50.

The services generally rendered by the Simla Tourists Bureau and Thomas Cook & Co. are really praiseworthy. Thomas Cook is the only friend of the tourists in Simla as also is the Tourists Bureau itself.

Rice has been derationed at Simla. The best Basmati rice sells at Re. 1-2 per seer now. Most of the vegetables are available between six to ten annas a seer. Potato sells at annas six a seer and onions annas two. Fish, meat and milk are available in abundance, fish selling at Rs. 3 a seer, meat at Rs. 2-8 and milk at Re. 1 a seer. The best milk is supplied by Messrs Keventers Ltd. in bottles as I saw at the Grand Hotel. The chief fruits of Simla are the apples, peaches, apricots and cherries. I found apples selling at Rs. 3 a seer when I visited the place in June. The prices of cherries and peaches, etc. were between a rupee and one rupee and eight annas a seer. "Simla is the dearest hill station and Kashmir is the cheapest," said a friend of mine.

The Church and the Ridge above the Mall, Simla

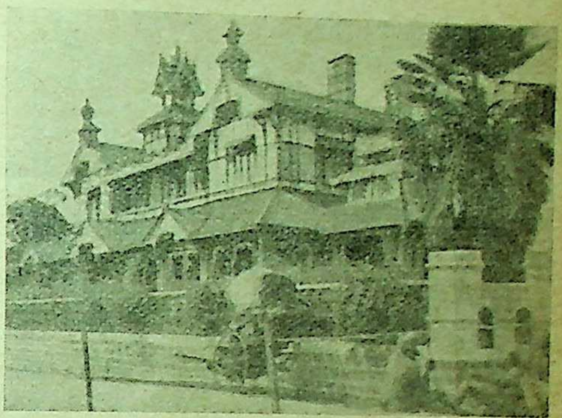
The charges of the hotels vary at Simla, being from Rs. 12 to Rs. 5. Sometimes the minimum may be Rs. 4 at some hotels. There is a fine cafeteria at Simla Mall where a meal sells at annas eight only. The Bengal Hotel is the only hotel run by a Bengali.

Front view of the Simla Kali-Bari Temple

There are clubs, cinemas and theatres in Simla. The Simla Gaiety Theatre can boast as possessing one of the best stages in Northern India. Of cinemas mention may be made of Riveli, Ritz and Regal.

Tourists are warned to beware of the agents of some mushroom hotels who would cajole them into their folds where it would be difficult to get wholesome food. The safest course for a tourist is to go to either to the Grand Hotel or the Simla Kalibari direct from the railway station and to take the porter as his only faithful guide.

The rickshaw is the common conveyance used in Simla. The charges for a rickshaw are one rupee and annas eight for the first mile and annas twelve for each of the succeeding miles. The Simla rickshaw is an object of curiosity to a newcomer to Simla. The body of the rickshaw looks like a small phaeton which is pulled by two men at the front while two others push it from behind. The dexterity with which they use their legs as foot brakes in encountering a downward slope over the hill is really surprising. Of course there are taxis and buses, ponies and cycles are also available on hire.



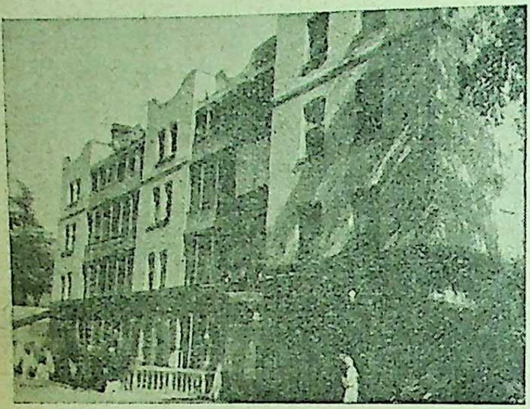
Bautony, the private house of Maharaja of Darbhanga

A porter or a pony is an indispensable vehicle for carrying heavy burdens from one place to another. The porter of Simla is a typical man with regard to the device he adopts to carry his load which is placed in a loop of strong rope tied around his waist and neck. The porters are hillmen of the Himachal Pradesh. They have a very sturdy build.

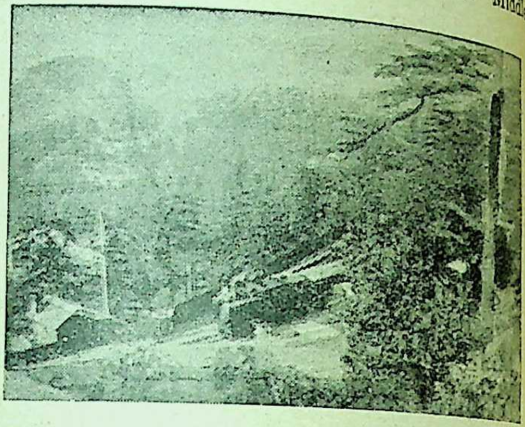
The Ridge with the Band Stand

A walk along the Mall in the evening amongst merry frolicking children, fair well-dressed ladies and gay walkers is a real pleasure. Here one would find principally Punjabis and citizens of Himachal Pradesh with a sprinkling of people from other States.

At the base of the Jakoo Hill is the Ridge with Band Stand where stands a life-size portrait of the Father of the Nation. Bapuji looks on affectionately, as it were, at his beloved children and puts this question to everybody: "Do you love me? If so, follow the path of truth and non-violence and make India happy and prosperous."



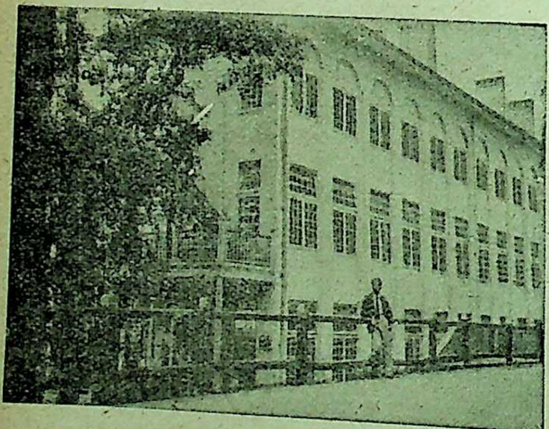
The Hotel Cecil, Simla



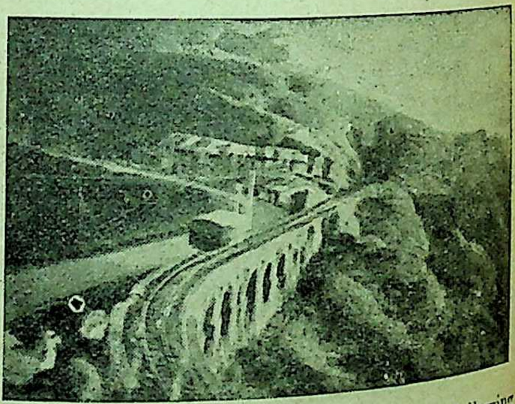
A train entering Simla Station

At dawn the hills and the houses seem to peep out of the pine groves and the fuming smokes issuing out of every house herald the time for breakfast and tea. The music from the band of the Western Commands under General Thimaya of Korea fame cheers up the passerby as he takes his morning stroll.

At noon the mountains look like the furrows created by a plough in the paddy fields of West Bengal. The black crows and the white-brown kites soar up in the silvery sky. The troops of monkeys seem to be busy all day over the pines. They are fond of pine fruits.



The Cleremont, a Central Government Office Building on the Mall, Simla



The Card Road and the Railway Track following each other

At candle-light the city wears a charming sight. The never-ending rows of mountains with the wooden houses embedded into the rocks and the pine groves vanishing in the darkness below a star-lit sky with the smiling moon above add a real charm to the scene. The house lights seem to wink at the stars above. Simla is more charming at night.

The benched Municipal terraces for access to which half-an-anna is levied afford a very clear view of Simla and its surroundings. No tourist should miss a chance to seat himself there.

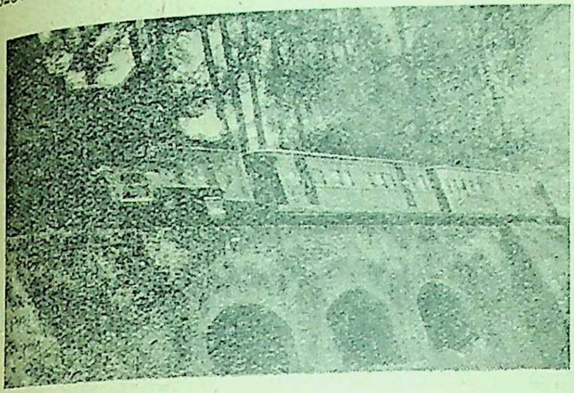
The main bazars of Simla are the Middle Bazar, Lower Bazar and the Lakkar Bazar lying close to the Mall which again is the principal shopping centre of Simla. Restaurants and places of amusements are on the Mall Road.

There are schools, colleges, hospitals and clubs in Simla. Simla chooses her Miss Simla every year very ceremoniously.

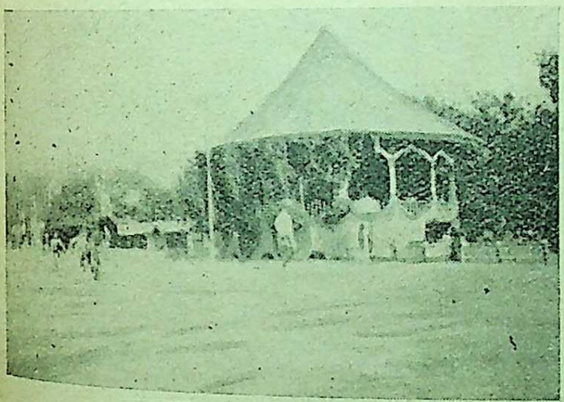
The Himalaya Brahmo Samaj (established in 1875) by Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, stands like a noble hermitage in fine hilly surroundings amidst the pines, opposite the Gorton Castle on the Mall Road. The 68th consecration anniversary of the Samaj came off on the 19th of June when a public meeting on "Fellowship of Faiths" was held under the presidency of Justice Shri J. L. Kapoor.

The Simla Kali Bari, which is a cent per cent Bengali Institution very generously backed by the local people and visitors from all parts of India is a fine temple on a hill top on the Mall Road. I had an occasion to witness "Kedar Rai" staged with spectacular success by the Kishore Sangha. The big assemblage of the Bengalis was, indeed, a surprise to me.

The Simla Kalibari was founded in the year 1823. To know the historical background of the Simla Kalibari, the inquisitive tourist must have to secure a copy of *The Simla Kalibari—A Historical Retrospect* (*1823-1931*) by its late Secretary, Sri Sudhir Chandra Sen. A copy of Sir Edward J. Buck's *Simla Past and Present* will also be helpful for the inquiry.



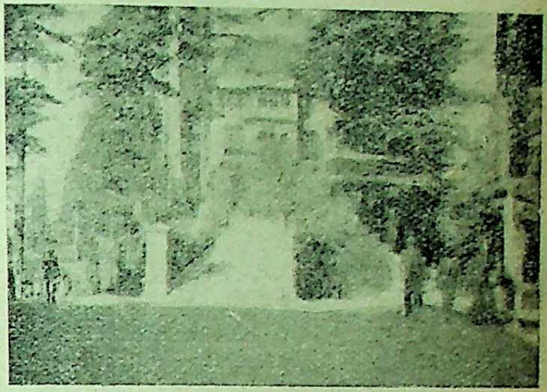
A train over a viaduct in Kalka-Simla Railway Section



The Band Stand, Simla

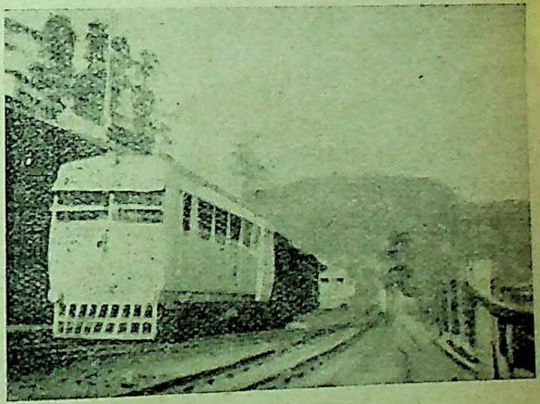
After the Gurkha War, the victorious British snatched this hilly tract of Simla from Nepal early in the nineteenth century, and gave it to the then Maharaja of Patiala as a gift for his co-operation with the British. The place soon became famous as a fine health resort very much liked by the Europeans. Under a treaty Simla was annexed to British India. The early Bengali settlers who first came as the employees of a military survey office, gradually increased in number. The population of the Bengali community today, counting men, women and children, must come up to a thousand.

A brief description of our journey to Simla is given below, which, perhaps, may not be without interest to the readers. On the 11th of June, 1954, when the monsoon was knocking at the gates of West Bengal we left Calcutta for Simla by the 61 Up Howrah-Delhi-Kalka Mail at 20-25 hours. On the morning of the 12th at about 10-15 hours we arrived at Allahabad where we finished our lunch.



The Gorton Castle, where the Legislative Department of the ex-British India Government was accommodated. Now an office of the A. G., Punjab

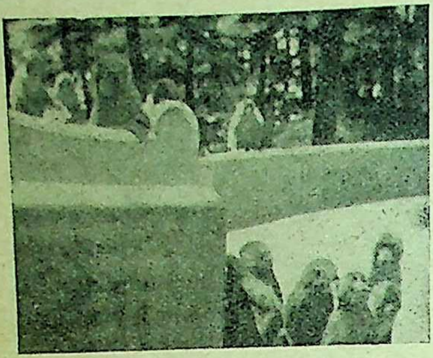
The day was very hot. Towards evening it became cool again. At about 9 o'clock in the night Delhi came within sight.



Simla Railway Station. Jakoo Hill in the background

The bluish lights of Rajghat were visible when the Mail was crossing the Jumna, and seemed to convey to our hearts the eternal message of truth, love and non-violence.

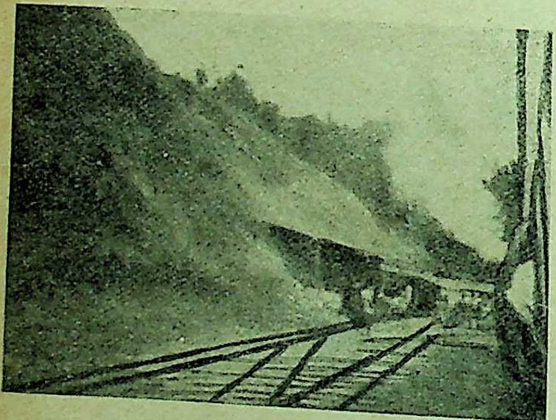
We finished our dinner at Delhi and went to sleep. At about 6-20 A.M. on the morning of the 13th June we found ourselves at Kalka. It reminded me of Metupalayam, the gateway to the Nilgiris. Kalka is a pretty large station where we had to get down to prepare ourselves for the next lap of the journey. Here we had to make over all our bags and baggages to the railway authorities for which we got a receipt in duplicate, one of which was taken off by the loading officer at Kalka, the other having been retained by us.



The Jakoo Temple. Monkeys are at large at the temple. Jakoo is the highest peak at Simla

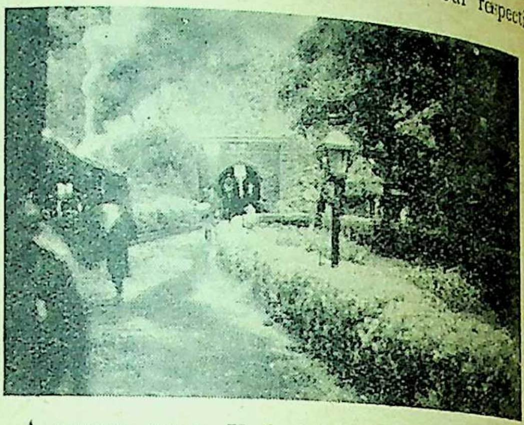
A metre-gauge hill railway connects Kalka with Simla, a distance of sixty miles. There are also Rail motor cars in which only first and second class passengers are allowed to travel. A highway up and down the hills also runs from Kalka to Simla over which motor cars, lorries and buses ply at regular intervals and the rates of fare are cheaper than the Railway rates. This cuts short the distance also saving a lot of time.

The Kalka-Simla Mail started at 1-30 A.M. and moved in a zigzag course at the rate of seven to ten miles per hour. It was a pleasant hill journey and I enjoyed it alright. Jabeli is a very fine station with a background of superfine natural scenery. At Barog, about 27 miles from Kalka we partook ourselves of fine *puri* and curry and some sweets too. The Mail passed through one hundred and three tunnels which provide thrills to passengers.



The Jutogh Railway Station

It took the Mail more than five minutes to pass through tunnels Nos. 10 and 33. It is better to shut up the windows when the Mail moves through tunnels to avoid the smoke and coal dust coming inside. When we reached Simla it was 14-40 hours. Here we had to wait for some time to get delivery of our baggages after handing over the Railway receipt for the same. Then we hired a porter who carried our baggages and walked along with us to our respective hotels, a distance of over a mile from the Railway Station.

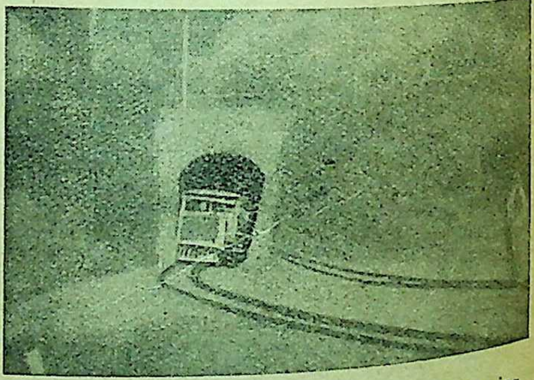


A narrow gauge Kalka-Simla train entering a tunnel near Sogi Railway Station

We remained at Simla for about ten days. Every morning and evening I used to take a walk which was pleasant indeed. Of course, the only place to walk to in Simla is the Mall, where everybody seemed to have forgotten the cares of the world.

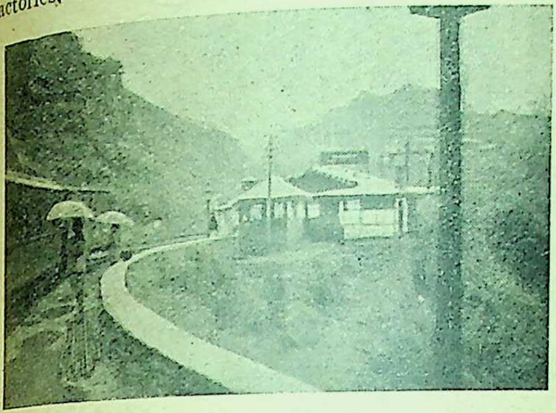
The statue of Lala Lajpat Rai which was brought down from Lahore in 1948 stands at the centre of Mall below the Ridge. The statue reminded me of Lalaji's last words: "The blow that has been hurled at me today is a nail to the coffin of the British Empire."

I would like to give below a short narration of our excursions to the Jakoo Hill and the Prospects Hill, specially as these would be of great interest for every visitor to Simla. On Sunday, the 21st June, 1954, my friend Shri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, (Government of India) invited me to join an excursion to the Jakoo Hill. I gladly agreed. Our party consisted of Shri S. N. Mahalingam, Chief Inspector of Steam Boilers,

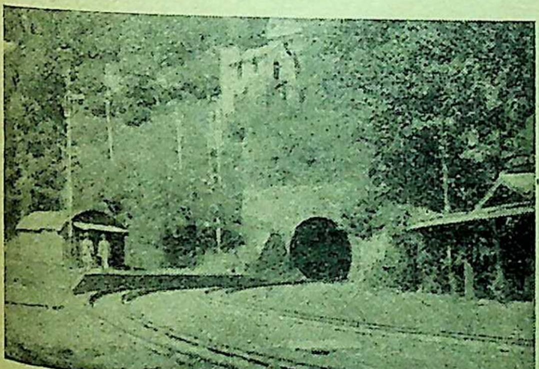


A Rail Motor (petrol-driven) is seen leaving the tunnel No. 103 near Simla

Madras; Shri H. G. Chaoji, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Madhya Pradesh; Shri Mehdi Ali Mirza, Chief Inspector of Boilers and Factories, Hyderabad and Deccan; Shri S. Pahdi, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Orissa and Shri P. Kukillaya, Chief Inspector of Factories, Travancore-Cochin. We left the Mall at about 8 A.M. On account of a pain in my leg I hired a rickshaw which is one-seater at Simla. The distance uphill is about a mile and a half. To provide for the comforts of travellers there are benches and pipe-water supply on the way. At some places we had to climb very cautiously as it was too slippery to maintain a foothold. The rickshaw had to be left behind about a furlong below the peak. As we went up troops of monkeys ran up to us for food. We gave them some grams which we took with us. The temple of Shri Hanumanjee stands on the top. When we came down to the Mall it was past 11-30 A.M.

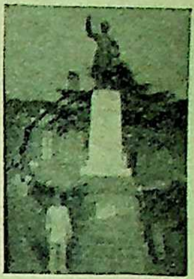


The Taradevi Railway Station on Kalka-Simla Railway



The Summer Hill Railway Station near Simla

A trip to Moshobra is a delightful journey indeed but an excursion to the Prospects Hill is all the more pleasant and thrilling. It was on the 21st June that Shri Nirode Baran Nath of the Himachal Pradesh Government Secretariat at Simla invited us again to accompany him to the Prospects Hill about two and a half miles from the Railway Station. Accordingly, Shri S. N. Mahalingam, Shri H. G. Chaoji, Shri Sailendra Kumar Nath and myself started from the Grand Hotel at about 3 P.M. We walked up to Hotel Cecil and thereafter I hired a rickshaw as requested by my companions. The rickshaw passed through fine hillways and the scenery around appeared to be really picturesque. What struck me most on the way were the notice boards of three Governments, *viz.*, Himachal Pradesh Government, Punjab Government, and the Simla Administration (Delhi). The police wore different uniforms at different traffic controls. It was really unity in diversity. India is one and indivisible in spirit. The rickshaw carried me to the foot of the Prospects Hill and waited for my return. With the help of the stick I had purchased at Simla at Lakkar Bazar I began to climb. The way uphill was very steep at places and I had to stop for breath at many a point. In this way I had to walk up about a mile from the base and came to the temple of Kamana Devi. Getting on to the top I found some merry parties, men, women and children still engaged in their picnics and merry-makings while some were already on their journey downwards. It was a pleasant sight indeed! The Summer Hill with the Presidential Lodge stared me in the face on the opposite side of the Prospects Hill, and a Railway tunnel was also visible from the top.

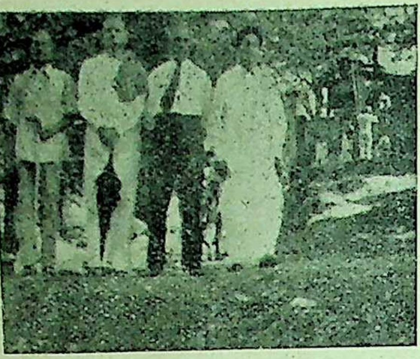


Lala Lajpat Rai's statue at the Mall, Simla

Grand Hotel, Simla

Joytsi Sri Sitaram who is the *sebait* of the temple, his son being the priest, told me that the temple was built about two hundred years ago when the city of Simla was still under contemplation. Goddess Durga, he told me, ordered the Raja of Junga in a dream to pick her up from the mountains and build a temple for Her. Thus came the temple into existence which has been since then a place for

Hindu pilgrimage. Unlike the Jakoo Hill there are no benches for tired travellers to sit on, on the way.



The writer and his friends

There is also no arrangement for pipewater supply as I have said already. The cast-iron reservoir at the top is the only source of water supply to the pilgrims and the tourists. On enquiry I came to learn that the reservoir is filled up with rain water during the rains and with snow during snow-fall in the winter to maintain the water supply. The water appeared to be as clear as pure water.

Here we sat for some time. Shri S. N. Mahalingam and Shri Sailendra Kumar Nath took some snapshots which have been published in the body of this article. We returned back to the Mall at about seven o'clock in the evening.

We left Simla on the 23rd June 1954, of course, not with unmixed joy, that is to say with a heart hankering to return home which is ever so sweet. However, we bade goodbye to Simla and were back to the plains of West Bengal on the 25th. But the memories of our associations at Simla still linger in my mind and a few endearing faces which became familiar to me still haunt me.

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PARENTS CO-OPERATE TO ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

EVERY child in the United States is entitled to receive a free education in one of the local tax-supported schools operated under the general supervision of each Estate's board of education. However, parents who prefer to do so may always send their children to other schools of their own choice.

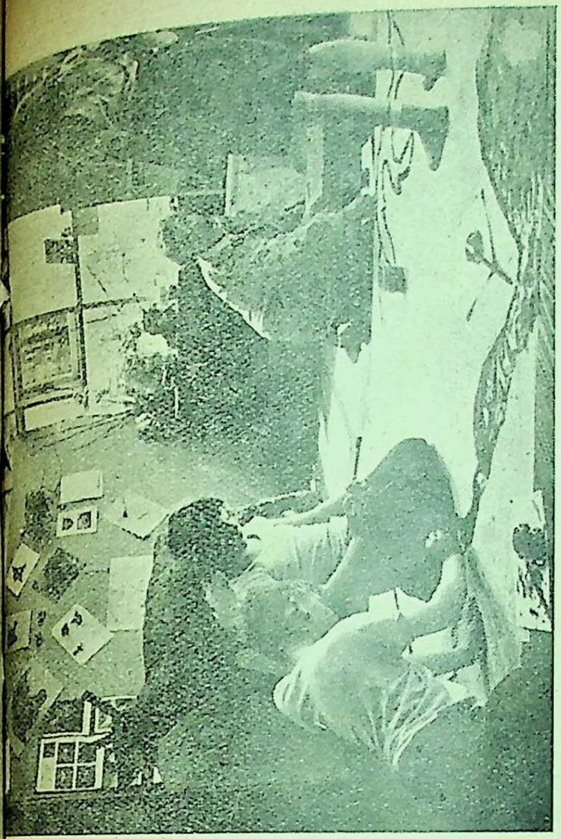
Each child receives individual attention. A little help from teacher clarifies a puzzling problem

These may be private schools operated for profit, non-profit schools financed by private funds, or schools sponsored by churches or other institutions, provided only that they offer the child an education that meets the State's standards.

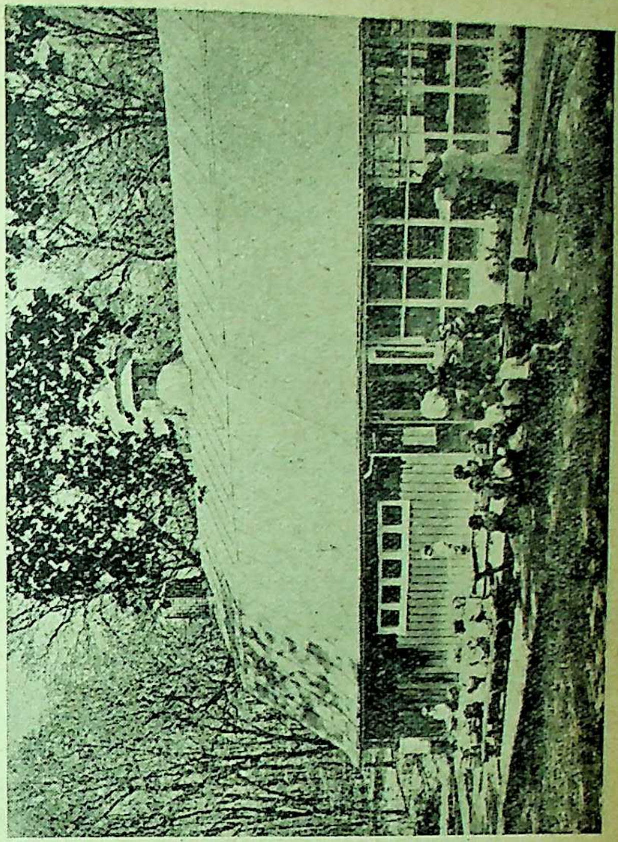
There are various reasons why American parents sometimes elect to send their children to a school outside the free system. They may be eager to test new educational methods that would be beyond the scope of the necessarily more standardized tax-supported school. They may wish their child to be brought up under the guidance of instructors belonging to a particular religious faith. They may feel that their child has unusual talents that need special development, or that he requires more personal attention than is possible if he lives in a rapidly growing area where the schools are temporarily overcrowded.

If the particular educational facilities that they desire are not available in their community, parents frequently combine to establish a school through their own efforts. Such a co-operative school, planned, financed and directed by parents is the Burgundy Farm Country Day School in the State of Virginia, a few miles from the capital city of Washington.

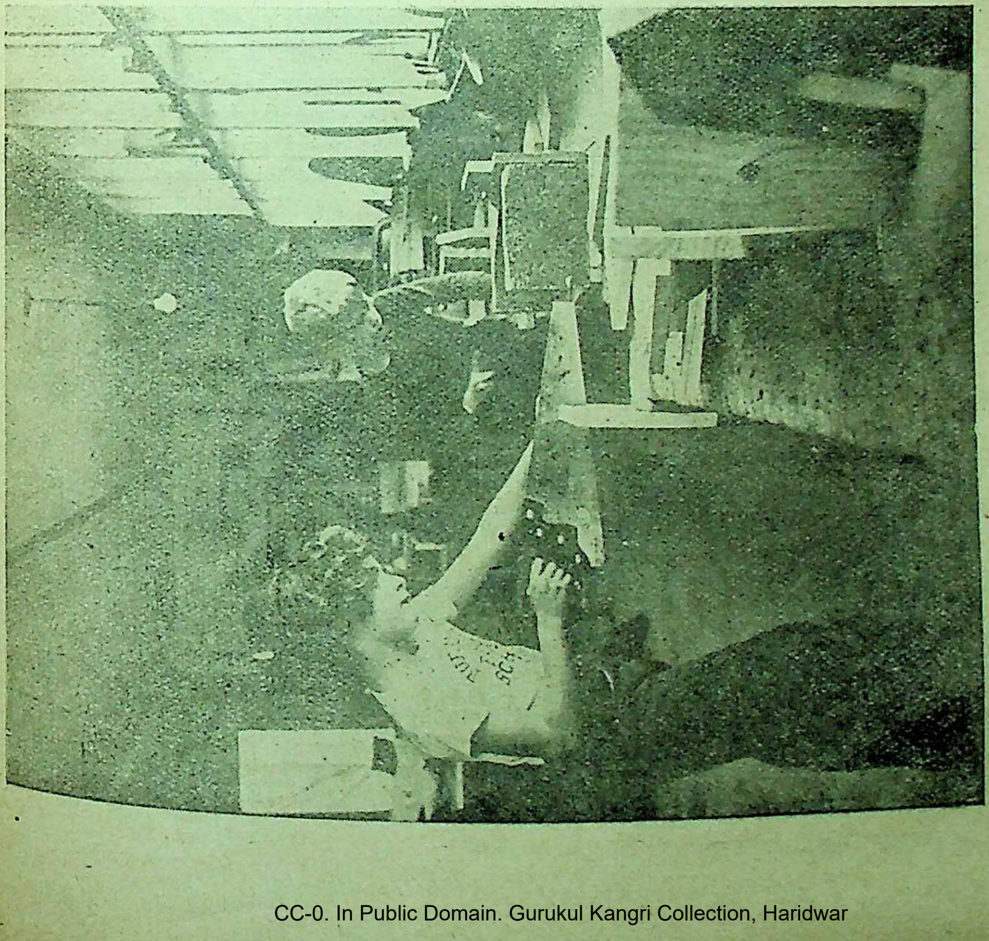
The people who founded the school a few years ago are families of modest means, the men being for the most part employed in professional or scientific work for the Government. As city and suburban



Boys and girls learn to draw and paint



City-dwelling younsters enjoy a mid-day meal outdoors



Boys and girls learn to master tools at an early age in Burgundy Farm carpentry shop dwellers, these parents wished to give their children a better chance to grow up in contact with nature and with a maximum of healthy outdoor living.

They believed, too, that it was good for children to start their education as far as possible by "doing," rather than by learning exclusively by rote. They also were eager for their children to gain an early appreciation of music and art and to experience the satisfaction of expression in those fields. And finally, they wanted a school, that, while making no distinction between religious sects, would emphasize particularly those spiritual and cultural aspects of life that are the basis of mutual human understanding and goodwill. Incidentally, many races and religions are represented by the school's teachers and by its 130 pupils, who range in age from 5-year-old beginners to children of 11 or 12.

The founding parents discovered an ideal site for their school in a nearby former dairy farm, standing on a hill surrounded by 20 acres of woods, rolling hills, meadows and streams. Volunteering their time and skills they gradually remodelled the farm buildings into light, airy modern classrooms, a large assembly room, a reference library, offices, an art room designed for creative expression in many media, and a carpentry shop where the children can learn to work with their hands.

A modern kitchen was installed in one of the buildings, and each day the whole school enjoys a nourishing midday meal planned by a group of mothers. Mothers also work in the library, instruct in the arts, and help in the classrooms under the direction of trained teachers.

Each parent also contributes some time and labor to the school's upkeep and improvement. Fathers usually give at least two weekends a year to this work, which frequently also becomes the occasion for family recreation, with a picnic in the woods or a swim in the pool. Because their parents take part in these activities, the children come to feel that their educational life is a family enterprise in which all share and in which the family ties has become more closely knit.

The capital for the enterprise is provided by the parents, who, when they enroll their child, purchase a non-interest-bearing bond ($250) which is returned when the child leaves and another takes his place. Because the parents help in the school in so many ways, the cost of tuition is much lower than that of other private schools in the area.

At the Burgundy Farm School the children are introduced to learning by easy stages that will stimulate their interest and imagination.

Reading is taught with special care. In the first year of school the children do not read regularly in primers. Instead, reading is related to their activities, their daily routines or unusual experiences, and they come to associate the printed or written word with what it represents before they know their letters.

Arithmetic, too, has its beginning in experiences encountered during the course of the school day. Counting blocks, sharing out crackers, helping keep attendance records, all become opportunities to become familiar with numbers. Eight-year-olds at the school run a chicken business on the farm grounds, gathering eggs and keeping accounts. The ten-year-olds run a school store at which all children shop for necessary supplies, such as pencils and stationery. Through such practical experiences children are helped to discover rules and to understand them.

After the child has learned to write, note taking, report writing and creative expression all help the development of writing skill. The 11 and 12-year-olds produce a newspaper; art and music, too, have an important part in the curriculum. Each child is given the opportunity to discover and develop his abilities with paint and clay, and there is enthusiastic participation by all groups in singing, folk-dancing and music appreciation, with many children beginning private instrumental instruction.

Carpentry work is directed by a skilled carpenter in a well-equipped shop where children of all ages learn to use hand and power tools as soon as they are old enough to master them.

Parents are satisfied that this school which they themselves have created supplies the needs of their children well. Keeping in close touch with State records, they find that achievement of the Burgundy School children is well above the average. They note, too, that as the groups of children progress through the school, their achievement rises higher and higher above the expectations for their grade level. Educational foundations have been well and truly laid, and this co-operative, enterprise by parents is producing rewarding results in their children's development and preparation for life—*USIS*.

JUSTICE A. N. SEN : A DISTINGUISHED JUDGE AND COLLECTOR OF ART

An Obituary Tribute

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

the 4th Jûne, 1954, has died an eminent Judge of Calcutta High Court at the age of 63 years. arendra Nath Sen had built a reputation as an up- judge of great independence of spirit and as a mpion of the rights of subjects against the encroachment of the executive. For many years a District and ssions Judge, he quickly earned a promotion to the nch of the High Court, a position which he occupied m 1927 until the year 1951 when he retired after mpleting his 60th year. During his tenure of office contributed not a little to the glorious traditions the High Court in administering justice without y consideration of fear or favour. In one of his eat judgments he had remarked :

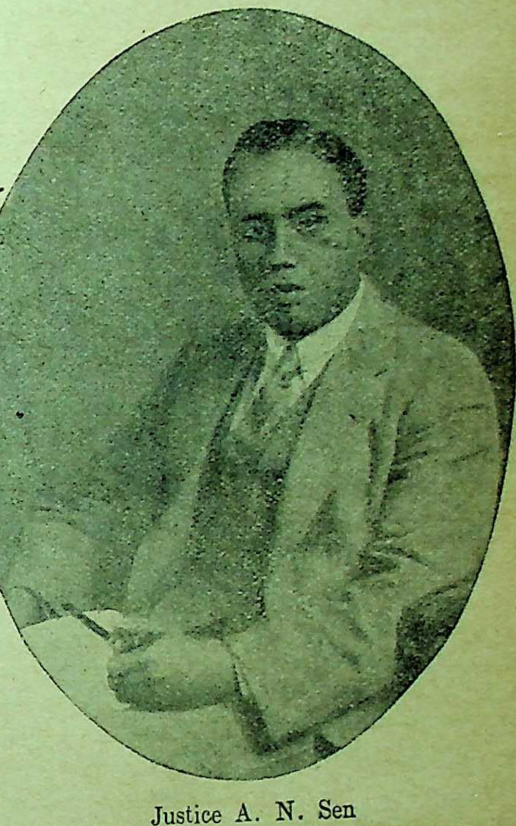
"It has always been the proud traditions of this Court to stand between the subject and any encroachment of his liberty by the Executive or any other authority however high. It is a great tradition which we have inherited and we believe that this Court will be worthy of this inheritance. Amidst the strident clamour of political strife and the tumult of the clash of conflicting classes, we must remain impartial. This Court is no respector of persons and its endeavour must be to ensure that above this clamour and tumult the strong calm voice of justice shall always be heard."

This judgment was eulogized by the famous journal *pital* in the following terms :

"We are proud to present this judgment. It is, we think, much more than an outstanding and courageous judgment. It is an inspiring and may be a historic one : Because in words of un-exampled force and sincerity, it records the 'proud tradition of the High Court to stand between the subject and any encroachment on his liberty by the Executive or any authority however high.'

"The Judgment regarded as a literary essay alone is, in the writer's humble opinion, worthy to rank with Macaulay and Emerson."

But in another way, Justice A. N. Sen upheld the putation of High Court Judges in purely intellectual d cultural fields. Recently, it has been the prac- ce of High Court Judges to confine themselves exclu- ely to the duties of dispensing justice, somewhat glecting the larger world of learning and culture. In is respect Justice A. N. Sen followed the brilliant amples of such gallaxy of judges who adorned the High Court Bench as: Sir William Jones, the great Orien- al Scholar, who translated Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* and ho founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; F. E. Pargiter, another eminent Sanskrit Scholar, who studied the *Puranas* and wrote his classical work on the *Dynas- ties of the Kaliyuga* ; Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, whose putation as an eminent jurist was outshone by his ntributions into the fields of scholarship, learning d education, as President of the Asiatic Society and e Mohabodhi Society, and, as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University which he raised to the status of the greatest university in Asia ; Sir Gurudas Banerjee whose contributions to education were equally brilliant ; Sir Herbert Holmwood, whose interest in the study and development of Indian Art sometimes surpassed his reputation as an independent judge; Sir John Woodroffe, whose eminence as a great judge was eclipsed by his eminence as a great connoisseur and collector of Indian Art, the study of which he advanced as President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and whose profound studies of the *Tantra* literature of India secured for him an honourable and brilliant place in recent oriental scholarship. This interesting contact of High Court judges with the claims of Indian Art as a unique and brilliant phase of Indian culture was also upheld by another eminent Judge, Sir Norman Edgley, whose active interest in the study of Indian Art won for him the Presidentship of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.



Justice A. N. Sen

To this list of brilliant champions of Indian culture Justice A. N. Sen added his name as a fine connoisseur and a great collector of Indian Art. To many people, service to the cause of Indian culture is regarded as a more patriotic national service than mere routine dispensation of justice in a court of law, particularly, in the present juncture, when the study of Indian Art is in a quandry, and when this branch of study is being monopolized by Europeans and Americans much to the discomfiture of Indian scholarship in the field.

To many people, collection of masterpieces of works of Art is regarded as a narrow and selfish hobby. But it is seldom realized that it is the interest in a cultivation of this hobby which has in the past made valuable contributions to the growth of our Museums and Art Galleries and the development of the understanding and appreciation of National Art in all countries. The gifts that eminent collectors of Art have made to the public galleries and museums in England and the Continent, have greatly contributed to the awakening of national interest in national art, and in uplifting the standard of appreciation of the Fine Arts as a potent instrument of spiritual life. In India we are lagging far behind in the growth of public collections of masterpieces of Art, and the level of public appreciation of the qualities of works of art is at a very low ebb and could only be raised to a reasonable level by discriminative collection of representative masterpieces to illustrate the high standard of imaginative qualities and technical perfections, attained in the past achievements of India in the realm of visual arts. Unless high standards could be set up in our public collections, the present generation will be incompetent to offer healthy criticism of contemporary art or to inspire modern artists to give their best in comparison with the standards set up by our old masters.

From this point of view, private connoisseurs and collectors of Art render a valuable service to art education and to the raising of the level of art-appreciation, and also in enlarging the boundaries of our knowledge of this history of Art.

It is a matter of congratulation that in recent ti in Free India an eminent Judge of the High C devoted his spare hours to the study of Indian Art patiently built up a great collection of old masterp discovering surprising and unique specimens, hit unknown, and which have enlarged our knowledge the history of Indian Art and provided opportunities the merits of a great phase of Indian culture inaccess to those confined to the productions of literature.

This is not the time to examine and indicate extent and the merits of the collection of Indian made by the late Justice A. N. Sen. When eminent connoisseur began to collect specimens of Indian masterpieces, it was believed that the specimens had been exported out of India by the zeal foreign collectors and globe-trotters and there was noth to pick up for a late Indian comer in the field. incessant search and patient researches the late Mr. S proved that India has not yet been drained of all her treasures and that it is the duty of all nationals to ta stock of their national art-treasures and to he preserve them for prosperity to study and realize the heights achieved by Indians in the realm Fine Arts which an Englishman discovered in 1907 the forgetful Indian nationals, then wholly unconscious of their great heritage.

A. N. Sen's collection of Indian masterpieces is a singular and patriotic service to a great national cause which will certainly outshine his services to the impartial dispensation of justice in a court of law.

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DYLAN THOMAS

Cherubic Lover and Magic Poet

By Prof. JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., LL.B., J.D.

I

DYLAN Thomas passed away last November. He was only thirty-nine. In him was lost one of the great poets of the present century. Herbert Read considers that Thomas "wrote the most absolute poetry that has been written in our time."

Dylan Thomas was a most endearing person. He had a cherubic aspect laced with a prospect of archangelic power.

He was not tall; the extreme breadth of his body and his astonishing agility gave an impression of great physical strength brimming with superabundant life. With his amber curls, full eyes and a speaking voice, full of magnificence and beauty, he could easily endear himself to anyone.

With him appearance was not deceptive. There was a funniness about him which, mingled with his generous and loyal sincerity, added to his great charm. He loved humanity with a holy love characteristic of his childlike innocence of mind. From the abundance of his love for the common man he wrote:

"In my craft or sullen art
Exercised in the still night
When only the moon rages
And the lovers lie abed
With all their griefs in their arms,
I labour by singing light
Not for ambition or bread
Or the strut and trade of charms
On the ivory stages
But for the common wages
Of their most secret heart.
Not for the proud man apart
From the raging moon I write
On these spindrift pages
Nor for the towering dead,
With their nightingales and psalms,
But for the lovers, their arms
Round the griefs of the ages
Who pay no praise or wages
Nor heed my craft or art."

He was generous in his pity and ardent in his for those whose life's path was strewn with thorns. "Unluckily for a Death" he wrote:

"I see the tigron in tears
In the androgynous dark

His striped and noonmaned tribe
striding to holocaust,
The she-mules bear their minotaurs."

To Dylan Thomas poetry was no jealous mistress. He loved his wife with a singular devotion. About his wife he told Miss Edith Sitwell who built for him the best barricade imaginable when his *Twenty Five Poems* was fiercely mauled by the London critics. "From the first moment I saw her, she has been the only one. There never has been, there never will be anyone but her." When he was twenty-two he married Caitlin MacNamara. She was a beautiful girl with (to quote Miss Sitwell) "light, bright, sparkling hair that seemed to hold all the colour of a spring day, wild-rose cheeks, and dancing blue eyes." No wonder the poet loved her to wild distraction,

"in the cool of your mortal garden
With immortality at my side like Christ the sky"
("Unluckily for a Death")

Their beautiful mutual love was one of the few luscious things on man's drab earth.

A poet's material rewards have always been more ethereal than real. So in order to make their lives not far too elusive for his wife, two sons and a daughter, Thomas made occasional ventures into broadcasting, scenario-writing, story-telling and public speaking.

II

"Poetry," said Dylan Thomas, "recording the stripping of the individual darkness, must inevitably cast light upon what has been hidden for too long, and by so doing make clear and naked exposure."

He seemed to have tried to probe the recesses of the subconscious and the result was the beautiful obscurity of his early poems. But as he laid a firm hold on the great issues of life there developed a concentration of significant expression as in "A Grief Ago" and an utter poignance of utterance as in these lines from "In the White Giant's Thigh" :

"Through throats where many rivers meet, the curlews cry,
Under the conceiving moon, on the high chalk hill,
And there this night I walk in the white giant's thigh.
Where barren as boulders women lie longing still
To labour and love though they lay down long ago."

Not all his early poetry was fashionably obscure. Some of them were so sincere in their utterance that they eluded all obscurity. There is, for instance, the 'springful' piece, "Poem in October" with an almost Wordsworthian note about it.

"A springful of larks in a rolling
Cloud and the roadside bushes brimming with whistling
Blackbirds and the sun of October."

In his early poetic period, he indulged in elliptical imagery. He seemed to have taken a leaf out of Hopkin's book. The imagery was occasionally surrealistic too.

His beautiful imagery, touching lyricism, concentrated expression and metrical skill remind one of Keats at his best.

He was a highly individual poet, with a lingering benediction of the Bible on the one hand, and a sneaking connivance of Freud on the other. Religious fervour and animal heat go hand in hand to make "the hollow alcove of words" of his poems, until they are moulded into "the heavenly music over the sand" heard in "the lunar silences."

One may not call him a religious poet. But religion was seldom absent from his poetry. He was full of love and praise for "the force that through the green fuse drives the flower." Sonnet VIII in *The Map of Love* dwells upon Christ's crucifixion and its significance —the conquest of sin and death through the benignant power of love.

"I by the tree of thieves, all glory's sawbones
Unsex the skeleton this mountain minute
And by this blow-clock witness of the sun
Suffer the heaven's children through
my heart-beat."

His poems about youth are marked by a dear innocence and clear beauty. He sang, for instance, of "a child's forgotten mornings when he walked with his mother" and "the wild joys innocent as strawberries."

In "We Lying by Sea-sand," the lovers

"Lie watching yellow until the golden weather
Breaks, O my heart's blood, like a heart and hill.
. . . .
Dust be your saviour under the conjured soil."

In "Unluckily for a Death" he says :

"All love but for the full assemblage in flower
Of the living flesh is monstrous or immortal
And the grave its daughters."

His "Refusal to Mourn the Death, by Fire, of a Child in London" is imbued with a spirit of resignation as seen in :

"After the first death, there is no other."

At his magic touch, words seem to drop their dull hackneyed drowsiness and come out refreshed, wearing a new perfumed percussion.

". . . . my ruffled ring dove
Coo rooing the wood's praise,
Who moons her blue notes from her nest
Down to the curlew herd !"

Over these words hovers, softly lingering, the breath of eternal Spring.

To many his poetry may seem strange. But it is the strangeness of its being intensely individual. If a wild rose started speaking in its own voice, a botanist might not even know how to classify it. All the same the wild rose remains its own most natural self. It was so with Dylan Thomas.

Isn't he utterly autobiographical when, he writes :

"I, in a wind on fire, from
green Adam's cradle,
No man more magical?"

NO UNIVERSITY DEGREE—WHAT THEN?

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A. PHD.,

Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts,
Calcutta University

The suggestion that no University degree should be required for appointment to the public services has released in the columns of the press a considerable amount of loose thinking. It is time to analyse its implications at some length.

Those who have made or supported the suggestion seem to be of the view that except for certain jobs which require technical qualifications of a high order on the part of the candidates it is not necessary to insist on a University degree for recruitment to the Government services. From this several conclusions may be drawn:

(1) The first is that one man is as good as the other. A candidate who has not even finished his education at school is as able to undertake official responsibilities as one who has passed creditably a degree examination. It is true that at one time both in ancient Athens and in the modern United States of America this theory was made into a principle of democracy. It may, however, be assumed that those who support today the suggestion of eliminating a University degree as a condition precedent to appointment to public services do not subscribe to this principle. They are unlikely to believe that one man is as good as the other for purposes of employment irrespective of educational opportunities and attainments.

(2) The second interpretation of the suggestion may be that recruitment to the Government sevices other antecedents and qualifications should count more than a University degree. A person for instance, who may have rendered political services to the country and or has done some social work by way of alleviating distress, conciliating warring elements and bringing literacy and enlightenment to places where only ignorance prevailed, may not have a University degree but may still be regarded as having greater aptitude for public administration in a welfare state than one who has spent devoted years only in the study of Arts and Sciences and taken a University degree. It is not exactly known as to whether the sponsors of the suggestion subscribe even to these views. Possibly in their heart of hearts they may have an inclination to this interpretation of their suggestion but they have not publicly explained their point of view in this light.

(3) The third interpretation of the suggestion seems to be that higher studies in Arts and Sciences in the collegs and universities which are today influenced and even dominated to a great extent by the needs of Government services should be liberated from this incubus. It was in this light that the Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education had recommended that no University degree should be necessary for admission to the public services. It should be emphasised in this connection that this Commission did not deal with this matter as fully and elaborately as it was desirable. In two places (in pages 329 and 341 of the Report) there is reference to this matter and the conclusion has been drawn there without much of an examination of the problem. Before we go in for the implementation of this recommendation, we should study with care the possible results of such dissociation of University degrees from the Government services both in respect of higher studies and in respect of examinations held under the auspices of public service commissions.

The non-requirement of a University degree for recruitment to the higher branches of the civil services (all-India, Central and State) will be a violent departure from past traditions. It is true that before the establishment of unversities and even for a considerable period thereafter it was possible for Indians who were not graduates to be admitted to the highest posts in the civil services then open to them. As for British recruitment to the Covenanted Service (later I.C.S.), it was made, before the acceptance of the principle of competitive examination in the fifties of the last century, on the basis of school education which the entrants had to complete at Hailebury and Fort William. Even when competitive principle was introduced, the standard of the examination varied from time to time. But in no period was a University degree essential for recruitment. During the first twenty years the examination was of the same standard as that of the Honours Examinations in ancient British Universities. So although a candidate need not have been a graduate of a British University, he must have read up to its Honours standard. But in the middle seventies it was decided to reduce the age of recruitment, obviously for shutting out from the Covenanted Service Indian aspirants who might find it difficult, if not impossible, to compete at that early age in a strange country like Britain. Accordingly, the standard of the competitive examination was also reduced and it became the same as that of a secondary school. This experiment, however, was not continued for more than a decade and a half. Thereafter the previous arrangement was reverted to.

But while this non-requirement of a University degree was the rule in respect of recruitment in Britain and this irrespective of the standard maintained in the competitive examinations, in India the University degree became gradually the hallmark in respect of recruitment to public services. In subordinate judicial services none could be appointed unless he was both an Arts and Law graduate. In the executive services for two decades before 1904 appointment was made on the basis of competitive examinations to which only University graduates were admitted. In 1904 competitive examinations were abolished by Lord Curzon's Government. This decision of the Government gave in a sense greater prestige to the University degree. It was pointed out that the University gave its hallmark only to those who had stood its test well. In other words it could be taken for granted that a person who was admitted to a University degree had had already his mind liberalised, his intellect disciplined and his outlook widened by training in a college. In view of this further testing of merit was not essential. One University graduate might not be exactly like the other. But all graduates should be taken as fit for undertaking responsibilities of Government service after a necessary departmental training.

While this Resolution of the Government gave a new importance to the University degree, it at the same time created a new demand for it. Particularly those students who were influentially connected and those who belonged to certain particular communities thought that their way to some well-paid Government service was clear provided only they could be admitted to a University degree. So at first behind the scenes and then out in the open the demand went forth for more passes in the University examinations. Sooner or later the Universities found it necessary to yield to some extent to public opinion. The situation was rectified to some extent in 1922 when for provincial services competitive examinations were reintroduced. It may be pointed out here that simultaneously competitive examinations were also started in India for recruitment of a number of candidates to the All-India Services. These examinations were stiff in character. The number of candidates, though then limited, was far too large and the number of places was comparatively small. Consequently only those who were of high calibre had any chance of success. In view of this it might be assumed that people would take a more sensible view of the University examination and cease to clamour for more passes.

But at this time there were other ideas which came to be entertained by the public and which reinforced the demand for a larger percentage of passes. The results of examinations in Universities abroad were consulted and it was pointed out that in none of the progressive countries was failure greater than success. If that was the condition of things there, why should the state of things in this country be different? In other countries, however, it could be taken for granted that a boy who had spent six years in a secondary school and three years in a University had acquired sufficient grounding in certain subjects and could think, express, and act independently on any matter within his experience. Here in India unfortunately the organisation of teaching in schools and colleges was on the other hand not of the same order and it was not ensured that simply because a boy had spent so many years in some recognised educational institutions, his intellect would be sharpened correspondingly. But this aspect of the problem was never as a rule considered very seriously by the public and in consequence the cry for more passes continued unabated.

Many of the professions are again closely linked with University degrees. Boys could enter institutions for professional training only on the basis of success in a University examination. It was taken for granted by many guardians that once a ward of theirs could secure admission to any such professional college, his future was assured. The stiffening of the standard in University examinations and a consequent low percentage of passes would be the only impediment in this regard. It was never considered whether without proficiency in certain basic subjects which only a high standard in University examinations might ensure it would be possible for any one to do well in the professional colleges and later in the professions themselves. On the contrary the argument was not unoften trotted out that it could never be said in advance as to the line or time in which a boy's intellectual potentialities would be brought out into relief. It was glibly assumed that even if a boy had been allowed to pass a University examination by grace marks, later in a professional college where he would be taken up with the tackling of subjects after his mind, his latent intellectual capacity might become increasingly manifest. So from this point of view also there was never any slackening of demand for high percentage of passes.

Now the question arises whether the delinking of University examinations from the Government services will have any salutary effect either on the quality of recruitment to the Government services or on the quality of University education. So far as appointment to higher non-technical civil services is concerned it is very unlikely that the quality of recruits will improve by this delinking. These appointments are now made on the basis of competitive examinations held under the auspices of the public service commissions. As a rule the examinations are of the same standard as Honours examinations in Indian Universities. At present those alone who have a University degree to their credit become eligible for taking these examinations. It does not matter whether the candidate have read up to the Honours standard or not. In case no University degree becomes necessary for these examinations, those who have failed in a University degree examination or have not for one reason or another appeared at that examination will also be eligible. It need not, however, be assumed that those who have failed at a University degree examination or did not even appear at it will be by any chance better and more acceptable candidates than those who have succeeded in obtaining a University degree. To our mind the position will remain more or less the same as now.

The delinking will only cause much headache to a public service commission in respect of the number of candidates asking for admission to the competitive examinations. The insistence on a University degree at present puts a natural limit to the number of candidates. Even then it is far too large. No Commission has found it possible to devise a method, consistent with democratic ideals for reducing the large number of candidates who take their chance at the competitive examinations. How many hundreds more will be added to this already inflated number of competitors as a result of delinking it is not exactly possible to guess. There are many graduates today who appear at the competitive examinations not so much because they look forward to any success but because they only want to keep themselves engaged for a year or two and possibly also to maintain their credit with their friends and relatives. If delinking is actually effected, hundreds more of such candidates will come forward from the backwoods and add to the problem of the public service commissions. It was suggested in the Report of the University Education Commission that a high fee might be charged by a commission from all candidates. This might be refunded to those who would rise to a minimum standard in the examinations at which they may appear. This may, of course have a deterrent effect on frivolous candidature. But it may also create a serious impediment for poor but deserving candidates. In any event it is not likely that this suggestion will be welcome to the public.

At the present time temporary and similar other vacancies in Government departments are often filled without previous reference to a public service commission. In these cases much pressure is not unoften brought to bear upon the appointing authorities by people who are politically or otherwise influential. It becomes very difficult for those who are to make the appointments to resist this pressure. In fact this is the loophole through which many persons who could not have entered a Government department by the front door happen to enter it and later get confirmed in their appointment. But even these appointees are to possess the minimum academic qualifications which present rules have made obligatory. Consequently even though candidates with the minimum qualifications have, through the loophole referred to above, an opportunity of entering upon a Government post, none without these minimum qualifications have any chance. In the event of delinking people who have not even these minimum qualifications may also get a chance. In other words the standard may be further lowered still. This is a danger against which we must guard.

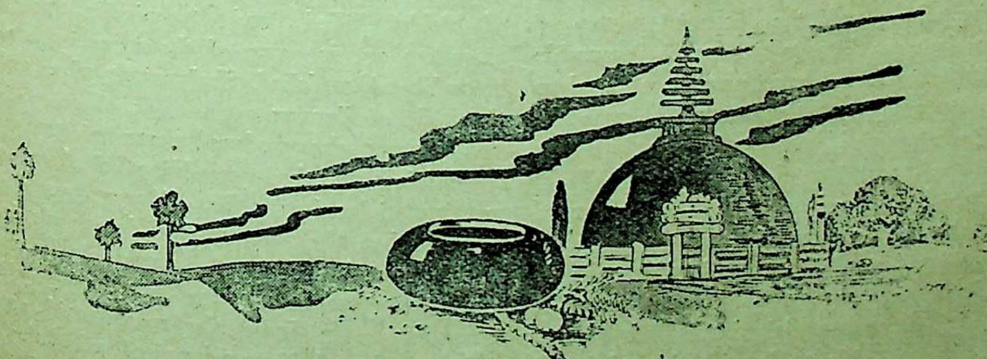
The University Education Commission had suggested dissociation of University degrees from Government services because of its conviction that by such a step University education may be developed on better lines with more fruitful results. Many students now join the colleges and universities only because they want a degree as a condition precedent to their appointment to Government services. As a result of dissociation they may not have the necessity of going in for collegiate education at all. If they leave the colleges and universities, the number of students to be catered to by these institutions will be smaller and by concentrating upon this limited number they may provide better education and training. The students who will keep their names on the college rolls will also be more serious in their studies and profit better by the instruction they may receive. But it is very unlikely that as a result of delinking the college and university classes will be thinned to any appreciable extent in all departments. Science and Commerce students may not leave at all. The depletion may be only on the side of liberal arts. Such depletion, however, may not result in the release of funds to the extent at which alone it may enable the colleges to provide desirable facilities to the remaining students.

Delinking may on the other hand create the risk of a number of cramming institutions being set up here and there for coaching candidates for the different service examinations. Young men who should have been educated under the discipline of colleges and universities may not enter them at all and get instead into these coaching classes. This will certainly help in lowering further our educational and cultural level and may stand in the way of intellectual progress of the country. There is the further ancillary danger of colleges and even universities trying to compete with these cramming institutions and frittering away their energy in this non-academic venture. Most of the colleges are financially much too handicapped. They live somehow from hand to mouth. Their funds are almost exclusively derived from fees paid by the students on their rolls. They may not like the idea of the students leaving their classes and joining a cramming institution. So by way of retaining them on the rolls they themselves may open cramming classes. More attention may in fact be paid to them than to normal Intermediate or undergraduate classes. We could not possibly blame them if by circumstances they are compelled to take steps like these. But we can very well imagine the effect which they will have on our cultural life.

There are many other factors of collegiate and university educaion which need be taken into consideration in connection with the lowering of the standard of education offered in these institutions. It is common knowledge that in British Universities students maintain in average a higher standard than in this country. But it is often forgotten that this is only partly due to the better facilities offered to them for the cultivation of their mind and intellect in these institutions. It should be borne in mind that students are also better prepared for utilising the facilities given to them in the universities. Secondary educaion in Britain has maintained throughout a very high standard. By the time boys leave their schools, they have already acquired a good grounding in certain subjects and have learnt the art of expressing themselves clearly on matters which they are required to tackle. When, therefore, they come over to the universities and are given by their tutor a problem and necessary references in that regard, they can read the books referred to by the tutor with profit and deal with the problem in their own way without difficulty. Such a method as followed in an ancient British University will be out of place in respect of most of the boys who take their education in our colleges. They are not ready for such work. The education they have received in the schools has not prepared them for it. We have not sufficient space to go into details in this regard. But all those who are in charge of collegiate education will testify to this. So the first thing to which our attention should be drawn is the improvement of secondary education which is the foundation of higher studies. A Commission appointed by the Government of India is at present at work on this subject. But whatever the recommendations of this Commission may be, it will be unwise to anticipate any great improvement in the quality of secondary education during the next one decade or more. But so long as this improvement does not take place, the results of collegiate and university education may not be better. It may be possible by great efforts made otherwise to stop the rot which has set in. But nothing more than that. Delinking of University degrees from Government services will have little or no effect on improving collegiate education.

There is another very important matter to which reference should be made here in connection with the deterioration of collegiate and university education. All college and university teachers have been familiar with the indigent, sometimes even destitute, life which a very large percentage of their students have to live during their college career. The enquiry instituted by an enterprising Calcutta Newspaper has succeeded in bringing these familiar facts in a very pointed manner before the general public. Nearly fifty percent of the boys are condemned by circumstances to live in surroundings in which even the most intrepid spirit becomes depressed and cowed. Intellectual work of any sort requires to some extent at least a quiet atmosphere. One cannot possibly read in a room where five or six others happen not only to live but carry on all kinds of household work. It is not again rare for many of our college and university students not only to earn their own livelihood but to earn sufficiently to feed their younger brothers and sisters. Not unoften boys attending college classes happen to go there in empty stomach. In this regard what is true of Calcutta and its environs is likely to be true with slight modification in details of other places in this country as well. None of these difficulties through which a large proportion of our student population has to pass and which account so much for deterioration in educational standard will be solved by the delinking of Government services from University degrees.

It is not necessary here to put any emphasis on many other financial and organisational problems with which collegiate and university education is confronted today. They are matters of common knowledge. This should, however, be stated that though these problems are familiar and have been discussed *ad nauseam*, their solution may not be delayed without further deterioration in the quality of our education. In any event it is hoped that the previous paragraphs have helped in clearing some of the issues and bringing it home to the public that the delinking of Government services from University degrees may create more problems than solve them. To advocate it at the present time as a kind of stimulus to better education is only to indulge in a kind of escapism.



DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA

By Prof. Y. P. PANT

Localisation of industries refers to the tendency of sitting or concentration of industries in different places. It is popularly thought to mean the concentration of some industry in one particular place, *i.e.*, relation between industry and geographical area. But this is not what economists usually mean. Sargent Florence regards localisation of industries not essentially the relation of one industry to an area but as 'the relation of the industry to the distribution of the occupied population as a whole.' (*Investment, Location and Size*, 1948, p. 34). Generally speaking, factors affecting location are: availability of raw materials, suitable labour supply, site and services, and access to markets and finance. But in practice these factors are neither exhaustive, nor do they act in isolation in their bearing upon the choice of industrial location. Sometimes even the whims and caprices of the industrialist or non-economic factors may have their influence on location. Again, in a dynamic society to which we belong changes are constantly taking place, and accordingly location factors also undergo constant change and as such what factors are important today may not be so tomorrow.

Not until a process of rapid urbanisation and the consequent tendencies of industries to develop in particular localities had resulted in a variety of social and economic evils, did the problem of location begin to attract increasing and anxious consideration. Particularly in recent times of scientific warfare due to the strategic significance the problem has come to be a subject of intensive study and research work in industrially developed countries like U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

Factors of Industrial Location in India

But the problem has received any considerable attention in India only during the last two or three decades. This may be due to her late start into the path of industrialisation, particularly on the basis of the external initiative. Most of the essential factors of location have not been fundamentally so much favourable for the concentration of a large number of modern industries in different parts of the country, because the entire structure of Indian industrialism right from the first quarter of the last century down to the middle of the present century has been based totally on unplanned structure and haphazard measures.

A brief consideration of the essential factors with reference to India may not be out of the way here. To take the availability of raw materials first. Theoretically, the influence of raw materials on location depends upon their nature and total cost delivered to the factory. The sugarcane, being a weight-losing material, most of the sugar industries in the country are located in the cane-growing regions of U.P. and Western Bihar. The iron and steel industries also have been significantly concentrated in the neighbourhood of deposits of raw materials. Similarly, the jute industry has had an inherent tendency to be attracted towards raw material. After the Partition the move for the production of raw jute in regions beyond West Bengal, is also bound up with the location of jute mills in the vicinity.

The influence of labour also on the geographical distribution of industries is by no means insignificant. It is to be considered both in respect of quantity and quality. In an agricultural country with primitive methods like India, where the agricultural folk are generally suffering from under-employment and unemployment there has been no appreciable difficulty in the supply of the numerical strength of labour with its agricultural bias. But at the same time it must be properly coustrued that labour by itself never determines location, and it simply adapts to vary the kind of production, which other elements of more permanent nature bring about. Still there can be no doubt that a well-organised labour market is an essential prerequisite for suceess in all industries. In India, no doubt, some of the industries have been influenced by the consideration of the availability of skilled labour. In the beginning, the textile industry in Ahmedabad had even an advantage over Bombay 'regarding the continuity of labour supply, having more permanent factory population, and a smaller amount of absenteeism.' It is also said that the necessary labour in the textile mills in Kanpur in the beginning was provided mostly by the *julahas* and *kories* (hand-loom workers of the cottage scale). But in its entirety, labour efficiency has not been a fundamental factor of location, generally in the context of the appalling mass illiteracy. However, it is somewhat gratifying to note that in recent times, a class of highly skilled and technically trained labour is emerging out in some of the more important industrial areas like Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Bombay and in some of the mills of Kanpur.

Without the modern means of transportation and communications the assembling of huge quantities of raw materials from the different parts of the world required by the present-day large-scale industries and distribution throughout the world of the vast stocks of the finished goods produced by them would have been impossible. In India the more rapid construction of railways after 1880 synchronised with the cotton, jute and coal mining industries, in spite of the fact that the railways were more concerned with commercial motives and that in their early policy of differential freight rates favourable to port towns. But at the same time, extensive transport alone is of no avail, if due attention is not paid to the development of cheap power with which the continuity of industrial development is bound up. Various sources like coal, oil, charcoal, power alcohol and water are notable; of them water potentials have exerted influences on the location of industries, as most of other sources are either limited to narrow zones or are meagre to meet the industrial requirements of the country.

Accessibility to market has been an influential factor of location, so much so that the Political and Economic Planning Commission in Britain (1939) while dealing with this particular factor has stated, "While markets have exerted some influence on the location of industries their importance relatively to other factors has increased greatly during recent times." Bombay had the initial concentration of the cotton industry owing to also the existence of a big external market for cotton. But by the end of the last century the trade in yarn with China and Japan was lost, consequent on the rapid development of the internal market; and the process of dispersal of the industry to the interior was discernible. In this way, various factors have co-operated in the location of a number of industries in India.

LOCATIONAL DYNAMICS AND DEFICIENCIES IN INDIA

The above brief survey of the role of different factors responsible for industrial location in India was made with the objective of a proper understanding of their respective impelling force on the general industrial development of the country. As already noted, in spite of the primary and basic factors affecting the distribution of industries among different regions, and their location, concentration and dispersal within the individual regions, the dynamic conditions of the modern industrial system modify the effects of these factors considerably. It should be known that there is a correlation between expansion and dynamics of industrial location. Factors of localization undergo constant changes and are changing from time to time. To be more accurate, even the industrial location in a particular region or country in a particular period is closely bound up with the particular stage of economic development reached at that particular time. Later on, changes in different factors—like transport relations, accessibility to markets, sources of power utilised in mechanical appliances in the techniques of production may bring about shift in the locational trends regarded natural or genuine earlier. How far such dynamic changes in location in relation to location of industries have taken place in India and what should be the general lines of policy adopted?

The principal industries located in India in the perspective of the past do not fail to reveal that most of the important industries even at present are chiefly concentrated in the ports of Bombay, Calcutta and to some extent in Madras, including some other regions. To these were later added other important urban centres like Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Nagpur, etc., It is a remarkable point that since 1918 the shift or dispersal of location of textile and other industries from the coastal regions of the country to new centres in the interior was primarily due to changes in transport relations, and secondarily to higher local rates, taxes, rents, the fall in foreign demands for Indian goods and other labour troubles. But throughout the industrial development of the country, it is rather surprising to note that there has been not even till lately any conscious attempt on the part of the railways to encourage their development at suitable centres. It has been recorded that special rates to raw cotton in Bombay prevented an earlier scatter of cotton industry to up-country centres. The whole range of the industrial development in India till recent times, shows that sugar, iron, steel and jute have had no significant dispersion, in spite of the fact that there has been an expansion in terms of an increase in the number of mills, employees and output. The development of electric resources also has helped in many respects in encouraging the general trends of industries towards dispersal from the original places of concentration. Among the various sources of power of any considerable magnitude for the industrial shifts, hydro-electricity happens to be most important. Till 1918, unfortunately, there was very little knowledge about the extent to which electric energy on the basis of water power could be produced in the country. It was the Industrial Commission, which for the first time hinted on its utilisation for industrial purposes. It is said that the emergence of the large spinning industry in South India (in the districts of Coimbatore, Madura and Tinnevelly) was greatly assisted by the completion of the Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme and the readiness of the local industrialists to take advantages of the new sources of power. Similarly, in other parts also, the development of water power has been instrumental in the regional distribution of industries in the various parts of the country.

Some basic facts may be generalised here. In spite of the trends of decentralisation and dispersal of older industries after the twenties of the present century to different parts of the country, the general regional pattern, surprisingly enough, of industrial location, with a few changes, has remained more or less the same, practically unaltered. Most of the large-scale industries are generally concentrated in the States of Bengal and Bombay and they also hold a superior place in regard to production. Bengal and Bihar, on account of the presence of coal and iron ore, are the centres of India's iron and steel industries. Kanpur has been the only important industrial centre of Northern India. Madras, though with some of the up-to-date factories along with the south as a whole, is not much industrially developed on modern lines. Thus, ultimately Bombay and Bengal continue to possess a predominant share of the country's industrialisation and the general picture of industrisation is in a way the same, as it was some 40 or 50 years back. The names of about half a dozen cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Nagpur, Jamshedpur, Madras, and so on, almost exhaust the list of important industrial centres. Some of these cities have already reached the point of maximum concentration and some others have even crossed that stage and it is warranted that any further additions of new industries are fraught with grave socio-economic dangers. It may be recalled that the social consequences of unregulated location are detrimental to the interests of the social life at large as beyond certain limits, economic concentration results in congestion, over-crowding, ill health, high death rates and other similar devitalising features. This phenomenon of the existence of industrially developed and backward regions should be duly considered in any measures of reforms for the locational deficiencies.

Correctives of Locational Defeciencies in India

In the developed countries, the State by taking a fitting care has tried to correct the defective distribution of industries in different areas, consequent on the drive of meddling or interfering in productive activities due to the advent of the theory of State socialism, even in capitalistic countries. In Britain and America, today the Government considers the problem of industrial location from time to time and accordingly, they have also adopted a necessary policy for correcting the deficiencies. In the Soviet Union, under the Social Central Planning, industrial location has received an important consideration which is manifest in the possibility of a conscious and thoughtful control of both production and distribution. But in India, the Government does not seem to have taken any concerted and serious steps to correct the wrong location, though, no doubt in the Government blue-books various recommendations have been put forth from time to time with little regard to their practicability. The pamphlet on Location of Industry in India by the Economic Adviser has suggested that the two important objectives to be achieved should be (a) a more even distribution of industries as between regions, and (b) a planned development of industrial towns to eliminate social evils. The first objective can be attained as if, with no reference to political barriers, each particular region is developed on the basis of the potential economic resources, not strictly with a view to attain regional self-sufficiency, but for securing optimum production out of the combination of favourable forces. Even the Five-Year plan of India, in spite of the meagre attention paid to the industrial development in the entire plan, has admitted the continued existence of a large number of inefficient units especially in the consumer goods industries. Accordingly, the Plan suggests, "For that, transfer of some of the units from their present location, as for instance, in the case of the sugar industry (possibility of the shift of the industry from the north to the south, as the contribution of the tropical region to the total production may be increased and that of the U.P. and Bihar reduced substantially), might also be desirable." But, unhappily enough, there is no proper suggestion for adopting measures which would eliminate the existence of inefficient units altogether in the plan.

On the basis of regional development, industries should be decentralised with a diversified economy in consideration to India's snags of adequate capital resources and agricultural preponderance. The decentralised system of industry, by removing the evils of concentration, not only avoids the social costs but also secures for the society additional positive benefits and other advantages. Such a system of industrial pattern has achieved a tremendous success in Japan. With the completion of various multi-purpose projects scheduled, in India there are ample prospects of rural industrialisation based on overall development of 'agro-industry', *i.e.*, industries ancillary to agriculture.

Again, the industrial towns should be developed on a planned basis, so that all the galling evils of industrial concentration can be easily done away with without any catastrophic changes. It has been said that in the Soviet Union the Five-Year Plans of industrial development were so constructed that there was a shifting of industrial capital in favour of undeveloped regions. India also loudly calls for a plan of that nature befitting her conditions and environment. Following the Russian success, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee has gone to such an extent as to suggest for India the adoption of an economic plan, that of the Russian model, for offering differential advantages in favour of industries established in raw material producing and undeveloped economic regions. On the whole, there can be no two views about the necessity of redistribution of industries under the strict control of the State for the national interest. Rightly has the P.E.P. for Britain in 1939 has observed that there must be a large number of wrong locations in all countries and if there were a magic carpet to transport industries, it would be largely in demand.

ETERNAL VALUES IN ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE

By PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Lecturer in History, Agra University,

THE real and permanent interest in history is cultural and not political. 'Culture' is the greatest thing about a people, not its material possessions. The ancient Indian 'Culture' was one of the highest and best. Modern India has grown up, and must grow in the light of her ancient culture. The future of a nation depends upon whether its culture has some eternal and enduring values. If it has, its future is bright; otherwise its future is dark. The Indian culture is the most glorious and redeeming feature of Indian history. As Sri Aurobindo indicated : 'A great past must be followed by a greater future.'[1]

The eternal values in ancient Indian culture were many, but the most important of them were spirituality, *tapasya*, regard for truth, sense of sacrifice, and desire for peace. We shall take them one after another.

Spirituality as against the rank materialism of our days was the key-note of our culture. The distressed world of today may look with confidence and hope to the ideal of spirituality in ancient India. Salvation through the realisation of *Atman* was the goal. A man was respected not on account of his material possessions, but on account of his spirituality and moral discipline. When Yajnavalkya before going to the forest wanted to give his property to Maitreyi and Katyayani, Maitreyi refused it because she said :

> "What shall I do with that through which I can not become immortal ?" "*Sa hobacha Maitreyi—jenahang namrita shyang kimhang tena kuryam ?*"[2]

And further he instructs Maitreyi :

> "And that person in this earth, who consists of Light, who consists of Immortality, that indeed is he who is that self. This is the Immortal. This is Brahman. This is the All." '*Jaschayang ashyang prithibyang tejomayo-amritamayah purushoayamebo sha joayamatma. Idam Amritam. Idam Brahma. Idam Sarvam.*'[3]

This amount of spirituality cannot be found in any other culture. It had its great advantages. Thus any amount of material loss or worldly defeat could never break the spirit of the people. For this very reason foreign invasions and conquests never made any permanent impression in this country, although foreign civilization and culture did. In spite of all worldly losses, defeats, and injuries to the man his *Atman* was ever victorious and ever in its pristine glory.

Tapasya was another noble and enduring value in our culture. Nothing can be achieved without *tapasya*. The sage Sakayana advised king Brihadratha:

> "Through *tapasya* Truth is attained, through Truth (control over) Mind is attained, through Mind the Self is attained and through the attainment of the Self (the world) recedes." "*Tapasa prapyate satyang satyat sangprapyate manah: manasa prapyate Atma atmapatya nivartate.*"[4]

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad* we read:

> "He (God) performed *tapas*. Having performed *tapas* He created all these." "*Sa tapo tapyata, sa tapas taptva idam sarvam asrajata.*"[5]

In ancient India, success was to be achieved not through external agencies but through *tapasya*.

Regard for Truth was another very strong point with our culture. The famous prayer of the sage in ancient India was :

> "I shall proclaim the Real. I shall proclaim the Truth." "*Ritang badishyami satyang badishyami*"[6]

Truth united beauty and goodness, thus the motto was *Satyam, Sivam, Sundaram*. For the sake of Truth king Dasaratha reluctantly agreed to send Rama to the forest; and for the sake of Truth Rama gladly agreed to go to the forest. The Buddha declared:

> "The word of Truth alone is immortal. The word of Truth is the eternal religion.[7]

In the Upanishads Truth has been identified with God, *Atman*:

> "That (*Atman*) is the Truth. That is the Self. That thou art, O Svetaketu." "*Tat Satyam. Sa Atma. Tat tam asi Svetaketu.*"[8]

The Buddha's last instruction imparted to Ananda was:

> "Hold fast to the Truth as Lamp, hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."[9]

'Sacrifice' was another important point in our culture. In the Gita it is written :

> "God created man according to the law of sacrifice." "*Saha yajna praja srista purobacho Prajapati.*[10]

This sense of sacrifice or suffering as Sir S. Radhakrishnan points out was for purification.

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[1] From a letter of Sri Aurobindo to a disciple ; quoted in Mr. S. K. Mitra's *The Vision of India*, p. 314, lines 17-18.

[2] *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*.

[3] *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*.

[4] *Maitrayanyupanishad* (*Sama Veda*).

[5] *Taittiriyopanishad* (CH. II. 6).

[6] *Aitareyopanishad* (CH IV. SEC. I).

[7] *Sutta Nipata* (*Suvasita Sutta*).

[8] *Chhandogya Upanishad*.

[9] *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*.

[10] *Gita* (CH III, 10).

"Suffering is for purification until we realise life eternal."[11]

The Buddha sacrificed everything to find salvation for suffering mankind. The Great Renunciation of the Buddha is typical of our culture. Sri Rama Chandra sacrificed Sita in fulfilment of his kingly duty. The spirit of self-sacrifice was deep-rooted in our culture. The great self-sacrifice of Dadhichi referred to in the Rig Vedic verse (i. 84. 13.), and in later Puranas is a unique example of self-sacrifice.

> "The Grihya Sutras contain rules for the performance of all sacrifices in connection with the important events and incidents of our home-life, *viz.*, birth, marriage, initiation (*upanayanam*), conception, death, etc., as well as of our civic and social life, *e.g.*, the dedication of newly-dug tanks and wells and of fruit-bearing and shady trees for the benefit of the public."[12]

But the ideal that was most stressed was that of peace. The truth: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."[13] and also the truth of the remark: "The Peace of God which passeth all understanding."[14] was most completely realised in this country. In this respect it must be said that the ideal of peace occupies a very important place in Christianity. But, whereas, later on Europe practically gave up this Christian ideal of peace in politics, in India it was never given up in completeness. The European nations follow the concept of 'an armed peace,' in India it is always a 'moral peace' or 'a spiritual peace'; for "The only sure guarantee of peace is morality."[15] The desire for peace was so great and sincere that in most of the Upanishads the *slokas* end with the phrase: *Om shanti.* Let us take up the famous *sloka*:

> *"Om dvau shanti. antarikshah shanti, prithbih shanti, apah shanti, oshadhayah shanti, banaspatayah shanti, vishye devah shanti, Bramha shanti, sarvam shanti, shantireba shanti, sha ma shantiredhi."*[16] It means, "Om, let there be peace in Heaven, in the intermediate space between heaven and earth, in the world, on the water, in the herb, in the large trees, to the Gods, to Brahma, let all have peace, and let that peace come to my heart."

In the *Kathopanishad* the illuminating advice:

> "Jachheda badang manasi prajna tad jachheda gyanatmani. Gyanam atmani-manati niyachheda tad jachheda shante-atmani"[17] "The wise should merge the speech in the mind, the mind in the intellect, the Great-Self, and the Great-Self in the Self of Peace."

Thus speech, mind and intellect are all subordinated to the considerations of peace. The work of the Buddha in the interest of peace is without any parallel in the history of mankind. His gospel of *ahimsa* is the greatest manifestation of this desire to promote universal peace. It is really no accident of history that the greatest apostle of peace of this century, Gandhiji was born in this country.

These are, briefly, some of the eternal values of our ancient culture. There are many more ideals and volumes can be written about them. In the limited space at our disposal, it is not possible to discuss them in greater details.

As Sir. S. Radhakrishnan has remarked:

> "The civilization of the ancient Hindus and the Greeks developed in an atmosphere of freedom. When the human mind is enslaved, by tyranny of any kind, social or economic, political or religious, we have a Dark Age."[18]

We can say that since the Dark Age is over in this country, we may confidently look into the future with hope. The enduring and permanent values of our culture (and not our political history) point to this hopeful future.

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[11] Sir S. Radhakrishnan: *The Heart of Hindusthan*, p. 99, lines 15-16.

[12] Prof. A. C. Das: *Rig Vedic Culture*, p. 488.

[13] Milton: *Sonnet to the Lord Gen. Cromwell.*

[14] *New Testament*, Philippians, IV. 7.

[15] Goldwin Smith: *Essay on Pitt.*

[16] *Shukla Yayur Veda Samhita*, XXXVI, 17.

[17] *Kathopanishad*, Ch. III, 13.

[18] Sir S. Radhakrishnan: *Freedom and Culture*, p. 19 lines 11-15.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDUISM, DOCTRINE AND WAY OF LIFE: *By C. Rajagopalachari. The Hindusthan Times, New Delhi. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 3.*

Written admittedly for "the ordinary reader who either does not belong to India or who, though of India, has no scholarship or time to go to the source-books," this short but important monograph contains a lucid and closely reasoned exposition of the basic Hindu philosophy and way of life as represented by the Vedanta. In the opening chapters (Chapters I—III) the author makes out, in the context of our present-day world, a strong case for "an ordered economy as distinguished from *laissez-faire*" with a code of values and a culture operating as a law from within and supplementing the necessary external regulation and for removal of the disharmony between religion on the one hand and science and statecraft on the other. These needs, he thinks, are supplied by the teaching of the Vedanta which in India is "as old as civilisation itself." In the following chapters (Chaps. IV—VIII) the author gives clear expositions (supported by translations of some relevant texts) of the fundamental ideas of the Vedanta, such as (the Upanishad and the Gita) concepts of Absolute Reality, Liberation, Yoga, Maya, Karma and the Vedanta ethic. The author concludes with the emphatic statement that the Vedanta presents a religious faith in harmony with science and yet "offers a firm spiritual foundation for the just polity of a new world." The Appendix consists of a few selected texts (with accompanying translations) from the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. Altogether this work is a welcome addition to the growing literature in our country which recognises in the Vedanta the universal religion of the future. The paper, print and general get-up are good.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SHORT HISTORY OF AURANGZIB: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition revised. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta-12. Pp. 488. Price Rs. 10.*

This edition has been printed in large clear type on thick paper and in a larger form; the binding is strong and attractive. As this work had been out of print for some years and the author has embodied many corrections of the old edition, it will prove a boon to students of this important period of Indian history. J. Sarkar's researches in Mughal India have made his *Aurangzib* a standard authority. We may only quote here the opinion of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: "The narrative is clear and orderly, the characterisation of individuals is excellent . . . and there is very little indeed that could be spared." Sir W. Foster called it "Easily the best authority on the period with which it deals." We are glad that Indian readers who cannot buy the five-volume edition, will get the cream of that standard work in this cheap epitome.

N. B. R.

AN INTRODUCTION TO RAILWAY ARCHITECTURE: *By C. Barman. Published by Art and Technics Book Ltd., London. 1950. To be had of Cosement Publications, 11 Oak Lane, Bombay. 102 half-tone illustrations. Pp. 40. Price 15s.*

It is a delightfully written volume and generously illustrated and documented by numerous citations of buildings. The age of English Railway building is not merely an episode in the architectural history of the world but is an important phase, and a complete epitome of the architectural movements of 19th century England. Though economic historians agree that the Railway age is one of the most important epochs in history, its architectural contribution had been neglected, a neglect which has been atoned for and fulfilled by the author in a well-documented survey. Railway architecture is shown in its relation not only to other buildings of the period but also to those of earlier and later times. The author has given a fascinating study of the architectural achievement of England in a new and different development, far away from its mediæval and Gothic phases. The book should be of use to every architect in India, anxious to develop a new phase of architecture in India to meet the needs and the psychology of a new age and to push the ancient and mediaeval traditions on new and untrodden paths of development.

O. C. G.

ENLIGHTENMENT: *By F. D. Engineer. Published by New Book Company Ltd., Kitab Mahal, 188-90 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 270. Price Rs. 4-12.*

Thirty-six short chapters into which the book under review is divided treat a variety of subjects such as Creator, Liberty, Faith, Religion, Fate, Prayer, Worship, Education, Life, War, Philosophy, Death and so on. The treatment throughout seems to be unbiased, unsophisticated and unsectarian. In the foreword it is acknowledged that the knowledge given in this volume is taken from the teachings of a book named *Oahspe*. Unfortunately I have never come across this work; but from its teachings it appears to be an ancient book of wisdom. In the ninth chapter of the present book three doctrines of the faithist, idol-worshipper and infidel are discussed and the first of them is found to be positive, highest and firmest. In the 21st chapter etherean and atmospherean worlds, that are unseen and envelope the seen worlds, are described. In the last chapter 18 samples of prayers are given for daily use. All this smacks of a bit of theosophy. Whatever that may be, a belief in the Almighty Creator is taught to be the foundational virtue of human life as well as the stepping stone to Enlightenment. Enlightenment which means Perfection, is used mostly by the Buddhists. The following original teaching of *Oahspe* is given in this book: "To know Him is to know all things. He who knows not Him proves not Him. He who knows Him cannot prove Him. To every self He is the Self of that self. Perfect that Self which is in all selves. Such a man is one with Him."

This is indeed the central message of our Upanishads. And this is the quintessence of the book under review. The chapters have no headings and a table of contents is wanting. These two omissions are great handicaps to the readers.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

NO ANKLETBELLS FOR HER: *By Manjeri S. Isvaran. Mitra, Madras. 1949. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 3.*

It may sound a little odd, but the best thing that one encounters in this collection of some exceptionally drab and uninteresting short stories is not a piece from the author's pen, but a translation of a Tamil story (by another writer) to which the author adds a sequel. Mr. Isvaran's literary output till the publication of the present book stood at seven volumes of poetry, two of criticism, a drama and six other anthologies of short stories—a formidable background by any standards. The present reviewer readily confesses to a sad ignorance of this huge mass of material but, if the book under review is any indication, he feels he does not need to cherish any unnecessary qualms about this.

In a sea of utter desolation and futility, it is useless to try to pinpoint things; for Mr. Isvaran's stories, to my mind rarely depart from the standard and quality which one generally associates with prurient, half-baked stuff that one finds in any average college magazine. The impression that quickly and firmly grows upon the reader of Mr. Isvaran's stories is that the author is not always clear in his mind about what he writes. I give a few random samples: "And every minute of a minute it (*i.e.*, the clock) ticked, there was (*sic*) consummation, birth and death. It would stop ticking if its mechanism broke down, but it would not stop to condole with humanity upon its woes, or to congratulate it on its joys" (p. 19); or, "It is like being invited to a feast with an R.S.V.P. in capitals and an I-shall-be-pleased-to-attend from me by a Registered A/D and dressing up for the feast and finding that not only the host is not there, but no cook, no feast, not even the place mentioned in the invitation" (p. 69). Another teaser (p. 78): "But you can definitely refuse to accept the world as it has been made, from the time a piece of sun was torn out and kicked out, and it started dancing round and round the kicker, without shame or self-respect and not being satisfied with this hoola-hoola, began to take shape and gave birth to vermin—to the time of Einstein, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Ramana Maharshi . . ." There is, besides all this, a particularly sordid story (*Decision* pp. 93-105) which describes how a childless couple taking inspiration from the calving of the pet cow of the house, straightway engaged in "the supreme function of saving a line from extinction . . . and the gods watched from the high heavens his (i.e., the husband's) manly bid for paternity and were glad".

There is a 10-page Introduction from Mr. John Hampson (whose sculptured head, along with a photograph of the author embellishes the work), but I am sorry I could find little or nothing of Mr. Isvaran's "mastery of subject" or his "exquisite English" of which Mr. John Hampson so enthusiastically speaks.

Ramesh K. Ghoshal

RAMAYANA-TRIVENI: *By K. Chandrasekharan, Acton Lodge, 11, McNichol Road, Madras-10. Price Re. 1-8.*

In six chapters the author deals with certain important aspects of the Ramayana, as revealed in three versions of the great epic, *viz.*, Sanskrit, Hindi and Tamil. The book opens with the chapter—'Universal Literature,' and the following chapters are entitled 'Filial Love,' 'Felicity of Marriage,' 'Sita Svayamvara,' 'Sita Svarna Mriga' and 'Vibhishana.' The author's scholarship, critical acumen and power of expression make the work informative as well as pleasant-reading. The North Indian reader will be particularly profited by forming a first acquaintance with Kamban, the author of the Tamil Ramayana.

D. N. Mookerjea

CAPITAL AND LABOUR IN THE JUTE INDUSTRY: *By Indrajit Gupta. Published by All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay. Pp. 63. Price eight annas.*

This booklet is a special study of Bengal's most important money crops and dollar-earning industry from the point of view of workers. This world monopoly industry faced crisis after the partition, when jute-producing East Bengal was separated from jute-manufacturing Calcutta and its suburbs. It is contended that the 'crisis' of jute production and jute manufacture has fallen on workers of mills and cultivators on both sides of the border and the capitalists are maintaining their prosperity by retrenching workers, sealing of looms, allotment of bonus share to shareholders, price depression, etc. and workers are suffering. The writer has put in suggestions for reorganizing jute mill workers in one big federation of workers' unions so that all manipulations by India Jute Mill Associations may be thwarted. The presentation of facts and figures is clear and treatment of the subject is lucid.

LEST WE BECOME SLAVES: *By Param J Kumar. Published by Anti-Totalitarian People's Council. 543. Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel Road, Bombay-7. Pp. 267. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a book of eighteen chapters written by a young author who has made a special study of Communism in all its aspects. He has examined the philosophy of Communism as enunciated by Karl Marx and Engels and later developed and applied in practical life by Lenin and Stalin. The effects of materialistic philosophy on human mind, society and civilization have also been examined by the author in detail. He is of opinion that this godless philosophy will bring degradation and destruction of civilization unless organised attempts are made to check its further progress. He warns the Government of India to be more careful about any further expansion of the People's Republic of China and also in regard to the Communists of India who consider loyalty their country and State a crime.

A. B. Dutta

FRENCH

LE VIEUX TIBET FACE A LA CHINE NOUVELLE: *By Alexandra David-Neel. Librairie Plon, 1953. Pp. 241 with illustrations and map. Price 540 francs.*

Students of current affairs will be interested in this detailed account and intimate portrait of Tibetan life by Madame David-Neel, the eminent French scholar and Buddhist. The charm and value of the book lie in the fact that it is based on the personal experiences of the authoress who speaks Tibetan fluently. has lived for many years in Tibet and adopted a Tibetan lama *dgeshes* as her son—experiences matured by deep knowledge and reflection.

She has skilfully analysed Tibetan society into its various component groups and carefully studied the economic and historical background and vividly illuminated the potentialities and the propensities as well as the limitations of each group. Generalizations valid elsewhere are not necessarily applicable to Tibet; for Tibet has many peculiarities. A proper understanding of these peculiarities is indispensable for an assessment of the viability of the old culture in the face of the new and powerful influences now unleashed on the country. The sensational aspects of some of the mystic practices of Tibet receive plenty of publicity, but not enough is written about the conditions of her peasantry, her traders, her fiscal and judicial systems in other words, about the basic social and economic facts of Tibetan life. A system of vassalage. analogous to the ancient Roman system, prevailed until recently in many regions of Tibet. There were many petty officials and tax-collectors who eked out their living by the customary margins which often reach such proportions as to cause financial anxiety to the Central authorities.

In spite of the hardships natural or otherwise, the Tibetan peasants on the whole are jovial and easy-going. It is true that there are far too many evil spirits to propitiate but although their pranks are innumerable the spirits themselves appear to be appeasable; with luck one can occasionally mislead them. Frequent communal feasting helps to dispel the monotony and dull solitude of rural life. The penalty for a moral lapse might be a village feast provided by the village elders out of the fine realized from the culprit. The meals are gargantuan. And Tibetans have a sense of Rabelaisian humour and some of the anecdotes of monastic vintage related by the authoress easily rival the stories from the Decameron.

Madame David-Neel has pointed out that another trait of Tibetan psychology is the masochistic admiration and respect for power. The cult of force has come down from the days of the Mongols and the spectre of Genghis Khan kept alive in folk legends continues to exercise the popular imagination. Perhaps the mysticism underlying the traditional culture has its origin in the deep reverence for power.

The authoress has made many shrewd comments about the monasteries. about the administrative and the judicial systems. about the traditional pattern of trade, and about the problem of assimilating the tribes of the frontier regions of Tibet with which readers will be familiar from the writings of Sarat Chandra Dar in the 'eighties of the last century. The book contains excellent appendices dealing with more formal matters, such as the new Chinese Agrarian Law and the Treaty between China and Tibet.

Margaret Basu

HINDI

BHOODAN-YAJNA: *By Vinoba Bhave. Published by the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 147. Price Re. 1-8.*

A silent revolution has been taking shape and daily gathering momentum as its leader has been striding. Since Gandhi's death a word has been stirring village India. Vinoba is that rare leader. And Sarbodaya is that mighty word.

Bhoodan is the vehicle of that silent revolution which seeks to bring about a change of heart, a change in the way of life. and thirdly a change in the social and economic order of society. Still a misconception is rife there. And it is that Bhoodan merely seeks to transfer a few lakhs or crores of acres to landless agricultural labourers. A perusal of the book under review would dispel that misconception and give a true appreciation of the movement. We may quote Vinoba here to our profit. He says:

"I will not be satisfied unless the entire village land comes to be freely owned by the whole village as one family. The power and authority which is at present centred in Lucknow or Delhi should get distributed to the villages."

And that points the way where Vinoba is leading us to. It is neither a reformatory movement nor a half-baked revolution that leaves the values of life unchanged. Bhoodan is out to change the values of life. It is. therefore. incumbent on every lover of true freedom to study the movement closely. The book provides the reader with that opportunity.

Vinoba is ever growing and ever presenting new thoughts. So the earnest and the inquisitive reader will have to replenish his knowledge picked up from the book with materials from Vinoba's daily prayer-speeches. carried by daily and periodical papers. And here the Hindi-speaking readers have an advantage over others.

Birendranath Guha

GUJARATI

SAT JYOTA PRAKASH: *By Popat Lal Maharaj, Amreli, Published by Ambaram Ghemardas Patel, Visnagar. 1949. Thick card-board with illustrations. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the second edition of a book taken up with the problems of Paramatma and Param Jyoti. It contains the ideas of a student. expressed in verse and prose, as to how to reach Beautitude. The writing is free of fervour. Popat Lal Maharaj who has now attained sainthood was an humble state-employee of H. H. the Gaekwad and imbibed his philosophy, humility and preaching at the feet of Kazi Anwar Mian, a poet and a saint of Visnagar, a most remarkable incident—a Hindu receiving inspiration from a Muslim saint, and that too in these days of tension between the two communities. The well-written Introduction of Prof. Hasitkant Buch, M.A. of the Visnagar College brings out in short relief the work of the Maharaj, mostly devotional songs—*bhajans*—and verses—*padas*. Spiritual matters, amongst the lowly, poor and humble, are happily still alive. This is what the book testifies to.

K. M. J.

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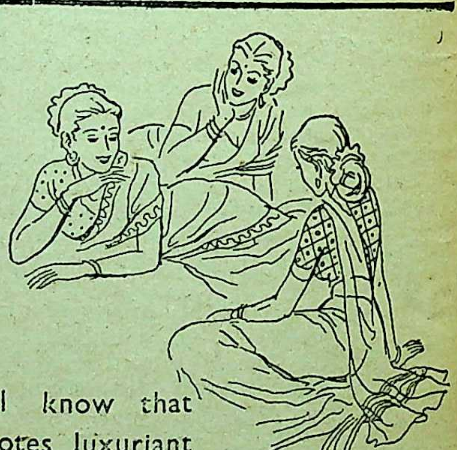

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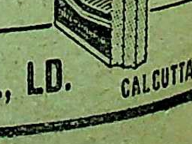

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Role of Cottage Industries

V. R. Natarajan writes in the 40th Annual and Independence Day Special Number of *The Mysore Economic Review*:

The role of cottage industry in the national economy can be determined by examining its contribution towards the solution of the fundamental economic problems of the country. and thereby towards stepping up of the economy to a higher and stable level.

Undoubtedly, the most important problem facing the country today is that of unemployment and under-employment. This is really the major cause of our appalling poverty. Unless we destroy the "giant idleness," the establishment of a decent standard of living in the country would remain merely a pious hope. Let us see to what extent cottage industries will assist us in this all important task. Let us first take the problem of seasonal unemployment in the country.

In spite of some progress made in the field of industrialisation, India still remains an agricultural country *par excellence*. Nearly three-fourths of the people are dependent on agriculture which is a seasonal industry. Consequently, agriculturists and agricultural labourers are generally without work for periods extending from 3 to 6 months in the year. This unemployment occurs at intervals and is of seasonal character. It has been estimated that more than 40 per cent of India's occupied persons are seasonally unemployed. The presence of such a high amount of seasonal unemployment in the country is indeed a very serious thing. It not only unduly depresses the standard of living, but also intensifies the present dead-lock between agriculture and industry.

The provision of work during the periods of seasonal unemployment is of paramount importance.

But what is the most effective way of dealing with this problem? For the successful tackling of this problem. it is necessary that the work provided to the seasonally unemployed must be such which can be easily learnt and operated. At the same time, it must not interfere with the main work. This condition can be fully satisfied only when the nature of the subsidiary job is such that it can be given up without any adverse effects on the main work. All these qualities are well possessed by cottage industries. They will give employment at the very doors of the cultivators without disturbing their main occupation. Hence the best way of dealing with the question of seasonal unemployment is to provide work through the development of selected cottage industries. This will not only give the much needed employment during the off-season, but will also serve as a second string to the bow because agriculture is a very uncertain industry. The inncrease in the purchasing power of the cultivators and agricultural labourers will have very favourable effects on agricultural and industrial development of the country.

Cottage industrialism has a strong case from the point of view of equitable distribution. True it is that at present the pressing problem is "to increase the size of the cake rather than its distribution." yet it must be realised that without distributive justice production can never be satisfactory. In India the grinding poverty of the masses and the superabundant wealth of some is a naked fact which cannot be disputed. It is estimated that about one-third of our national income goes into the hands of one per cent of the people. Such gross mal-distribution of national income is a grave danger signal. It is leading to great social cleavages, discontent and disharmony. And at the same time, it is retarding the development of our economic resources. The needs of the vast majority of the population fail to exercise any influence on the volume of production. The result is under-production. leading to a further reduction in the income of the masses which in its turn. leads to still greater under-production. Besides all these inequitable distribution may lead to social and political movements of a far-reaching and revolutionary character, destroying the very foundation of democratic society and its institutions. In view of this. it may be preferable to have a population system which, though not so efficient as large-scale factory system, is not likely to lead to such tremendous inequalities of incomes.

The expansion of cottage industries will rectify the uneveness of occupational opportunities in different regions of the country. They will, in other words, cover the void left by the unfilled gaps in industrialisation.

The role of cottage industries is of immense significance in maintaining the employment equilibrium among regions. In fact, it has been recognised by almost all the economists that economic development should proceed on the regional basis so as to secure a balanced and even development of the country as a whole. Regionalisation is the cardinal feature of Soviet economic planning. There the distinction between backward villages and congested industrial centres has been almost obliterated. In England also the question of regional distribution of industries has been thoroughly examined by a Royal Commission which emphasises the need for balanced regional development and made appropriate recommendations to that effect. Since India is yet to plan for the future, she can conveniently provide for the regionalisation and dispersal of industries and thereby avoid the evil consequences of planned development of the country.

In Europe and America, machinery and advanced technology were a necessity because these countries had plenty of capital, but they lacked an adequate supply of labour. Our problem is just the opposite. What we need is not labour-saving but labour-absorbing device, consistent with a fair degree of productivity. Cottage industries are thus eminently suitable for India in so far as, other reasons apart, proportion of labour to capital is very high in them. As a counter to the modern trend of materialism, which is responsible for so many evils, cottage industries provide a very wonderful contribution. They tend to develop such qualities in the people as are of vital importance for the healthy national development.

We should also pay due attention to certain questions which have a vital bearing on the reconstruction of cottage industries. First of all, there is the need to give up our traditional approach to this problem. Whenever there is any talk of developing industries, we begin to dig the past and search for measures which can bring back the dead industries to life once again. It is very seldom that we think of new industries which can be successfully established in the country. This is a great mistake. We must remember that our problem is not only to bring the dead to life, or to strengthen the vitality of the existing industries, but to arrange for the conception of new ones. In this connection, we have to learn a great deal from other countries, notably from Japan and China.

In the light of above considerations, no one can seriously dispute the extra-special place of cottage industries in our national economy. India's economic, social and geographical conditions are such that cottage industries must be given a vital place in any scheme of economic planning. The above discussion should not, however, give an impression that we are ignoring the large-scale industries which constitute the major bulwark of national defence and the base on which the foundation of the future industrial development will be laid.

As a matter of fact, there is no conflict between cottage and factory industries. Both can and must exist side by side in a planned economy.

In national interests both have to be properly integrated into one co-ordinated economy suited to the welfare of the people at large.

At a meeting of the State Khadi and Village Industries Board held at Madras recently under the Chairmanship of the States Industries Minister, a decision was taken to appoint sub-committees, to enquire into and report to the government on the best ways and means to develop certain important cottage industries in the State. He stressed the need for more intensive development of cottage industries and for co-ordinated efforts in that direction. He also conveyed to the meeting the Government of India's readiness to help with more funds in their development. Discussing their scope the meeting decided that sub-committees should be appointed to make comprehensive enquiries on the best ways to be adopted in the development of the major industries in the country. Emphasis was laid on the help that could be rendered to the industries, by the co-operative department. The Chief Minister who participated in the discussion assured the meeting that the Government would do everything for the development of the cottage industries. He urged the importance of a balanced economy in India so that rural economy will be sustained and at the same time facilitate the improvement of urban industries and cater to the other important needs of the nation.

The Government should prepare a blue-print for the development of cottage industries. The task of planning cottage industries is indeed beset with numerous difficulties which require most careful handling. They are scattered over so vast an area and vary so greatly in their characteristic features from region to region that it is impracticable to adopt a uniform all-India plan. Planning will necessarily have to be on regional basis. Each region should appoint a special committee to undertake comprehensive survey of existing cottage industries and their future potentialities. The committee should also explore the possibilities of establishing new industries along with the places where they can be most suitably located. Again, efforts should be made to demarcate the spheres of operation of cottage and factory industries, as far as possible, in order to avoid undue overlapping. To ensure better results, there should be a flexible adaptation and integation of cottage industries to the structure of large-scale industries so that the latter may aid instead of weeding out, the former. Finally, though the responsibility of developing cottage industries will be on the State Governments, the Centre must co-ordinate the work done by them rendering specific assistance as and when necessary. This is essential in order to avoid wastes resulting from regional conflicts and to bring a healthy development of the country as a whole.

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Japan's Economic Crisis

M. M. Wagh writes in *The Indian Review*:

If General Dawes failed to rehabilitate the German economy in the '20s. Mr. Dodge it seems, has fared no better in Japan. Making all allowance for the debasement for the word "crisis,' the severity of the economic crisis that faces Japan today cannot be under-estimated.

Nothing can be more revealing than the foreign exchange and foreign trade figures as given out by Mr. Uetani, one of the leading industrialists of Japan. According to him, Japan's credits stood at $292 million in 1950. In 1951 these rose to $329 million. Although the second half of 1952 witnessed a sharp decrease in exports, Japan still enjoyed a favourable balance of $94 million. However, since 1953 the position has taken a definite turn for the worse. In 1953, there was a deficit of $310 million in Japan's foreign exchange, and the situation has deteriorated progressively. As Mr. Uetani explained, at one time Japan had favourable trade balance with all countries to the tune of $1170 million. In May of this year this has dwindled to $800 million. Deducting from this $200 million owed by South Korea and Indonesia, and the I.M.F. loan and money borrowed for the purchase of cotton, this figure is reduced to a mere $48 million.

What are the factors that have contributed to this sorry situation? Whatever Messrs. Dodge and Dulles might say, there is no gainsaying the fact that the chief reason for the present situation is the series of mismanaged and misconceived policies followed by America in post-war Japan.

In the first place America never looked upon Japan as anything but a military base in the Pacific, and this was amply proved by the Korean war. Secondly, America never contemplated the economic development of the country. Rather, Japan was a good dumping ground for American products, as India once was for Britain. Before the McArthur regime imposed restrictions on Japan's trade with Red China, Japan imported over 75 per cent of her coking coal, iron ore, and industrial salts from the Manchurian region. These raw materials have now to come chiefly from the U.S.A. at more than double the price for supplies from China. The result has been an abnormal increase in the price of Japanese machinery exports. If we take the steel price for example, it is $50 a ton higher than the U.S. price.

So long as the Korean war and the boom that it brought in its wake lasted. Japan could easily find markets for her exports in Asia and Australia. Especially in the S.-E. Asian region Japan recorded significant gains in 1951. It was during this period that Japanese textiles drove most of its competitors out of the S.-E. Asian region. In other sphere also Japanese industry made phenomenal strides. In 1952, the general industrial production index stood at 150 per cent while machinery production was 225 per cent of the 1932-36 levels.

American expenditure, or what are called dollar transfusions also constituted one of the props of the Japanese economy. Thus, 800 million dollars of American spending in Japan in 1952 coverted a trading deficit into a small surplus. It is reported, that nearly $200 million were spent annually by American troops on "fraternization" with Japanese women. This factor of the U.S. military and troop expenditure amounted to nearly 50 per cent of invisible exports for Japan.

The props have been withdrawn. The Korean war is no more. American troop enthusiasm for fraternisation has subsided, and the facade of prosperity has crumbled, revealing general instability and weakness.

It is true, that Japan is overpopulated. But on balance Japan had a much better chance of developing her economy than any other over-populated country, say India.

The Japanese Government and business circles feel that the immediate remedy for rehabilitating the economy lies in attacks on trade unions and wage cuts. The recent announcement that the Zaibatsu was to be revived seems to be a step in this direction. But the trade unions in Japan are very strong with a strength of nearly 5½ million, and the revival of Zaibatsu practices would not enable the country to make much permanent headway. Depreciation of currency, another measure which Japan has used very often, will not help much in the long run.

The truth is, Japan's need for expansion cannot be satisfied so long as restrictions on trade with China continue to exist. Since the Meiji era China has played a prominent role in Japanese foreign trade. China headed the list of Japan's export trade, and was never below third place in the import trade. The percentage of imports from China was 15 of the total imports, while exports varied from 15 to 30. Japan imported raw materials and exported finished goods. This pattern of trade holds good even today despite China's struggle for industrialization.

Many realistic Japanese recognise the urgency of this need. But theirs is the voice in the wilderness. So long as Mr. Dulles persists in his policy of boycotting China and making S.-E. Asia Japanese preserve by driving out Britain and India. Japan's economy will remain as crippled as it was before the Meiji era.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Asia Today

The following speech under the above heading, as published in the *East and West*, Italy, was delivered by Akhtar Hussain, Minister of Pakistan in Italy, at the ISMEO on the 16th March, 1954, for the course "Orientations on the Asian Situation":

I must confess at the outset that the title of the evening's discourse "Asia Today," has been a source of considerable worry to me ever since I accepted Professor Tucci's invitation to come and address this distinguished audience. I feel I must crave your indulgence and patience while I explain some of my difficulties.

First, there is the difficulty of giving a precise connotation to the expression "Asia," especially in the context of the expression "today." For, frankly, I find the term Asia poor, if not inaccurate, as a geographical expression it is highly misleading. Personally I have never been able to comprehend why a continuous land mass of what might have been more appropriately called Eurasia has been split into two separate Continents of Europe and Asia. Was it an accident or a deliberate design? Surely, it could not have been due only to the unusually large size of this part of the globe, for the Pacific Ocean is probably much larger in extent and is still known by a single name. Is it then perhaps that the early European map-makers meant to convey by this means a sense of cultural or racial separateness, if not superiority, of Europe which was just about that time becoming conscious of its common cultural heritage? If so, it must be regretfully admitted that here a scientific truth has been sacrificed for the sake of a prejudice, much to the detriment of the true interests of mankind. For words are "triggers" to action and their effect goes far. Whatever may have been the reason for first adopting it, this unfortunate geographical nomenclature, apart from creating much avoidable confusion of thought has almost certainly been responsible for a great deal of international misunderstanding and inequity in the past. Is it not, for example, surprising that even today one hears of the USSR, sometimes referred to as an Asiatic power, although her vast land mass covers almost one half of Europe? An earlier generation has heard the cry of "Drive the Turks back into Asia," while we, in our own time, have known such geographical absurdities as "Turkey in Asia" and "Turkey in Europe."

Apart from the geographical confusion, there distinctly seems to be in the popular European mind an idea that the expression "Asia" must surely connotes some general concept other than mere geographical location on the globe. During the 12th and 13th centuries when your gallant Venetian explorers and merchants opened up the first route to the Orient, Asia was represented in the popular mind by the concept of a Land of Wealth and Splendour. Later in the 16th and 17th centuries when European scholars began to study the institutions, customs and philosophies of these ancient civilizations, Asia came to be known as the Land of Mystery and philosophical speculation. This was followed by the period of actual European domination during which the pre-dominant concept became one of colossal Sloth and Apathy. Today, however, none of these concepts fits the scene; yet the habit of thought and a desire to give a general lebel to Asia persists. If we are to grasp the elements of Asia today, we must, I fear, simply break this habit and once for all clearly understand that on a certain fateful day in 1945, a new kind of Bomb landed on the ill-fated Japanese harbour-town of Hiroshima and over-night transformed all the century-old concepts regarding Asian exclusiveness and "other-ness." On that day too was born the new concept of "one-world" of which these ancient lands immediately became an integral part. The vast multitudes inhabiting these regions, comprising over half of the world's population, had lain in deep slumber for nearly two hundred years while you in Europe had been experiencing the thrills of an exciting life of ever widening horizons and possibilities offered by your re-orientation of Science. This new life passed Asia by for a variety of reasons, including the material power that this new Science gave you. But the latest fruit of this very Science, horrible and fascinating came to Asia as a blessing in disguise. Her teeming millions suddenly began to feel within their breast strange stirrings and indescribable longings which previously had seemed like distant and unrealisable ideals. Since then the map of Asia has been changing so rapidly that the map-makers find it difficult to catch up with events. Politically, a number of new nations have taken birth and more are struggling to be born. But this is only the beginning of a total revolution which is relentlessly driving the Asian peoples as indeed all the other peoples of the world, onward to a destiny of which we can only have the vaguest conception yet,—a destiny which frightens and fascinates at the same time.

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However, the past is not something which peoples, any more than individuals, can altogether wipe out. And, it is perhaps well that this should be so in the interest of human progress and stability. From the past arise not only the present human problems but also the attitudes which are so important in finding the right solutions for these problems. These attitudes themselves undergo a constant change and modification in the light of new problems and situations. Thus, Asia Today, no less than the World itself, must be regarded as a dynamic rather than a static phenomenon. And, if we must give Asia a label, it must be some label expressing action, such as, "Asia on the march." Here again the word "march" may create difficulties and doubts but luckily it can be demonstrated that this march can only be figurative: Its direction and objective is pre-determined by those great forces themselves which have caused the awakening and regeneration of Asia. The goal can only be "One World," where all members of the human family have a place as equal partners, with equal responsibilities and obligations in the interest of the Common Weal of "Mankind."

I now come to my second difficulty which is concerned with the scope of the subject I am called upon to discuss. For one thing, I consider it would be highly presumptuous on my part to profess to speak on such a vast and complex subject without possessing first-hand knowledge of the situation in most of the countries comprised in the Asian Continent. Secondly, I realise that in speaking on Asia as an Asian representative, there is a strong almost irresistible temptation to see oneself in the role of a spokesman for the entire Continent and, as such, to indulge in sweeping often quite insufferable generalisations. This is a role that I would personally be extremely reluctant to assume. In my view, such an assumption would neither be fair to the great Asian nations whose distinguished representaives in Rome may well hold different views, nor would it be justified by the known facts of the new Asian scene. For, despite considerable similarity in their basic problems, different Asian nations, in the light of their individual circumstances of geographical location, historical background and national characteristics, are inevitably inclined to react differently to them and have adopted, or are in the process of adopting, substantially different approaches for their solution. Let us take, for example, a cross-section of the Asian reaction to the vital problem of Peace and War and East-West Conflict. We find at least three different, major and mutually exclusive viewpoints represented in Asia in accordance with the interests and circumstances of the different nations who hold them. First, there is the viewpoint of the vast population—nearly one half that of all Asia—which lives in China and the Asiatic part of the USSR. These peoples have chosen to live under a Communist regime with its well-known characteristic approach to the problem of Peace and War. Then, we have certain countries situated close to the frontiers of China or USSR. These countries, which incidentally are also the old or original Sovereign Nations of Asia, have a distinctly positive approach to the problem. They are frankly apprehensive of aggression and endeavour to achieve a state of mental and material preparedness to meet it when it comes. We have then the third group of countries—most of them comprising the nations of recent birth—professing to hold what may be described as the middle path of neutralism or non-alignment. This group can be further subdivided in accordance with the mental approach of each country in regard to the best method of making its contribution to world peace effective.

This is only one example of divergence of Asian views on one subject. Many more can be cited. But what does all this add up to? Nothing, except more confusion. The question arises: what and where is the Asia of my discourse. The fact is that today Asia does not exist except as a vague geographical entity. Its peoples have been drawn irrevocably into the full-blooded stream of the general life of the world. The revolution that has hit us like a dammed-up torrent is still itself creating opportunities for all peoples, big or small, to shape their own destinies. They are all rapidly evolving their own separate individualities and the pattern which Asia of Today presents is as variegated as humanity itself.

In view of all these complications I have come to the conclusion that it would be best for me to talk this evening mainly about the major situations, problems and attitudes of Pakistan, the country I represent and know most about, and compare or contrast them with those of other Asian countries who, like Pakistan, have recently taken their place in the comity of nations as free members. With your permission therefore I would like to amend the title of my address to read "Pakistan in Asia today."

Fortunately there is sufficient similarity in the problems that face Pakistan and those that face other young nations of Asia to enable you to form a fair picture of the scene. Moreover, in many ways, Pakistan is a uniquely representative Asian country. On one side, it shares the problems and attitudes of the large and important region of the Muslim Middle East, not only because of its cultural affinity but also

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because one of its two wings is physically contiguous with this region. On the other side, the Eastern wing of Pakistan is located deep into the region known as South-East Asia. On the north, it borders the territory of the new People's Republic of China and almost touches the frontier of the USSR. Through its connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations it possesses a window overlooking the Western scene.

With these introductory remarks, for the inordinate length of which I apologise, we are now in a position to look more closely at Pakistan and some of its major problems and attitudes.

Pakistan, as you know, is one of the two new Sovereign States—the other being India—which arose out of the former British controlled territory of that name. It covers an area approximately equal to that of Italy, France, Belgium and Holland put together and contains nearly 80 million people, most of whom profess the Muslim Faith. I would not worry you with the details of the circumstances which led to the Partition of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, but, I think, it would be useful to mention certain underlying facts which have powerfully influenced, for good or ill, the Nation's thinking and many continue to do so for a considerable time to come.

Fact number one is that Partition which created India and Pakistan as separate nations was the result of an irresistible national demand for self-determination on one side and a voluntary renunciation of political power on the other. This unique act of far-sighted statesmanship did not only save the great Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent from a prolonged and fearful civil war, the horrors of which some areas in Asia are still experiencing but also ensured that the two young countries should be set upon a democratic course of development. What it has meant for a large part of Asia in terms of order and stability is quite a remarkable achievement for which the credit largely goes to British statesmanship.

It has done more than this. It has prevented the rancour and bitterness of the period of national struggle from over-reaching itself and vitiating the perspective of our people. It has therefore made subsequent mutually beneficent co-operation between the contending parties possible.

Unfortunately, some other young Asian nations have not been as fortunate as ourselves in this respect. The result is that nationalism in those countries has taken on a more impatient aspect and for the present constitutes a serious danger to the stabiliy of certain regions in Asia. In these disputes we have always advised restraint and moderation on both sides, subject always to the ultimate recognition of the right of the Asian peoples to order their own affairs in full freedom of choice.

Our own struggle against Colonial rule could not but have given us a deep and abiding sympathy with similar aspirations of other subjugated or exploited peoples elsewhere. We believe that our Asian brethren, wherever and in whatever condition they might be, share this sentiment with us almost as an article of faith. With us, this is not only an emotional offspring of our new and burning nationalism but a deep conviction that so long as odd pockets of oppression and exploitation remain in the world no stable and worthwhile peace can be constructed. In holding this firm faith and in practising it unflinchingly we are not impelled by malice or love of destructive criticism. We have often practised it when it has given us much pain and when it has lost us—temporarily we hope—the understanding of valued friends. We hope we have never made unreasonable

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or irresponsible demands from Colonial Powers who sometimes have genuine problems of their own which need sympathetic understanding. We earnestly hope that the outstanding disputes of South-East Asian and Middle-Eastern regions, both of which are vital areas, may soon be settled along fair and honourable lines in keeping with the legitimate Asian aspirations and in the best interests of the peoples of those regions.

Fact number two is that the Partition of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent was based on the acceptance of the claim of the great Muslim minority of nearly 400 millions that instead of remaining a perpetual minority in a single country, they should be allowed to set up a separate State of their own where they could develop their own characteristic cultural and spiritual values. The translation of this demand into practice has, among other things, resulted in a unique situation where Pakistan consists of two metropolitan areas over 1500 kilometres apart, separated by foreign territory. This fact has undoubtedly created some administrative problems of a peculiar nature for Pakistan. On the other hand, it has demonstrated a remarkable triumph of mind over matter, of the will of a culturally and spiritually unified people to achieve and maintain unity despite physical barriers. Furthermore, this basic urge for developing and promoting what may be called the Muslim cultural values or better still, the Muslim Way of Life, has set the seal upon one of the future directions of Pakistan's international relationships. It explains our close preoccupation with the lands inhabited by the Muslim peoples, especially in the countries of the Middle East. We consider that their stability and welfare spell our own stability and are therefore a major objective of our policy.

I may mention here that this attitude has nothing to do either with Theocracy, of which we have sometimes been accused, or with the revival of Muslim expansionist dreams of political domination. As I have said previously, the atomic era in which we have been launched has swept away all the cobwebs of the past and has introduced entirely new concepts of life. In the present scheme of things there is no place either for Theocracy or for political domination of one people by another. However, there is one old need which looms up larger today than ever before and that is the need for the peoples of the world to worship God in all humility and in the service of mankind, each practising its own Way of Life in freedom and beneficent intercourse with those who share it. We Muslims like to do this and we think that you of the Christian lands of Europe would not like to do less.

Let me take some more time over this problem and try to explain what this Muslim Way of Life may be in its new Orientation and why we in Pakistan emphasise it so much. The Muslim Way of Life is very simple and clear-cut. We hold that the ultimate sovereignty in a State belongs to God and that people hold it in trust from Him. To discharge this trust, the Muslims, both as individuals and as a nation, must cultivate certain moral virtues among which prominence of place is given to justice, fairplay, moderation and self-restraint. We believe that all human beings whether Muslim or non-Muslim, irrespective of their caste, creed or race, are equal before God and have a right to equal opportunity and civic status and to the enjoyment of the fruits of their honest labour. Those who are strong and wealthy, whether as individuals or nations, are under obligation to help the poor and weak. In international relations, peace is the objective, but aggression, in whatever form it may appear, must be fought and given no quarter. As a community which puts great store by its own cultural and spiritual heritage, we freely concede the right of full and unfettered development to all religions and cultural minorities, big or small, according to their own lights. This is briefly the Muslim Way of Life and we practise it not as a matter of expediency but because it is the only way we know. If you look at this scheme of life closely I do not think you will find it very troublesome or very different from what sometimes has been described as the Christian Way of Life.

But, it may be asked why do we at all wish to adopt any particular way of life. Why do we not simply call ourselves a secular State and be like everybody else? The reason, I think, is that we ourselves have not consciously or deliberately formulated the Islamic Way of Life which we profess to hold. It is simply a part of us. In fact, we Pakistanis are there because there was and is a distinct Muslim Way of Life. Secondly, we find that it helps us in coming to decisions on problems which to others may appear confusing and elusive. In short, it gives our young nation its moral justification and its moral code. It would not be inappropriate here to quote the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of our country, if only to show what part such an ideology can and does play in the new Asia of today. He said to an American audience in 1950: "Cast your mind on all the countries of Asia one after another. Almost everywhere you will see intense nationalism, great backwardness, impatience with colonial rule, and in some, a greater or lesser degree of democratic rule. But in many of them you will also see internal strains, moral doubts, ideological conflicts, waverings, hesitations and confusions. Halting democracies and ideological confusions create great anxieties for the Governments of Asia, for the peoples of Asia and for peace-loving and world-minded people anywhere. In the midst of these Pakistan stands unified. It stands unified because its people are free from mental confusions which elsewhere create disruption and cast menacing shadows on the future. They have chosen for themselves the part chalked out out for them by their simple practical clear-cut beliefs and decisions."

Fact number three is that although the Partition of the Sub-Continent took place by the common consent of all the principal parties, namely, the British Government, the Indian Congress Party and the Muslim League Party, and according to an agreed plan, unfortunately, in actual practice, the plan mis-

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carried for a variety of reasons, the principal one among them being the undue haste with which the transference of power was made. This resulted in much avoidable hardship including extensive loss of life and property. But what is worse, all this has left a legacy of suspicion and bitterness which even after seven years continues to poison the relations between the two sister nations who by all standards should have been the closest of friends. It is not necessary in this address to go into the details of these unpleasant things or to apportion praise or blame to any party but it must be emphasised that the situation which has developed constitutes a problem of far-reaching importance, affecting not only the future of Asia but possibly that of the world itself. For, while the two countries live in a state of perpetual fear and suspicion of each other, they fritter away much of their human and material resources which might well have been utilised for the pressing work of reconstruction and uplift. Who can tell that by their example the rest of Asia would not have marched forward greatly fortified in the hope of a better life for her millions of poverty-stricken people? Apart from these somewhat peculiar problems which affect us in Pakistan, we share with most of our fellow Asian nations the enormous problem of over-population and depressed living standards combined with illiteracy, under-nourishment and disease. In Pakistan we inherited an economy which is far from being balanced. Nearly 80 per cent of Pakistan's population is directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture. Although the land is fertile and the peasantry skilful and hard-working, the agricultural industry suffers from out-of-date methods and lack of capital to modernise them. The yield per acre is inevitably very low in comparison with that obtained in more advanced countries. We hold a virtual monopoly in the production of jute and have a sizable cotton crop available for export. In spite of this, the peasantry barely lives above the subsistence level and often faces anxious times depending upon the vagaries of weather or international prices. On the other hand, our industry is very much in its infancy as we have had to start more or less from scratch. The Partition which left most of the best raw material producing areas in Pakistan gave to India the areas where manufacturing industries relating to these products were concentrated, such as the great jute mill centre of Calcutta and the textile industry of Bombay. The problem therefore that we in Pakistan are facing at the moment is that of creating a balance in our economy by promoting essential industries; at the same time modernising our methods of agriculture. The task is, however, a herculean one, specially when material resources are limited.

Luckily the achievement of freedom has released a considerable amount of energy and initiative in our people which has enabled Pakistan to make quite remarkable progress in spite of heavy limitations. However, these results could not have been achieved if it had not been for the munificence of certain generous and friendly nations. Those worthy of mention are the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These nations have given monetary and technical assistance for many projects that are essential for setting the country on the way to industrial progress and thus ultimately raising the living standards of the people.

While naturally the measure of assistance is nowhere near sufficient for solving the problems within a short period, a welcome beginning has been made and we in Pakistan are extremely grateful to the contributing nations. We are convinced that this new concept of mutual help is the most revolutionary concept

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in contemporary international relations and one that marks the beginning of an era of international beneficence which is strictly in keeping with the concept of "One World." These projects and schemes have also benefited, many other Asian nations in one form or another and, on the whole, I believe, they have evoked similar reactions to that in Pakistan in spite of some inspired criticism that one hears from time to time regarding the possibility of a new form of imperialism infiltrating through these means into Asia. We, who are, I hope, second to none in jealuosly guarding our hard-won independence have subjected this suggestion to a most searching study and have no doubt left in our mind that no sinister designs lurk behind these schemes. Indeed, what in our view they signify in respect of the under-developed nations of Asia, is exemplified by another speech in which our late Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, surveyed the Asian scene before another American audience. He said: "Students of history are aware that during the last two or three centuries of foreign domination our people have not kept pace with the march of civilization. It was during those centuries that Western civilization of which you are the proud torch-bearers discovered a use for science which, though not new, was so fast in tempo and so vast in its magnitude that it gave civilization a new orientation altogether. This is the phase that for various reasons our people missed. The result is that today we find multitudes emerging as large, free nations in Asia with their material and mental resources utterly undeveloped and with their standards of living so low that the world conscience should not be content to leave them stagnant. Our ancient steadfast faith which is such a source of strength to us on the ideological front in these modern uneasy times must be wedded to the pioneering virility of modern technology. This is the synthesis we must achieve and achieve quickly not merely for the sake of progress but for the sake of world peace itself.

"For I sincerely believe that war and peace and prosperity are all indivisible today. The innumerable millions of Asia, heirs to ancient cultures and ancient civilizations, have, after centuries of suppression, entered upon a new and dynamic phase of nationalism. Most of them were accustomed to looking at the West from the position of subject peoples and could see little beyond the less attractive side of what to them was Western civilization. Their newly won freedom has, however, corrected their vision and they are better able to see both the Western world and their own surroundings in their true perspective. While on the one hand they are filled with admiration at the sight of the progress and the advancement of civilization in such great countries as the United States of America, they are more impatient than ever before with their own misery and backwardness and are keenly searching the horizon for the signs of a bright day. They are acutely aware of the great contrast between their own standard of living and the standards of living in the Western World. This disequilibrium is in many ways most disquieting and has in it the seeds of unpredictable upheavals. For the sake of world peace, for the sake of world civilization Asia must be made stable but it cannot be made stable unless discontent is removed and the germs of disruption are killed by better and cleaner living which means no more and no less than enabling the peoples of Asia to enjoy the fullest advantages of freedom and democracy. In this situation, we consider the role of Pakistan to be that of a stabilising factor in a backward and discontented part of the world. We hope to be able to play this role successfully by our strong faith in God, in democracy and in our own unity, by the resources of our lands and waters and by our will to work. On these points Pakistan stands firm.

"What, however, is the role of the Western world in this situation? It is to demonstrate that true democracy is international in its very conception and does not shirk its responsibility for the maintenance of world peace; that it discharges this responsibility by defying not only this or that particular aggressor, but aggression everywhere; and that it has a constructive and not merely a defiant outlook. We conceive the role of the Western world is to be the enlightened one of sharing its great fund of knowledge, skill and experience with those who were denied their opportunities but who constitute a major part of the world's population and without whose progress, the world will limp along only on one leg, if at all. I have met many liberal-minded and thoughtful men in your country to whom these are the only aims worth pursuing in the domain of international affairs today."

This brings us to another major objective which Pakistan shares, not only with the new formed nations of Asia but with all other peace-loving nations of the world. It is the objective of International Peace and Security. In pursuit of this aim we are perhaps even more passionately earnest than the older nations of the West, as to us Peace and Security are synonymous with our very existence. But the question arises: What can we in Asia do to prevent War and to promote Security. I am afraid the answer must be that we can do very little indeed. As practical men we must realise that the issue of peace and war cannot depend upon the vague sentiments of a multitude of half-clad and half-fed populations of the under-developed countries of Asia. This matter needs a common sense and practical approach instead of a theoretical one. Let us once again turn to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan who in the course of his brief career had earned a reputation for being a hard-headed and realistic Asian statesman. He says to his Western audience, "Before everything else we must have peace. We need it even more badly and desire it even more passionately than you do. For we are just at the beginning of a new life and have barely stepped across the threshold of freedom.

"But immediate peace in the world does not depend on anything that we in Asia can do. Immediate peace depends only on those who can make immediate war. We in Asia can only hope and pray that the leaders of world opinion will use their power and wisdom not to add to the fears of an apprehensive world but to dispel those fears. We are resolved, nevertheless, to make the greatest contribution we can, in our circumstances, to the maintenance of world peace; and we know that our responsibility in this respect is to keep our own house in order and to go ahead with the enormous tasks ahead of us, of developing our resources and educating our people. This is a long task but how without international co-operation can we give greater weight and substance to our contribution?

"Without international co-operation there are few countries in the world that can substantially contribute to peace. Certainly no under-developed country can. And yet it is in the under-developed countries more than in others that disruption, discontent, strife, and instability are most likely to find a fertile field."

This important statement was made over three years ago. Since then we in Pakistan have been assiduously pursuing the two, in our view, mutually inter-related objectives outlined in it, namely, promotion of our own national stability and promotion of international peace through international co-operation.

The first concrete results of our endeavours have manifested themselves only within the last few days. These are: first, the Turco-Pakistan declaration of closer understanding and second, the United States announcement of her intention to give some military aid to Pakistan. We consider both these to be momentous decisions not only for ourselves but for peace and security in Asia, and in the world.

The first declaration is, on our part, primarily an expression of an urge and a prompting of the heart which we Pakistanis have felt for our Turkish brothers for centuries past. It is for us like two brothers coming together. But it also means a great deal more. It means that for the first time in hundreds of years a concrete opportunity has offered itself to the Muslim peoples throughout the Middle East to translate into reality their dream of mutual collaboration and solidarity—a dream which having been dreamt by the architect of Islam himself, has persisted through centuries of distractions, disappointments and internecine strife.

Looked at from the more practical point of view in the light of the present international situation the Turco-Pakistan solidarity gives fair promise of filling through the voluntary co-operation of the peoples themselves, the power vacuum in the vital region of Middle East which has caused all of us much worry in the recent past.

Similarly, the U.S. project of military aid to Pakistan marks the opening of a new chapter in Asia. For us, it is synonymous with a promise of stability and security. Pakistan has, and seeing the realism of the present world situation, unfortunately has to have a fair-sized standing army. For a young Asian country like ours the maintenance of a good and effective army is essential, and I may add that we are quite proud of our body of men, who, in point of valour and discipline are second to none. However they are for the most part equipped with old and obsolete weapons and therefore dispose of a comparatively small effective defensive power against the attack of a modern army. Still, more than half of our national budget is spent on the maintenance of our defence forces. This leaves very little for the pressing national development activities, such as the exploitation of our natural resources and the education of our people, the two essential requirements of stability. We, therefore, greatly hope that the military aid which the United States has in contemplation for us will enable us to save a part of our own resources for these vital tasks.

I may mention here that neither the Turco-Pakistan understanding nor the United States announcement of military aid are steps designed to promote a military alliance directed against any country or group of countries. On the other hand, both these measures are aimed at securing, as far as lies in our power, our national stability and the stability in our own interest, of the part of the world in which we live and thereby of promoting the chances of peace in the world.

In developing our international co-operation along these lines we are not conscious of having surrendered any part of our national sovereignty or freedom of choice, as has sometimes been alleged. On the contrary, we feel that our new position gives us an excellent opportunity of making our individual contribution to peace weighty and effective. For, we hold, no less than others, clear and strong views on how international peace and understanding might be promoted without resort to war, and we have vigorously expressed these views whenever and wherever an opportunity has offered. Our record in the United Nations Assembly is, for a young nation, a proud one. On this specific subject I feel I could do no better than quote from a speech given some time ago before the United Nations Assembly by Pakistan's distinguished Foreign Minister, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:

"The ideological conflict continues not only to divide the world but also to harass its peoples and to threaten peace and security. We recognize that the complexity of human problems necessitates approach to them from various angles and that diversity of points of view and differences of approach and method are essential conditions of advancement and progress and should, therefore, be encouraged rather than suppressed. What is needed, however, is tolerance, which should provide full scope for ideas to act and react beneficently upon each other. Pakistan's view is that every nation must be free to develop its social, economic and political systems and institutions along lines best suited to its own needs and expressive of its genius. What must be insisted upon is that force, violence or coercion, organised or unorganised, should be employed or permitted to be employed, either inside the nation or from outside of it, to force a people to give up that which they desire to retain or to adopt, that which they are unwilling or reluctant to accept.

"Whatever is attempted to be achieved must be undertaken openly and in the light of day, and carried through by peaceful means. If this could be accepted and put into effect on a world-wide scale, we venture to hope that the suspicion of sinister motives and the fear of secret and violent designs, which are at the moment poisoning international relations and constitute so grave a threat to the maintenance of peace and security, would soon be dispelled, making beneficent co-operation possible between groups of States that are today divided from each other by these suspicions and fears. We believe that one effort that would help to clear the atmosphere would be to foster knowledge in all spheres, and to provide accurate information and to facilitate and promote free intercourse and interchange across national and international frontiers. The activities of the United Nations directed towards lowering and removal of barriers restricting the free movement of ideas, information and individuals, must be intensified as these barriers hinder better understandings and deeper friendly relations between the nations. Pakistan may be relied upon to give its fullest co-operation towards the achievement of the ideals and purposes of the United Nations along the lines of the Charter."

These are concrete proposals and I venture to think that all right-minded people in the world would agree that they are fair. They are also eminently practical.

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